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Aitanga: Māori - Pākeha Relationships in Northland between 1793 and 1825

TECHNICAL REPORT

RECEIVED
Waitangi Tribunal
12 APR 2010
Ministry of Justice
WELLINGTON

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April 2010

1. This report provides evidence and argument to address a question listed as one of the 'substantive issues' by the Waitangi Tribunal in Memorandum-Directions of the Presiding Officer, 29 May 2009, Wai 1040, #2.5.23 para 25 page 4, namely '*How did Māori understand He Whakaputanga/The Declaration? And, therefore, what was the nature of the relationship and the mutual commitments they were assenting to in signing He Whakaputanga/The Declaration?*'

2. The report does not *directly* address this question, but provides argument and evidence about the nature of the relationship between Māori and Pākeha in the Bay of Islands area as it developed from a significant event in 1793. This event, we maintain, marks the beginning of an ongoing relationship sought by northern Māori with Pākeha. Māori orientation to, and desire for, a relationship of mutuality can be identified throughout the period prior to the 1835 and 1840 events.

3. We are not historians; we are educationists deeply interested in the role of Māori in the establishment of schooling in New Zealand, and the relationships that made schooling possible. The material in this report is edited from excerpts from a book in preparation entitled *Aitanga: The Surprising Story of the First School in New Zealand*, to be published in 2011[1].

4. In order to show Māori desire for, and active engagement in, a relationship of mutuality we give attention to a *series of events* between 1793 and 1825 that have been well-documented in the archives and in scholarly histories. These events trace a *whakapapa of relationships* that shaped the arrival of the first Pākeha settlers, and the attention given by Māori to schooling, and to reading and writing as technologies of communication with Europeans. Most attention to these *events* in the archival and historical accounts is from the view of the Pākeha eyewitnesses, given they were the people who wrote, thus providing evidence. Due to the lack of a written Māori record, Māori engagement can only be carefully and logically inferred from ('reading between the lines of') the descriptions of the Pākeha writers, using cultural knowledge and reasonable judgment. This is what we attempt here.

5. The six events focused on in this report are:

    (i) *A significant kidnapping in 1793*: Tuki and Huru, the first Māori to live amongst Europeans on land, meet Philip Gidley King and form a

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relationship with him. Māori begin to instruct Pākeha; a strong positive bond between Māori and Pākeha is formed for the first time;

(ii) *The June 1814 letter to Ruatara - the first treaty:* A letter sets out the terms of agreement for the first Pākeha settlers in New Zealand;

(iii) *The 24 December 1814 pōwhiri for the first settlers:* The first permanent Pākeha settlers are accompanied to the Bay of Islands and arrive at Ruatara's land in December 1814;

(iv) *The 25 December 1814 political hui:* At Rangihoua, north Bay of Islands, (attended by approximately 400 people) informs the people of the region about the new arrivals who have come under the ruruhau of three chiefs Ruatara, Hongi Hika and Korokoro;

(v) *The 1820 attempts by Hongi Hika to stimulate European immigration:* Under his control, though a visit to England;

(vi) *The 1825 letter written to 'the great chiefs of Europe':* By a young man also named Hongi – the first independently-written document by a Māori person yet discovered. This Hongi (also known as Eruera Pare Hongi, or Edward Parry) was to become te kai tuhituhi for He Whakaputanga.

1. A significant kidnapping in 1793

In her book *Between Worlds*[2], Anne Salmond traces the story of Tuki-tahua from Oruru in Tokerau (Doubtless Bay), and Huru-kokoti, from the Cavilli Islands area[3]. These two young men were the first Māori to spend any time in a European land-based community. They were kidnapped off the Cavalli Islands area by the commander of a supply ship *Daedalus* and taken to Norfolk Island.

The kidnapping was the result of European desire for Māori knowledge. Cook's officers had noted Māori skill in flax manufacture in the 1770s. In the next decade, abundant Pacific flax was seen by the British as a potential source of rope and canvas for the British maritime force, and cloth for the penal settlements in New South Wales and Norfolk. Philip Gidley

[2] Salmond's account is based on the journals of Philip Gidley King, available at the Mitchell Library in Sydney. Extracts are available in McNab, *Historical Records* and Collins *An account of.*

[3] Philip Gidley King recorded their names as Too-gee Te-ter-re-nu-e Warri-pe-do and Hoo-doo Co-co-ty To-wa-ma-how-ey. Huru is incorrectly called Ngahuruhuru by Milligan RRD 1964 *The Map drawn by the Chief Tuki-tahua in 1793,* Mangonui, p. 2, and subsequently by Belich *Making Peoples*, p. 144. John White says they were called "Tuki ('dash against') and Huru-kokoti ('striped dog skin mat') or Toha-mahue ('wave left behind')" (White, *The Ancient History of the Maori, His Mythology and Traditions. Nga-Puhi*, vol. X, p. 90). Twenty-five years later, in 1819, Marsden met Huru when he was an officer under Korokoro's command. Elder, *The letters and journals* p. 155.

King[4], the first Commandant, from 1788, of Norfolk Island, had declared that "until a native of New Zealand can be carried to Norfolk Island that the method of dressing that valuable commodity will not be known".[5] Teaching by Māori was required; so teachers were acquired by force.

While they were initially resistant and angry at their arrest, once they were assured they would be returned home, Tuki and Huru engaged in an extraordinarily intense period of knowledge exchange and mutual education with the European leaders on the island. During their short six months on Norfolk, the young chiefs imparted knowledge on a wide range of matters, from flax dressing and cultivation methods and the location of good flax supplies in New Zealand to advice on edible and poisonous plants on Norfolk[6]. Tuki and Huru became significant teachers of Europeans, notably of Philip Gidley King, his officers and family. They worked intensively with King and his officers on a written collection of Māori words. Given the obvious cultural and language differences (Tuki and Huru could apparently speak some English words), this recorded knowledge exchange indicates serious, skilled and successful engagement by Māori with Pākeha.

King behaved in a manner befitting his position by extending warm hospitality to the chiefly manuhiri, inviting them to live and eat in his residence[7]. King's manaaki meant that a strong friendship formed between the men. This became the basis for their mutual instruction. Analysis of the almost 300 words collected indicates the intense attention and patience given to the educational relationship. The resulting (remarkably accurate in modern terms) Māori-English vocabulary of nouns, verbs, adjectives and numbers[8] is written syllable-by-syllable, suggesting Tuki and Huru's slow and careful instruction.

One can almost hear their interaction and can picture Tuki and Huru – sometimes in Philip Gidley King's study, sometimes outdoors, during the day and at night – watching King and other officers indicate objects, or make imaginative gestures and perhaps simple drawings, speaking unintelligible English words. Tuki and Huru would have repeated the sounds of their own language while King and the scribe mimicked the unfamiliar syllables, then copied

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[4] In February 1788, King was appointed Superintendent and Commandant of Norfolk Island. King became lieutenant-governor in November 1791. He became governor of N.S.W. 1800 –1806. He died in England in September 1808. [A. G. L. Shaw, "King, Philip Gidley (1758 - 1808)", in *Australian Dictionary of Biography* Online Edition, Copyright 2006, updated continuously, published by Australian National University http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A020052b.htm]

[5] Lieut.-Governor King in McNab, *Historical Records*, vol. I, p. 120.

[6] p. 267 Frederick D. McCarthy (1934). Norfolk Island: Additional evidence of a former native occupation, *The Journal of the Polynesian Society, 43*(172), 267-270.

[7] P 205ff Salmond, *Between Worlds*.

[8] A copy of the vocabulary in Philip Gidley King's handwriting is in *The Private journal of Philip Gidley King (Vol. 2: Continuation Of A Daily Journal Of The Transactions & Cc On Norfolk Island In The Pacific Ocean For The Years 1787,1788,1789,1790, with additional material, 1790-1792)* pages 173-188. Safe 1/16 Mitchell Library. A digitised copy of this volume is available at http://image.sl.nsw.gov.au/cgi-in/ebindshow.pl?doc=safe1_16/a1318;toc A somewhat different transcription copy can be found printed in David Collins (1798) *An account of the English colony in New South Wales, with remarks on the dispositions, customs, manners, etc. of the native inhabitants of that country. To which are added, some particulars of New Zealand, compiled, with permission, from the mss. of Lieutenant-Governor King* Facsimile copy Adelaide : Libraries Board of Australia, 1971, p. 532-536. This latter book contains much of the material in the copy in King's hand above, but a different and more detailed version in some places.

them onto paper. While many of the recorded words name objects and numbers, some refer to complex feelings or states such as 'shame', 'loathing' and 'to tell the truth'. The fact that the men could communicate about these more abstract ideas must have taxed powers of inventive representation on both sides. Tuki and Huru's ability and desire to work with King on this bizarre, and hitherto largely unknown practice of *writing down meaning* indicates the extraordinary intellectual powers, the intense curiosity of these men, and their willingness to engage with the new. Each side is clearly working hard to understand the other, and is fully engaged in this mutual and intimate teaching task.

Sometimes, differences in meaning were too great. For instance, Māori vast and nuanced naming of the daily phases of the moon could not be squeezed into the limited language of the European, so when King looked for words for '*full moon*' and '*last quarter of the moon*', he writes '*Epo-po-ne-nu-ee*' and then '*Ede-deké*'. The latter word was most likely "rerekē" which simply means "different". Such difficulties in capturing words with complex Māori meaning are also illustrated by King's margin note next to the word pair *E'Whenua – Earth.* King writes, "*this seems to be confined to the land they live in as they had no idea of any other Country*". Indeed, whenua is an idea of the earth of home, the connection to that land; but 'earth', 'country' and 'whenua' are only obliquely related.

Wrote King:

> "*Myself and some of the other Officers ... could make our ideas known, and tolerable well understood by them. They, by intermixing what English words they knew, with what we know of their language, could make themselves sufficiently understood by us*".[9]

The necessity for sign-language, the laborious repetition of names for correct recording, the evocation of places far away with which King had no familiarity, and no reference book to consult (not even a copy of Cook's *Voyages*), all indicate Tuki's impressive instructional ability.

Tuki studied a coloured European map indicating the relative positions of Norfolk Island, Port Jackson in Australia, the Bay of Islands in New Zealand, and England[10] – a text King used in order to explain to the men where they were, and how the shipping worked, and therefore when they might get home, something that particularly concerned them.

During discussions, Tuki asked questions about England and explained many things about his own country, drawing in ink on paper an extraordinarily map of New Zealand to explain to King where he and Huru lived, and pointing out some key political, demographic and geographical features of the landscape of the north. He drew '*Ea-hei-no-maue*' (He Ahi No Maui – Maui's fire; the North Island), and '*Poo-nam-moo*' (Te Wai Pounamu: the South Island), with occasional corrections and additions made over time in the course of conversations with Governor King and King's secretary William Chapman. The map indicates clearly that Māori from the north had knowledge of the fact that New Zealand was

[9] King in Collins p. 525
[10] Extracts from the Journal of Lieut.-Governor King, of Norfolk Island, 1791-96 in McNab 2 p. 537

composed of two main islands. The drawing has an elegant beauty, and an instructional purpose as Tuki explained to King how the land in the north was divided, and where places were located. Chapman annotated the map with information supplied by Tuki, including the names of main chiefs, tribal boundaries, numbers of warriors in certain areas[11].

It is probable that Tuki and Huru invited King to bring his people to settle with them in New Zealand. King drafted a detailed plan to settle some 600 European convicts and about 50 officers in New Zealand, suggesting to his superiors that he relocate there himself from Norfolk. This plan did not eventuate[12]. We see echoes of this on-going attempt by northern Māori to get European settlement, later, in Hongi's visit to England in 1820.

The map and the vocabulary list testify to the *relationship* established between the chiefly men of New Zealand and Norfolk. Salmond maintains that King had "learned something about mana"[13] from Tuki and Huru during their stay on Norfolk Island. As an example, King realised that a rangatira's word is his bond. In behaving as a man of mana, expressing trustworthiness as well as the generosity befitting his position as the chief of Norfolk Island, Philip Gidley King (at some political cost to himself) returned the men to New Zealand at the end of 1793 with knowledge of how to tend the new taonga [treasure, gift] they were given including pigs, hens, peas, potatoes, wheat and maize. Tuki and Huru effectively introduced wheat and potatoes to Northland, creating "*a local agricultural revolution*"[14].

After they arrived back home in November 1793, Tuki and Huru's stories stirred the interest of other northern chiefs in the possibility of sustained strategic relationships with Pākeha. As Salmond says, a lasting consequence of their stay in Norfolk Island was "*a close relationship between Northland Māori and 'Kaawana Kiingi' (Governor King) and his family....*[15] John Savage (an English visitor to New Zealand in 1805, who wrote the first sustained account of New Zealand) put it like this:

> "*When Tuki and Huru returned, the natives flocked around them, and were anxious to learn how the Europeans had behaved to them, and on hearing of the uniform kindness they had received, it made such an impression in favor of Englishmen, as never to be since erased from their memory*". [16]

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[11] Tuki's map is now in the National Archives in England. The description in the National Archives catalogue is 'Chart of New Zealand drawn by Tooka-Titter-anue Wari-Ledo, a priest of that country who resided in Norfolk Island 6 months'. Originally enclosed with Lieutenant Governor King's despatch of 7 November 1793. Reference: MPG1/532. A transcribed copy of the map can be found in Collins, p. 522, but this is inferior to the original with aspects missing or poorly copied. Salmond *Between Worlds* p. 224 provides a photograph of the original. For a useful comparison of Tuki's map with a modern one, see Salmond p. 224 and 225

[12] Salmond *Between Worlds* p. 227

[13] Salmond *Between Worlds* p. 226

[14] Salmond, *Between Worlds* p. 232; Savage (p 196) also maintains that King introduced wheat to Northland

[15] Salmond *Between Worlds* p. 232-3 Salmond maintains that the content of the term 'kawana' was learned from King's relationship with Maori (p. 233)

[16] John Savage, *Some account of New Zealand: Particularly the Bay of Islands and surrounding country; with a description of the religion and government, language, arts, manufactures, manners, and customs of the natives, etc. etc.* London: Printed for J. Murray, 1807; p. 195-6

This pressing question *how the Europeans had behaved to them* (How was their friendship expressed? What possibilities for a further beneficial relationship did manaakitanga suggest?) regularly reappears in Māori interest in Europeans.

2. The first treaty: A letter to Ruatara in 1814

In June 1814, a ship arrived in the Bay of Islands carrying a letter for a young chief, Ruatara. The letter read, in part:

> *I have sent the Brig Active to the Bay of Islands to see what you are doing, and Mr Hall and Mr Kendall from England. Mr Kendall will teach the Boys and Girls to read and write. I told you when you was at Parramatta I would send you a gentleman to teach your Tamoneeke's [tamariki; boys] and Cocteedo'es [kotiro; girls] to read. You will be very good to Mr Hall and Mr Kendall. They will come to live in New Zealand if you will not hurt them; and teach you how to grow corn Wheat and make Houses and every thing ... You will be very good to all my men and not hurt them, and I will be good to you. ...*
>
> *I am, Your friend, Samuel Marsden*[17]

Ruatara's friend, Samuel Marsden, had recorded in his journals that Ruatara had been 'very urgent' with him about sending a teacher to New Zealand, and that he (Marsden) had promised to do so. His promise had come to fruition. Here, in this letter, was a simple proposal: 'You will be good to me and I will be good to you'. This simple treaty was to form the basis of their agreement for the arrival of Pākeha settlers requested by Ruatara.

Ruatara lived at Rangihoua on the Purerua peninsula in the north Bay of Islands. He was the nephew of Te Pahi a leading Hikutuu rangatira who, says Salmond, "may have been close to Tuki-tahua, for he had a son named Tuki, and certainly he knew a good deal about Governor King"[18]. Ruatara was also closely related to Hongi Hika of Ngāpuhi[19]. Like a few other young Māori men of the time and no doubt intrigued by Tuki's and Huru's adventures, Ruatara had found work on the European whaling and sealing expeditions slowly increasing

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[17] Abridged from the copy made by Kendall in his Journal (p. 312-3, Hocken PC 119). Kendall recorded that on the day following his arrival at Te Puna ["Tipponah"] on 10th June, he "put into his [Duaterra's] hands a Letter from Mr Marsden ... Duaterra gladly received Mr Marsden's Letter and was very much pleased with the arrival of his promised friends..." (p. 311, Hocken PC 119).

[18] Salmond *Between Worlds* p. 329

[19] Ruatara was a young rangatira (aged in his late 20s in 1814) from the Bay of Islands area, closely related to Te Pahi who had travelled to Australia, and to Hongi Hika who belonged to the Ngāpuhi ariki's immediate family (Cloher p 71). According to Sissons et al *Nga Pururi* Hongi Hika was Ruatara's matua or 'uncle' – he belonged to the same generation as Ruatara's mother. Hongi's grandfather was the elder brother of Ruatara's great grandfather [p. 16]. Ie Ruatara and Hongi were descendents of a common ancestor, Te Wairua [p. 57]. Tui was Korokoro's younger brother – both Ngare Raumati leaders from the eastern side of the Bay of Islands [Sissons et al 17]. In 1815, an uneasy truce prevailed between them and Ruatara and Hongi Hika's people [p. 17]. Rahu, Ruatara's head wife, was the daughter of the leading elder and tohunga of Rangihoua, Rakau. [p. 18]. Kendall's Journal p.22 *Journal of a Voyage from Port Jackson to New Zealand in the year 1814* MSS4 Archives A-27 UoA states that Ruatara in 1814 has 'four hundred fighting men under his command'. Sissons et al in *Nga Pururi o Taiamai* indicate that Te Pahi may have also been from Ngati Rua, and connected to Nga Puhi (p. 38)

around the New Zealand coast. As a result of his extensive travels across the Pacific and the Tasman Sea, Ruatara had seen possibilities offered by the modern European world, and was determined to see these people's ariki nui who lived in England. He worked his way to London in 1809, but was prevented from going ashore.

The ship, the *Ann*, that returned Ruatara to Port Jackson co-incidentally carried a churchman and magistrate from Sydney named Samuel Marsden. Marsden had met Te Pahi, Ruatara's uncle, a few years previously in Sydney and had no doubt discussed with him a settlement in New Zealand. So Marsden was in London gaining support from a Missionary Society for his plans, and collecting prospective pious settlers.

Ruatara was very ill, and Marsden's little band of missionaries looked after him on board the *Ann*, believing he had been sent to them by Divine Providence. Again, just like Tuki and Huru before him, Ruatara, whose English was reasonable, talked with Marsden and his officers about Māori society and culture, and taught them some Māori language. Ruatara also decided to take up some European inventions: The idea of the week, a regular day of rest, and the flying of a flag to signal a day of rest. Once back at Port Jackson in February 1810, Ruatara stayed with Marsden in Parramatta for almost two years[20], actively learning agricultural methods, and taking an interest in town planning, modern building methods, and animal husbandry. It was while he was in Parramatta, that Ruatara requested that Marsden send a teacher to New Zealand.

When Ruatara had returned home to the Bay of Islands in 1812, he planted wheat. Later, when Marsden visited in 1814, he was to report:

> *[Ruatara] said with joy and triumph in his eyes, "I have now introduced the cultivation of wheat in New Zealand. It will become a great country; for, in two years more, I shall be able to export wheat to Port Jackson, in exchange for hoes, axes, spades, and tea and sugar." Under this impression he made arrangements with his people for a very extensive cultivation of the land, and formed a plan for building a new town, with regular streets, after the European mode, to be erected on a beautiful situation, which commanded a view of the harbour's mouth and the adjacent country round.* [21]

It appears that the conversation between Marsden and Ruatara was conducted in a mixture of Māori and English. According to Marsden:

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[20] His return home was delayed by the reduction in shipping to New Zealand following the infamous attack in late 1809 on an English ship the *Boyd* in the Whangaroa Harbour, just north of the Bay of Islands. While Marsden was away in England, plans had been advanced for a merchant settlement in New Zealand to be set up as a trading post, sanctioned by the government in Australia, in order to procure hemp and other goods such as spars. It is not clear whether this settlement was invited by any Māori, but it was cancelled when the news came that the *Boyd*, travelling from Port Jackson to get timber from New Zealand to take on to India, had been attacked in New Zealand. McNab, *Historical Records*, vol. 1, p. 313.

[21] Marsden's Account of His First Visit to New Zealand in December 1814 in McNab p. 346. Also reproduced in Elder p. 70.

> *"In order that I may with more ease obtain a knowledge of the New Zealand Language, I commit to paper every word that I clearly understand. For this purpose, I converse with [Ruatara] every day, and speak in the New Zealand Language on all occasions, when I can. Duaterra, having learned the English alphabet, and the various sounds of the letters, makes great progress in the pronunciation of the English Tongue. We are now able to converse on most subjects so as to understand each other."* [22] *[Note: Marsden wrote Ruatara as Duaterra]*

Accompanying the 1814 letter to Ruatara was a young man from Ngare Raumati, Tuai, who was the younger brother of the great chief Korokoro. Tuai had been living at Parramatta with Marsden and spoke good English. In fact, in Parramatta, Tuai was busy instructing a European teacher, Thomas Kendall, in the Māori language, in preparation for his coming to live in the Bay of Islands. By this stage about 30 New Zealanders had visited Port Jackson and a number of these had stayed at Marsden's farm at Parramatta.

We cannot see Ruatara as merely a *recipient* of Marsden's letter. He was never simply a chance beneficiary of Marsden's plan to bring a mission to New Zealand. According to Marsden's own reports, Ruatara had *asked* for an English teacher:

> *"Before Duaterra left Parramatta [in September, 1812] he was very urgent with me to send him a man to teach his boys and girls to read and write. I told him then I would send for Mr. Kendall, and he should come."*[23]

In other words, when Ruatara had encountered the teaching of reading and writing during his time in Australia, he had discussed with Marsden his desire for a form of western schooling in his own land, and had requested a teacher. The teacher's (Kendall's) arrival signalled to Ruatara that his educational plans were coming to fruition. Marsden had become a key player in Ruatara's desire for Pākeha settlement, and his sense of educational, social, strategic and economic possibilities that meant for his hapū.

The letter to Ruatara had been delivered by Tuai, and by Thomas Kendall and William Hall. Hongi Hika, Ruatara's uncle, was keen to go to Australia and return with the settlers, and he insisted on Ruatara coming – perhaps as his translator. Korokoro, a rival chief from the other side of the Bay, also saw it as important that he make the trip in the interests of a relationship with potential settlers. These three chiefs sailed on the *Active* back to Port Jackson in August 1814, and then returned on the *Active* as it brought the first Pākeha settlers to live in New Zealand.

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[22] Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, vol. 3, 1810, Appendix III Some Account of New Zealand, obtained by the Rev. S. Marsden, from Duaterra, a young Chief of that Island ; and communicated to a Friend in London, p. 114.

[23] Marsden to CMS, Parramatta, March 15, 1814, the day after the departure of the *Active* for New Zealand. (McNab p. 320)

3. The 25 December 1814 pōwhiri for our settlers

A good arrival begins with a ritual of encounter. A pōwhiri is such a ritual, a meeting between people, of explosive force, choreographed in many ways, depending on the reason for the arrival, the mana and ancestry of the visitors, and whose interests are being enacted. The official arrival in the Bay of Islands on 24 December 1814 of the invited settlers was a spectacular case in point. This pōwhiri was one of the most significant moments in New Zealand's history: The formal greeting to the first European settlers. It is not recorded in any history book.

On Thursday 22 December, Ruatara guided the *Active* into an anchorage adjacent to Rangihoua. Two cows, one bull and three horses were unloaded. Marsden rode one horse along the beach, much to the astonishment and admiration of the crowd. Ruatara, apparently, was gratified at this feat (and may even have arranged it) because when he had previously told people about horses no-one had believed him. Some of the women found the 'Pākeha' extremely comical: '*all our movements excited the loudest bursts of laughter*'.[24] Nicholas, Marsden's tonotono, was moved to write:

> "*Happy people! They enjoyed the passing hour undisturbed by those vexatious cares, which in civilised society too often intrude themselves ... they gave themselves up to all the unreserved freedom of harmless mirth; pleased with themselves, and delighted with their visitors*"[25].

After these initial interactions, on Saturday 24 December a very interesting and important event took place. In the early morning, wrote Nicholas, a fleet of canoes carrying about two hundred men swiftly approached the ship *Active* where the settler families were. The scene was '*marked with a wild grandeur of the noblest description*' and with a '*force of distinctive sublimity*'[26]. Nicholas describes the leaders in the canoes standing up, with their cloaks draped dramatically over their shoulders, and their hair, decorated with white gannet feathers, tied in a bunch on the crown of their heads. To Nicholas, the sounds and gestures of the fierce and tattooed warriors were terrifying and wild, as if they were intent on attacking the ship. But Nicholas and Marsden recognised Korokoro[27] and Tui standing in their canoes and were reassured somewhat. Korokoro and some of his chiefs came on board the *Active*, with gifts for Marsden. Korokoro then took Marsden and Nicholas onto a canoe and brought them towards the shore, where Ruatara and about two hundred of his warriors were assembled. There was then, according to Nicholas, a spectacular '*entertainment*', a vigorous '*sham fight*'. Nicholas recalled the amazing and electrifying event:

> *Immediately before we landed, the fleet of canoes being ranged abreast of each other, the chiefs recommenced their war song, and were joined by the warriors, who stood up brandishing their paddles, and making furious gesticulations...The longer they*

[24] Nicholas *Narrative I* p. 181
[25] Nicholas *Narrative I* p. 182
[26] Nicholas *Narrative I* p. 193
[27] Korokoro had by now declared his name to be Governor Macquarie (Kawana Makoare). The Bay of Islands and other areas still have families whose name includes Makoare and Kawana.

sung, the more violent grew their emotions, while one of Duaterra's warriors, running up and down along the beach with a long club made of whalebone in his hand, shook it at our party in token of defiance, and appeared daring them to leave their canoes. This menacing hero was suffered for some time to pass unnoticed, the fury of our warriors not being yet worked up to the proper pitch: however, it was not very long before this crisis arrived; the war song had now set every nerve in motion, and leaping on shore, impatient for the conflict, they pursued the insulting challenger, who took to his heels the moment they had landed. He retreated, however, only to join the great body of his brother warriors, who were posted in a valley, screened from our view by the skirts of the hill, and lodged as it were in ambuscade.

The general attack was now to commence, and our warriors rushed on with such impetuosity towards the valley, that we [Marsden and Nicholas] found it impossible to keep up with them. But here, in place of being the assailants, their impatient fury was anticipated, for Duaterra sallied forth with his whole band of intrepid followers, and made apparently a violent charge into the midst of them. The wildest vociferations of savage clamour were now heard from both sides, and Duaterra's party being bravely repulsed for the moment, were pursued by their adversaries, who, with their lances and spears, seemed to threaten their total destruction. The advantage, however, they were not long able to maintain; while the others, rallying with vigorous intrepidity, wheeled around on their pursuers, and obliged them, in turn, to look for safety in retreat. The bloodless contest appeared for a long time doubtful, victory inclining at one period to Duaterra, and at another to his adversary; when, after various manoeuvres of New Zealand generalship, and much terrible fighting, though never dangerous, both sides resolved to put an end to their hostilities, in the same good humour with which they had commenced; and the opposite combatants, joining together in the dance, and war song, brought their harmless strife to a friendly conclusion[28].

We should be grateful to Nicholas for his detailed and vivid account of this event; Marsden too recalls the event in his journal. Modern historians, like the eye witnesses, refer to this 'sham fight', this bit of entertainment for the visitors, in passing.[29] We do not think it should be do easily dismissed.

The historians' faith in Nicholas' and Marsden's innocent witnessing allows modern readers

[28] Nicholas *Narrative I*p. 195-198.

[29] As a result of its apparent triviality, the 'sham fight' barely appears in history books. In *A Legacy of Guilt* Judith Binney deals swiftly with Marsden's arrival: "The ship finally reached Te Puna on 22 December, 1814. The settlers waited on the *Active* until the people of Rangihoua ... had completed a communal hut for them all. On 10 January they moved to the shore.", Binney p. 46, 2005. Similarly, the 'sham fight' marking the arrival of Marsden at Rangihoua is not mentioned in Michael King's popular *A Penguin History of New Zealand* nor by James Belich in *Making Peoples: A History of New Zealanders*. In *Between Worlds*, Anne Salmond reproduces Nicholas' and Marsden's accounts in paraphrase [Salmond p. 464]. In his introduction to JB Marsden's 1913 biography of Samuel Marsden, the Archdeacon Philip Walsh talks only of the "shingly beach crowded with excited natives" when Marsden arrived in 1814, 'An Appreciation' p. vii – x, by Archdeacon Philip Walsh in *The Life and Times of Samuel Marsden* by JB Marsden Whitcombe and Tombs Ltd, New Zealand, 1913, p. ix. JB Marsden leaves out the event altogether.

to forget, or quickly to read past, an event which, if lingered over, might be understood as a highly significant moment in the arrival of Pākeha to New Zealand. The settlers experienced an arresting but trivial bit of amusement; Māori on the beach and in the canoes experienced something quite different. It is most unlikely that the chiefs decided that Marsden and the other Pākeha arrivals should merely 'be treated to a bit of mock entertainment' by hundreds of local warriors.

The event would have been carefully organised by Ruatara, Hongi and Korokoro. Ruatara's powerful head wife, Rahu – wearing the red cotton dress brought for her by Marsden from Australia – from a more chiefly family than Ruatara, no doubt played a role in the organisation[30]. Each of these leaders had much to gain from a successful formal entry of the Pākeha settlers amongst their peoples. The arrival of the Pākeha represented a dramatic change in the material opportunities for the people particularly of Rangihoua and their allies. In addition, Pākeha brought with them new spiritual dangers, and these had to be addressed.

To ensure an appropriate social response to the manuhiri, as well as to acknowledge the spirit forces they bring, a ritual of encounter must occur, where the arrivals and the tangata whenua come to remove their strangeness to each other, to understand the significance of the arrival and the new alliances it signifies, and to dispel the material and metaphysical dangers each represents to the other. The power and impact of the pōwhiri lies in its expressive physicality and related spiritual force. Its pedagogical work takes effect through the bodies and emotions of the participants, instilling a deep change in the ways they act thereafter towards the arrivals. And this pōwhiri – or, a waka taki[31], that is, manuhiri coming from sea on to land – marking the moment of 'official' Pākeha arrival, was charged with the tension of encounter. There was no shortage of emotion, as Marsden's and Nicholas's accounts show. Even though Nicholas and Marsden did not understand the significance of the event, the ihi and wehi (awesome force) were such that, like the Māori participants, they too were electrified, with 'every nerve set in motion'. The wehi and ihi of the momentous arrival required and generated the energy in the action of the warriors toward and away from one another; its unified finale was a grand achievement for Ruatara.

The Ngāpuhi chiefs Ruatara, Rahu, and Hongi, as well as Korokoro and Tuai of Ngāre Raumati, 'needed' the successful event on the beach, for many reasons. A large pōwhiri would enable the chiefs to assert their power and prestige. The chiefs' association with this amazing turn of events, and their impressive ability to organise an alliance with the powerful newcomers, would have contributed significantly to their chiefly authority at that moment. Ruatara stood to gain much; in his expert ability to manage the Pākeha, he would be a 'tohunga Pākeha'[32]. This new social role was to grow to become one which defined Māori leaders of the North.

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[30] Sissons et al *Nga Pururi* record Tahu, daughter of the respected Ngāpuhi elder Raakau, as Ruatara's head wife (p. 18)

[31] Professor Patu Hohepa has identified the event described as happening on 24 December as being a particular sort of *pōwhiri*, a *waka taki* – an approach from the sea rather than across land, involving a land challenge to arriving canoes . Personal communication, 2009.

[32] Belich, *Making Peoples*, p. 144

The grand choreography of the event ensured that the arrival of Marsden was to be understood by local iwi as particularly auspicious. The pōwhiri at Rangihoua was spectacular: it took up a large amount of space – the whole beach and foreshore, as well as the valley leading to the body of the pā. Significantly, during the wero the tangata whenua came charging into the midst of the manuhiri (represented here by Korokoro's men[33]) – a massive display of confidence, defiance, and challenge towards the arriving Europeans. An intensely emotional mingling of both sides occurred early in the event.

For Ruatara, the pōwhiri gave confirmation to his modernisation plan and the people's place in it; for the people, the pōwhiri defined the reality of the situation. The Pākeha were no longer manuhiri in the sense that they were no longer an immediate spiritual or material threat. As far as the Rangihoua people were concerned, the arrivals now had local authority and local responsibilities. When Marsden and Nicholas climbed into Korokoro's canoe, and when they came on shore amongst the warriors, they were embraced into the body of the shore iwi. Although they were powerless amongst the warriors, the whole event, in which they were unwitting but not unwilling players, ensured their mana.

In the European written accounts, *entertainment* stands in the place of the *pōwhiri.* The pōwhiri is rendered silent, and its silence echoes down to the present through its absence in our history books. Yet the vigorous pōwhiri on the beach at Rangihoua on 24 December 1814, with its ambivalences, intensities and final acceptance, might be said to be the symbolic 'origin moment' of the political and educational relationship between Māori and Pākeha in New Zealand. From a Māori perspective, a commitment to a relationship was made at that event; a relationship that was to be characterised by wehi and ihi and manaakitanga and which would be productive for both its partners. In more dramatic terms, because of the relationship between Ruatara and Marsden, and the successful pōwhiri on the beach that engaged the people, Māori in the north-eastern Bay of Islands now became locked into a highly significant shared project that would change their lives and the history of their country for ever.

4. The 25 December 1814 political hui at Rangihoua, north Bay of Islands

On the day following the pōwhiri at Rangihoua, there was a large gathering of the people. This hui was organized by three chiefs: Ruatara, Hongi and Korokoro. Ruatara was to speak, so too was the leader of the strange new arrivals. For the people, this may have been the Pākeha response to the pōwhiri of the day before.

Hundreds had already gathered at Rangihoua for the pōwhiri the day before, and the next day looked like it was going to be even more interesting. Ruatara flew an English flag from his flagpole, and he and his men had set up an odd stage on the land above the beach in

[33] Korokoro had the task of bringing the chief Marsden into the fray, because Marsden could not respond on his own behalf. Of course, it would have been unusual for an arriving leader to be so unskilled, and it was probably the first time complete strangers (with no cultural knowledge and little knowledge of the language) was engaged as a participant in a pōwhiri. Korokoro, in approaching Ruatara's 'enemy' territory, was manuhiri along with Marsden, and therefore the most appropriate one to speak for Marsden.

preparation for another event. The chiefs would not have needed to encourage attendance – the Pākeha arrival was the biggest spectacle around. Almost everyone would have wanted to catch sight of the guns, the military clothes and swords worn by the chiefs, Rahu's red dress, the extraordinary animals, the European women and children (there were four women and five children – these had not been seen before) and all the other fascinating objects and strange activities surrounding the settlers. The pōwhiri would have reduced the tapu or spiritual dangers from the strangers, so the people would have felt reasonably relaxed. The first real viewing of Marsden, his team, and their astonishing animals, was possible on this day.

No doubt, there had been long conversations into the previous nights about the new arrivals and their place in the village, their loyalties, the opportunities they represented and the dangers they might pose. It would be good to hear them speak for themselves; but they could not speak te reo Māori, something they would have to be taught.

The chiefs and Marsden had together choreographed this day's performance[34]. It was to be a church service, something the men had observed in Port Jackson. Possible reasons for the engagement of the rangatira in the European ritual are many. Perhaps Marsden had asked if he could hold a religious service on land on this Sunday; perhaps Ruatara was keen to please Marsden in order to ensure that his Pākeha did not go elsewhere – he would have been only too aware of the anxiety and envy sparked by the European's alliance with him and Hongi. Perhaps Ruatara wanted the religious ritual to go ahead as a form of people's introduction to European ways (Ruatara was not a Christian, so he did not have simple religious motives). Perhaps the chiefs saw it as a good opportunity for them to display their familiarity with the Europeans, and thereby gain their people's confidence in this venture. Korokoro, a traditional enemy of Hongi and Ruatara, must also have hoped for a possible spinoff from his co-operation when the next lot of Europeans arrived. Whatever the men's motivation, the event would offer a political platform for them all – and particularly for Ruatara.

According to Marsden, Ruatara, who was familiar with the paraphernalia needed for European religious service, made preparations on the Saturday. He:

> "*enclosed about half an acre of land with a fence, erected a pulpit and reading desk in the centre, and covered the whole with black native cloth or some duck which he had brought with him from Port Jackson. He also procured some bottoms of old canoes and fixed them up as seats on each side of the pulpit for the Europeans to sit upon*". [35]

Early on the morning of December 25, 1814, almost all of the European sailors and settlers on the *Active* came ashore – three sailors, and eighteen settlers[36] including the servants of the

[34] Cloher 2003 p. 86 "... Their organisation was faultless. Hongi took a relatively low profile and let Ruatara be Master of Ceremonies because they were on Ruatara's territory and under his protection." ...
[35] Elder *Letters and Journals* p. 93
[36] These were: Dinah Hall, wife of William Hall, and their 3 year old son William; Jane Kendall, wife of Thomas Kendall, and their three sons, Thomas, Basil and Joseph; Hannah King, wife of John King (and daughter of Thomas Hansen the ship's master) and their 15 month old son Philip; Hannah Hansen (wife of Thomas Hansen, master). Their son, Thomas Hansen junior, aged 28, was also aboard. The captain and one

three missionary families. As they pulled up on the shore, Korokoro marched his men "*rank and file*" into the enclosure – he had seen this mode of bringing the convicts to church in Parramatta – where Ruatara's people, the men, women and children from Rangihoua, were already assembled. About four hundred were present in all. The chiefs were dressed in their regimental uniforms (gifts from Governor Macquarie), with swords and switches by their sides and, Nicholas noticed, "*keeping their people in good order, awaited with becoming silence, the commencement of the service*".[37]

Marsden, dressed in his surplice, ascended Ruatara's pulpit and began by singing "*in a solemn and impressive manner*"[38] Psalm 100: O be joyful in the Lord, all ye lands. He then read the Morning Service, most likely from the Church of England 1662 edition of the *Book of Common Prayer*, "*during which the natives stood up and sat down at the signal given by the motion of Korokoro's switch which was regulated by the movements of the Europeans*"[39] . If anyone – at least amongst Korokoro's men – dared speak during these proceedings, Korokoro tapped them on the head with his cane, and they became silent. Finally, Marsden preached from St Luke: 'Behold I bring you glad tidings of great joy'.

Once the service was over, recorded Nicholas:

> "*the natives, to the number of three or four hundred, surrounding Mr Marsden and myself, commenced their war dance, yelling and shouting in their usual style, which they did, I suppose, from the idea that this furious demonstration of their joy would be the most grateful return they could make us for the solemn spectacle they had witnessed*" [40].

Satisfied with the day's events, Marsden was able to write to the Church Missionary Society: "*In the above manner, the Gospel has been introduced into New Zealand*". [41]

And this is how the event is remembered today: as the first sermon preached in New Zealand. We maintain **there was no sermon**. The curious people listened politely. Marsden spoke in a foreign language; no-one could understand a word. Three eye-witnesses give different accounts of the situation – particularly the crucial role of Ruatara, the supposed translator, suffice it here to quote Marsden:

> "*The natives told Duaterra they could not understand what I meant. He replied that they were not to mind that now for they would understand by and by, and that he*

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sailor stayed on board during the sermon. Hannah Hansen and Thomas Hansen junior stayed on in Rangihoua with the missionary families for 1815, during which time Hannah King gave birth (on February 8, 1815) to Thomas Holloway King at Oihi – the first European born in New Zealand. See *The First Family: Captain Thomas and Hannah Hansen and their children* Ron Martin 1989 Hansen Celebration Committee, Auckland.

[37] Nicholas *Narrative I* p. 204
[38] Nicholas *Narrative I* p. 204
[39] Elder *Letters and Journals* p. 93
[40] Nicholas *Narrative I* p. 206
[41] Elder *Letters and Journals* p. 94

> *would explain my meaning as far as he could. When I had done preaching he informed them what I had been talking about.* [42]

We cannot know *what* Ruatara actually said to the people gathered there. Marsden could understand neither the people's questions nor Ruatara's words. But there is no doubt that Marsden's words became the words he, Ruatara, the supposed translator, wanted his people to hear[43]. Although the people could not hear Marsden's words, they did hear Ruatara's. The effective 'preacher' that day was *not* Marsden after all; it was Ruatara.

Ruatara would know that the people would be interested in the new arrivals' atua, to whom the great Pākeha tohunga spoke[44]. He would also judge that this was not the moment to explain such complex matters in detail. Rather than attempting to translate into Māori the absurd idea that these new people could communicate with the one and only god, it is likely that Ruatara spoke in general terms about the new arrivals, their goods, their god, the importance of supporting and respecting them and ensuring they were not frightened away into the arms of rivals. He would probably have paid tribute to their hospitality towards him and other Māori at Parramatta.

Most of all, Ruatara needed to display his Pākeha as having a good *āhua* (demeanour, attitude), and to persuade his people that they should have faith in the situation brought about by him and confronting them all. The extraordinary sound of Marsden's voice heralded for Ngāpuhi and Ngāti Raumati something entirely new and dangerous – and the people relied utterly on Ruatara and the other chiefs to guide them in their relationship with whatever Marsden meant (literally and metaphorically).

Ruatara needed to be impressive and convincing on this occasion, just as he had been the previous day. He was not a particularly powerful chief in his own right. His head wife Rahu was the one with the genealogical links to power – she was the daughter of the leading elder at Rangihoua, Raakau[45]. And Ruatara had been away from his family for many years, travelling and staying in Parramatta. His power and authority was located in his having 'captured' his Pākeha. The sermon, with all the settlers present, was Ruatara's opportunity

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[42] Elder *Letters and Journals* p. 93. Nicholas reported: "When the clergyman had finished the morning service, he addressed himself to his rude congregation, through the medium of Duaterra, explaining to them the great importance of what they had heard... Duaterra was willing enough to act as interpreter in the communication of these "glad tidings"; but to several importunate questions from his countrymen, regarding the minute particulars of the subject, he made no further reply, than that they would be fully acquainted with them at a future time". Nicholas p. 205. John King recorded: "After the sermon Mr Marsden asked him [Ruatara] to explain it to the natives that were present, but his answer was- 'They know nothing about it now, by and by they will.' *Marsden's Lieutenants* p. 98 John King Feb 15, 1815

[43] Belich p. 143 *Making Peoples says:* "" [Ruatara] translated Marsden's sermons as he chose, shortening them considerably for one thing". Yarwood *MoP* p. 55: "A great throng of uncomprehending Maoris were there to hear him preach the first New Zealand sermon, from Luke 2:10, 'Behold I bring you glad tidings of great joy', leaving Ruatara to explain the drift of what he said."

[44] Pat Hohepa says of the meeting between Marsden and Ruatara: "To one not knowing missionaries or Christianity, Ruatara would have likened Marsden to a powerful tohunga – Māori ritual experts who communed with the gods, obtained support from them in every sphere of activity, and were also privy to the chiefs on tactics and economics. They had mana in the Ngāpuhi world. Marsden had mana in England, and also in the world of Sydney, where Marsden lived and had his own slaves and tribe." Hohepa 'My Musket ...' p. 198

[45] Sissons et al *Nga Pururi* p. 18

for publicly demonstrating his 'control' of the Europeans, as well as for reinforcing through his kōrero the possibility of positive social and economic change for his region. Ruatara looked forward to building an economic base, and fostering trade in agricultural, horticultural and industrial goods, including acquiring guns – pursuits for which Marsden and the settlers were his conduit.

So it is possible to argue that Ruatara was *not* merely Marsden's interpreter, quite the contrary. Marsden, on this day, had become the *assistant* in Ruatara's – and his more powerful and ambitious uncle Hongi's – plans. All this is not to suggest that Marsden was *merely* a bit-player in Ruatara's independent scheme. Marsden appears to have had a big influence on Ruatara's thinking about the possibilities for his people, and Marsden had his own ambitious plans for expansion of his control. The occasion of the Pākeha tohunga's public performance brought the crowd together, but it was Ruatara who made the important speech, and to whom the people responded with a rousing haka.

So just as there was *no sham fight*, there was *no sermon.* And, there were *no missionaries.* Ruatara had invited settlers, friends, teachers. He had not invited men and women to come in order to convert the people to a new set of religious ideas. On his deathbed – unfortunately only two months after the arrival of his settlers – he remained dedicated to his own atua. The first conversion to Christianity was not to come for another ten years.

5. The 1820 attempts by Hongi Hika to stimulate European immigration

The story of Hongi Hika's voyage to England in 1820 has been described by a number of historians including Judith Binney and Dorothy Cloher. Because Hongi travelled with Thomas Kendall and met various significant people in England, his visit (and that of his companion from Rangihoua, Waikato) was well documented.

Most analysis emphasises Hongi's amassing of guns and ammunition which he used on his return to New Zealand in devastating raids to the south. We focus instead on his role in the making of the 1820 *Grammar and Vocabulary of the New Zealand Language* which had been largely compiled by Kendall with the assistance of Tuai and was being systematized by Professor Samuel Lee at Cambridge University in consultation with Hongi and Waikato (Hongi understood some English, but spoke little; Waikato was a more confident English speaker, and Kendall spoke fluent Māori). We also pay particular attention to Hongi's apparent intention to encourage English settlement in New Zealand.

Intriguing glimpses of the emerging relationship between the New Zealanders and their Pākeha can be found in the *Grammar.* In particular, Dialogue IX, which refers directly to Waikato and could have been written at Cambridge during Hongi and Waikato's visit. The question at the end of the dialogue reads: 'Ka máodi tia te pákeha?' which has been translated by Kendall as 'Are the Europeans naturalized?'

Dialogue IX[48] [Modern spellings and translations by Kuni Jenkins are in shading, where different]

T. Ko wai kóia te pá o Waikáto?	What is the name of Waikáto's village?
P. Ko Rangi Houa ra óki.	Rangi Houa.
T. E nóhó ána óti te pákeha ki reira?	Do Europeans dwell there?
P. E nóhó ána ra óki ki Hóyi (Oihi).	They dwell at Hóyi (Oihi).
T. E íwi áta wai óti te tángata máodi ki te pákeha? [He íwi átawhai óti te tángata Máori ki te Pákeha?]	Do the people of the land deal peaceably with the Europeans? [Are the Māori people gracious hosts to the Europeans?]
P. E íwi áta wai óki; e pai ána; ka óre ra óki e didinga, ka óre e tutu, ka óre e mea. [He íwi átawhai hóki; e pai ána; kahóre ra hóki he riringa, kahóre he tutu, kahóre he mea.]	The people behave peaceably; they are pleased; there is no quarrelling, teasing, or any thing.
T. Ka máodi tia te pákeha? [Kua whakamáoritia te Pákeha?]	Are the Europeans naturalized? [Have the Pākeha been given rights by Māori? Or: Have the Pākeha become integrated into local society?]
P. K'wai óki 'au ka kíte'? [Ko wai hóki ahau ka kíte?]	How can I tell you? [Who am I to predict that?]

It seems likely that the last part of this Dialogue would have been created with Tuai rather than Hongi. As a great chief, Hongi would probably have felt able to make a more confident reply to a question about the state of Pākeha integration into everyday New Zealand society (which is a modern reading of the phrase "whakamáoritia te Pákeha"). Given the question is in the *Grammar* it can be assumed that it is an understandable and even common concern amongst Māori at the time. And given Kendall included the question as part of the *Grammar's* Dialogue, what might he be saying, and to whom? Is he trying to tell the CMS that Māori have a political system and that Europeans can negotiate with that system rather than trying to supplant it?

'Ka máodi tia te pákeha?' or in the modern rendition 'Kua whakamáoritia te Pákeha?' remains an insistent question. In that it speaks of the *assimilation of Pākeha into Māori society*, the very antithesis of both the later nineteenth and early twentieth century European policy of assimilation of Māori into European society and of the more modern idea of parallel development, it cuts to the heart of the ongoing relationship.

This idea of Pākeha coming in to Māori society was clearly a live one for Māori; it would have been debated intensely amongst the leaders of Māori in the Bay of Islands (Pat Hohepa states that *"Kaahore i tupu te paa harakeke"* (the flax plantation never grew) is the charitable expression used by Ngāpuhi to describe Pākeha, *"for they left no offspring to tell*

[48] p.. 102 *Grammar*

their story or to mark that they had been here."[49]). At his first meeting with the CMS in London, Hongi stated that he wanted "at least one hundred" skilled English migrants. He sought miners, blacksmiths, carpenters, farmers and preachers, who would come to New Zealand under his guardianship. The Missionary Register reported Hongi's desires thus:

> "*The views and wishes with which Shunghee and Whykato* [Hongi and Waikato] *have visited England will best be conveyed by themselves, as Mr Kendall wrote them down from their mouths, without any prompting on his part:- 'They wish to see King George, the multitude of his people, what they are doing, the goodness of the land. Their desire is to stay in England one month, and then to return. They wish for at least one hundred people to go with them. They are in want of a party to dig the ground in search of iron, an additional number of blacksmiths, an additional number of carpenters, and an additional number of preachers, who will try to speak in the New Zealand tongue in order that they may understand them. They wish also twenty soldiers to protect their own countrymen, the settlers; and three officers to keep the soldiers in order. The settlers are to take cattle with them. There is plenty of spare land at New Zealand, which will be readily granted to the settlers'. These are the words of Shunghee and Whykato* [50].

There is nothing equivocal in this plan. It suggests that Hongi Hika was quite clear about what he wanted to achieve from his mission to England. We agree with Manuka Henare that Hongi was a rangatira, going to England for rangatira purposes. He might be seen as similar to today's politicians in the New Zealand government who seek talented and wealthy migrants from overseas. By inviting skilled Pākeha to come with him to New Zealand, Hongi was bent on access for his iwi to new relationships that would bring new knowledge and technologies. He thought that migrants could settle in his territories far from the Bay of Islands, even telling the Wesleyan leaders in London about land he had available on the east coast to the south, at Mercury Bay[51].

Hongi's plans for English settlement relied on high-level diplomacy. A 'rangatira purpose' for the visit to England was engagement kanohi ki te kanohi with the ariki nui of the European settlers – something he did manage to arrange. This meeting would ensure Hongi's mana within a European context. By meeting King George IV as an equal – that is, as great leaders in their respective societies – Hongi would recognise the King's great mana and, in turn, have his own upheld. This mutual recognition would set the conditions for Hongi as leader of a new, European-inclusive, social order in New Zealand. Having been to New

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[49] Hohepa (1999 p. 182) 'My Musket ...' p 180-201.

[50] August 1820 *Missionary Register* p. 327. Henare quotes the *Cambridge Chronicle* 2nd December 1820, p.4 (Henare p. 168) where this list also appears.

[51] S. Leigh to Wesleyan Secretary, 22 October, 1821 Bonwick Transcripts Box 52, Mitchell Library, p. 953. It must be acknowledged that others would be sceptical about our argument that immigration was Hongi's plan; Judith Binney for instance, suggests that the plans were "Kendall's ideas for the colonisation of New Zealand". Binney p. 79. Cloher, referring to Hongi's list, writes, "Paradoxically, for all their apparent comprehensiveness the words do not reveal Hongi's principal intent – to procure enough guns and gunpowder to dominate his opponents in war. Hints of this are implicit in his preoccupation with miners, iron deposits and blacksmiths, shorthand perhaps for a workshop to make and maintain weapons. Not having the currency to buy arms outright, the central objective of his journey was to get them somehow." (*Hongi Hika: Warrior chief*, p. 121).

South Wales and witnessed a political hierarchy very different from the rangatira system of many negotiating chiefs, Hongi had seen the possibilities for one powerful man[52].

King George IV greeted Hongi respectfully, gave him proper attention by displaying his military supremacy and, importantly, made valuable gifts to Hongi and Waikato. All of these acts upheld Hongi's great mana. The gifts included two guns and a suit of armour for Hongi, and a helmet and gun for Waikato – gifts that recognized the chiefs as fighting men. Hongi was subsequently to wear the amour in battle; it was his korowai, worn with the mana of its former owner. It is likely Hongi himself provided the King with a korowai, and act that provided mana and recognition to the king.

The King's presents were much more significant than they might appear. The gifts of guns and amour directly challenged the word and authority of the missionary settlers in Hongi's territory in Kerikeri and Rangihoua. Marsden and those missionaries who resisted the gun trade in the Bay of Islands often justified their refusal by saying they were following their great leader's edict[53]. This was now revealed as a lie. Hongi could see that the European ariki nui revelled in war triumph, just as Hongi did. The king and his soldiers went to church and *also* went to war. Yet Marsden and the missionaries in the Bay of Islands had portrayed these practices as mutually exclusive, and they had tried to stop Hongi having the very technology that the English used to gain their significant political power.

To add insult to injury, during their visit to King George, Hongi and Waikato discovered another shocking fact: The ariki nui did not know, or had forgotten, who Samuel Marsden was[54]. The outrageous truth was that Hongi had been dealing in New Zealand and Australia with men who were of such insignificance that men of real military importance in their European iwi did not know them. Finally, Hongi was able to see the missionaries for who they were in European military-political-industrial terms: men who had no real, material, power at all.

Hongi could not get official support for his offer of land and protection. The CMS of course could not begin to countenance English settlement under a 'heathen government'. For this neglect, Hongi could only blame Marsden for refusing to use his mana in Hongi's support. Marsden had not written an introductory letter for Hongi to the CMS in London. As a result, the secretary of the CMS "could not recognise [the chiefs] as the representatives of a large portion of the inhabitants of New Zealand".[55] Not only had Marsden failed to support Hongi,

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[52] Manuka Henare argues that Hongi's political thinking had now expanded "past the limits of his own kinship framework of whanau-hapu" to make him "a proto-nationalist and with something of an outlook of an internationalist" seeking to break an increasingly atomised tribal system to establish a Māori nation Henare *The changing images* p. 171. Hongi also seemed to be developing a sense of New Zealanders as a group of people with rights within international relations. A note with his list of settlers read: "Shunghee and Whycato assert that as English men are permitted to visit New Zealand, it is just and reasonable that New Zealanders should be permitted to visit England.".

[53] For John Butler's recounting of Hongi's description of England, see his journal August 21, 1821, Barton p. 152. Here Butler (missionary at Kerikeri) reports that Hongi stated that "King George told him [Hongi] that he never wrote to say the New Zealanders should not have powder and muskets."

[54] Binney *Legacy* p. 75

[55] Marsden Journal September 28 1823 in *Letters and Journals* p. 376; Kendall to Marsden 27 September 1821 *Marsden's Lieutenants* p. 178; Kendall to Pratt December 28 1822: "Shunghee was highly offended because

but he sent letters of criticism about Hongi's ally Kendall. Hongi had obviously worked hard with Kendall to make him a sort of lieutenant and political emissary, yet Kendall was being threatened by Marsden and the CMS with removal from New Zealand. Marsden now appeared clearly in opposition to Hongi, despite Hongi's pivotal position as protector of the New Zealand mission.

Hongi's mana had protected and offered manakitanga to Marsden's iwi in the Bay of Islands, yet the CMS and Marsden seemed oblivious to their obligation to Hongi. Even while Hongi was in England his mana continued to protect the missionary families in the Bay. Where was the CMS gratitude? It was certainly not reflected in the koha offered. The CMS offered gifts which were paltry compared with those given only two years previously to Tuai and Titere, young men of much lower rank than Hongi. This Hongi would have experienced as a significant insult. His sense of betrayal would have been complete[56].

The CMS people remained ignorant of their offence, which they mistook for Hongi's lack of civilization. Their report on the chiefs' visit in December 1820 stated sourly that: *"They have not yet, indeed, made sufficient advances in civilization, to enable them to appreciate our institutions and manners ... "*. They could only blindly worry that the New Zealanders were *"returning to their own land but they do not carry with them the knowledge of our God"* [57]. In Hongi's eyes, he had been good to the mission settlers in New Zealand, but the mission leaders had not been good to him. Marsden's simple promise to Ruatara in 1814: "You will be good to my men and I will be good to you" was being broken.

6. The 1825 letter written to 'the great chiefs of Europe'

In late 1825, a young Ngāpuhi man named after the famous chief Hongi Hika sat in Kerikeri in the Bay of Islands, and worked on a page of writing. It was a mere ten years after the very first Pākeha settlers arrived in New Zealand, about eight years after the opening of the first school further along the Bay at Rangihoua, and about five years since the Māori language had been systematically written down for the first time. The young Hongi – whose ancestry is not clear[58] – wrote in the Māori language. His letter addressed *te tini rangatira o ropi*: The many chiefs of Europe.

The letter has particular significance because it is the first independently written text by a Māori writer yet found[59]. It exists because in January 1826 the teacher George Clarke

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none of the settlers wrote a letter in his favour when he embarked for England three years ago." (*Marsden's Lieutenants* p. 194).

[56] Hongi made very clear to Butler the details of his rage about what had happened in England – see Butler's diary especially for August, 1821, Barton, p. 151ff.

[57] Missionary Register December 1820 p. 500

[58] Parkinson *Our Infant State* p. 207 discusses evidence that Hongi may have been a grandson or other relation of Hongi Hika, but it is possible he was not related, and simply given the name of the great chief.

[59] A point made by Phil Parkinson in *Rongorongo Studies* II p. 58. Clarke assured the CMS that the handwriting "is in diction and orthography entirely their own". Parkinson notes that the first Māori writing is sometimes mistakenly assumed to be the "Letter from the Chief Taiwanga to the Author, in Maori and English,--the first Letter ever written to England by a Native of New Zealand" dated October 23, 1826, as recorded on p. 448 in *A*

included with a letter to the CMS *"a specimen of the writing of my two senior boys, who have been with me about 16 months – they are quite masters of reading and writing..."*

Hongi's letter confidently expresses the desires of many Bay of Islands Māori at the time: to go to England to check out the amazing tales of travellers who had returned from that place; to understand the strange death stories of the missionaries; to find out about the political disposition of the Europeans towards Māori; to witness the modern world, and to communicate with Europe.

Here is Hongi's letter in full[61]:

> *E te tini rangatira o ropi e kite ana oki koutou ki taku buka buka a mai te tahi buka buka kia tuhi tuhi te tahi buka buka ki akotou E pai koutou ki takou buka buka e aire atu ana ra oki au ki tou kainga pai e kite au, e ware pai taware E kino ana mea oki koe mo te mea ka tuhi tuhi atu ki a kite kotou e didi pea te rangatira ki te na kainga. Ko wai te ingoa o te rangatira o te pakeha e reira E tuhi tuhi kino pea te tuhi tuhi a te tangata maori i te mea kino No wai te iwi pai o te tangata kino o te tangata pai a hea oti te pakeha o reira kia kite au Ko tapi ra hi o ku tau, akea o mai ai te tahi utu mo maua ko taku ehoa pai taku Kia rongo mai koutau kei rapu i te taku ingoa Ko Shangi te ingoa o te tangata i tuhi tuhi ai.*

Here is a modern translation, by Kuni Jenkins:

> *To the many chiefs of Europe, you who will see my letter. Give me some paper so that I can write letters to you. You might be pleased with my letter for I am coming to your good town so I can see for myself if the houses are good. You might not be pleased that I am writing to you to say that I am coming to find out if your chiefs are hostile [or not]. What are the names of the chiefs over there? We Māori people are not very skilled at writing yet. Whose people are the good people out of the bad people or good people [who are divided as such] when Pākeha over there die. I will see that [when I get there]. When will you give me and my good friend some payment? Listen to me if you want to know my name. Hongi is my name, I am person writing this.*

We have included Hongi's letter in this report because it illustrates early and rapid Ngāpuhi appropriation of the new technology of writing, and expresses a confident address to the chiefs of Europe as equals. The voice of Hongi in this letter is the voice of a young man who has no doubts about his own place in the modern world – a world that has only arrived in New Zealand in the last 10 years. He shows enthusiasm for knowledge about the modern

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Memoir Of The Rev. Richard Davis, For Thirty-Nine Years A Missionary In New Zealand. By Rev. John Noble Coleman London: James Nisbet And Co, 1865.

[61] This letter is to be found at the following address of the Alexander Turnbull Library http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm_RC=REPO02DB&pm_OI=73810&pm_GT=Y&pm_IAC=Y&api_1=GET_OBJECT_XML&num_result=0&&&Object_Layout=viewimage_object

world and its social as well as technical organisation. He writes with impressive literacy, given the newness of the written language, and the fact that his teacher George Clarke did not, by his own admission, speak Māori very well. Yet, in Hongi's own text we find a self-assured man, assertively interested in meeting the chiefs of Europe as equals, wanting to find out what they think about Māori people, what their lives are like, and how they organise the matter of existence after death and the division into 'good' and 'bad' people, something the missionaries have said happens in the European world. Hongi – no doubt having heard of Hongi's and Tuai's experiences – very much wants to go to England, and perhaps hints that his reward for his good writing and attending the European school in Kerikeri might be the European chiefs' support for his journey.

This Hongi, who came to be called Eruera Pare Hongi[62], went on to be one of the most prominent Māori scribes of the 1830s, becoming 'te kai tuhituhi' or the person who wrote down – and no doubt had a significant role in its wording – the 1835 He Wakaputanga, the Declaration of Independence[63].

It is worth pointing out that the "many chiefs of Europe" did not have the opportunity to see the confidence and mana of Hongi's letter. In 1826, Clarke included a translation of Hongi's letter which read:

> *Gentlemen of England, When you come to see my book perhaps you will be so kind as to give me more letter paper that I may write to you. If you like my book you will perhaps allow me to come and see your country and your good houses. If my writing is bad that I send you all the Gentlemen in the country will be angry with me. What are the names of the Gentlemen in England perhaps both the writing and the words of New Zealanders are bad to whom will the bad men go when they die and to whom will the good men go One year I have been here (meaning with me [Clarke]) when I shall have a payment and my friend also with me. Do you know or have you ever looked for my name who am writing this book my name is Shunghe Farewell*

The difference between Clarke's and Hongi's meanings is shocking, and instructive. In Clarke's rendition we find in Hongi a humble rather naïve native, who is worried about what the Gentlemen of England might think of his inadequate writing, and wanting to know – again rather anxiously – where good and bad people go when they die. There is a simplicity and slight confusion to the tone of the text that would allow Hongi's readers in England to feel condescending interest in Hongi's fumbling attempts to write to them. Clarke's translation bleaches Hongi's letter of confidence and clarity; it obscures Hongi's intentions and desires.

This letter and its translation by Clarke encapsulate the paradox of the promise of a relationship with Pākeha, for Māori. Hongi confidently addresses the modern world. He is able to do this by the means of writing. His written word reached England, but its European readers did not comprehend it.

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[62] Eruera Pare is a transliteration of the name of an English gentleman Sir Edward Parry. Māori appeared to take on names of other people as a mark of respect.
[63] Parkinson, *Our Infant State*, p. 128; p. 208.

8. Conclusion

These selected events occurred in the crucially important initial period of sustained northern Māori involvement with Pākeha, between 1793 and 1825. The events give a strong sense of deliberate and active Māori engagement in the modern world. Most importantly, the events speak of serious and careful Māori attempts to form a mutually-beneficial relationship with trustworthy Pākeha.

Māori quickly saw that a proper and controlled relationship required their harnessing the authority of writing. Formal written texts – which Bay of Islands Māori had encountered well before 1825 in land use documents, letters, certificates, which they had signed or copied themselves – clearly held pono [truth], pumau [trust], and mana [authority] in the modern context. So Māori increasingly engaged that medium for serious decision-making, including the political assertion of their mana whenua in the face of intensifying Pākeha interest.

It comes as no surprise, then, that the clear-sighted young Hongi (later Eruera Pare Hongi) who wrote that first challenging and assertive letter to 'the chiefs of Europe' in 1825, was to become te kai tuhituhi or the writer of He Whakaputanga, the Declaration of Independence, ten years later, in 1835[64].

[64] Parkinson, *Our Infant State*, p. 128; p. 208.

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