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DR. T. M. HOCKEN.

THE  
EARLY HISTORY  
OF  
NEW ZEALAND.

BEING A SERIES OF LECTURES DELIVERED BEFORE THE  
OTAGO INSTITUTE;

ALSO A  
LECTURETTE ON THE MAORIS OF THE SOUTH ISLAND.

By  
THE LATE DR. T. M. HOCKEN.

WELLINGTON, N.Z.  
JOHN MACKAY, GOVERNMENT PRINTER.

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## MEMOIR: DR. THOMAS MORLAND HOCKEN.

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THE British nation can claim the good fortune of having on its roll of honour men and women who stand out from the ranks of their fellows as examples of lofty patriotism and generosity of character. Their fine idea of citizenship has not only in the record of their own lives been of direct benefit to the nation, but they have shone as an example to others and have stirred up a wholesome sentiment of emulation in their fellows. There has been no lack of illustrious examples in the Motherland, and especially so in the last century or so of her history.

And if the Motherland has reason to be proud of her sons and daughters who have so distinguished themselves, so likewise have the younger nations across the seas. Canada, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, each has its list of colonists who are justly entitled to rank among the worthies of the Empire, whose generous acts and unselfish lives have won for them the respect and the gratitude of their fellows; and, as I shall hope to show, Thomas Morland Hocken merits inclusion in the long list of national and patriotic benefactors who in the dominions beyond the seas have set a worthy example to their fellows.

The Woodhouse Grove School, near Bath, where Dr. Hocken was educated, was founded in 1812 for the sons of Wesleyan ministers, and has numbered amongst its scholars many men eminent in the Church, in politics, and in the law. Though no longer exclusive in the same degree as to its pupils, it still continues to be one of the chief educational centres in England. Dr. Hocken always entertained for this old school a great affection and pride, and was never tired of describing the strenuous school discipline and Spartan diet (very different from that prevailing nowadays), or of relating anecdotes of schoolboy pranks and all the little great events which go to make up a schoolboy's life. When in England on one of his visits from New Zealand the doctor visited his old school, and as the result of an interview with the headmaster obtained for the boys, some three hundred or four hundred in number, a half-holiday, and gave them a brief address, and 6d. all round. At an anniversary dinner of old boys held in London shortly afterwards he and a celebrated London barrister found themselves to be the only surviving pupils of his year. After taking his Dublin degree, Dr. Hocken was articled to Dr. Septimus Rayne, of Newcastle, a man whose fame reached far beyond the bounds of his own country, and with him he practised for several

years. He always spoke with the greatest reverence and affection of his old master, and often lamented that the good old custom of articling a young, inexperienced, and simply theoretical doctor to some older practitioner, who acted as mentor and guide in practical work, should have fallen into disuse.

In 1855 Dr. Hocken was awarded the silver medal given as the botanical prize at the College of Practical Research, Newcastle. Botany was ever one of his favourite studies, and, had the demands of his profession permitted it, there can be little doubt he would have attained to a foremost position in the botanical world. The knowledge gained by him in this interesting study during his career in the North of England was of great value to him in after-life when he came to study the flora of New Zealand, and to regard with the deepest interest the varied and striking plant life of the new land in which he made his home.

The rigorous northern winter proving too much for a rather delicate constitution, Dr. Hocken was advised in 1860 to take a long sea voyage to warmer climes. This was the reason of his accepting the post of surgeon on board the "Great Britain," then one of the fastest steamers voyaging to the Antipodes. On board he was a universal favourite, especially loved by his poorer patients in the steerage, and was always foremost in organizing pastimes to relieve the monotony of a long sea voyage. He also contributed largely to the journal published on board ship. On the occasion of his last trip round the world as surgeon of the fine ship which brought so many people to Australia the grateful passengers presented him with a purse of sovereigns, and an address bearing testimony to the general kindness and attention shown by him to all on board. At the foot of this document—now yellow with age—he wrote, many years later, the following words: "I left the 'Great Britain' at Melbourne in January, 1862, having permission from Messrs. Gibbs, Bright, and Co. so to do, in order to go down to Dunedin. On our arrival at Melbourne thousands of diggers were making their way to the newly discovered Otago Goldfields. Although my prospects in England were of the best—viz., to enter into partnership with my old master, Mr. S. W. Rayne, of Newcastle-on-Tyne—my health had not been good for two or three years, and I thought it better, on the whole, to cast in my lot with those who were seeking fortune in so new and so fine a country as New Zealand. This step I have never regretted."

If Dr. Hocken never regretted the step he took when he came to Dunedin with the crowds of stalwart men who in those stirring times flocked to the new goldfield, of which it was the seaport, it may truly be affirmed that those with whom he cast his lot had even greater reason to feel that they had secured as a new citizen one whose professional skill and whose qualities of heart and mind made him many friends. For some time the building-

up of a large practice absorbed his time too much to permit of the development of those features of his character which in future years were destined to make his name a household word throughout New Zealand. But inherent in his nature was that spirit of true patriotism, that love of his fellow-men, that kindness of heart and buoyancy of spirit which were his attributes until the day of his death. And it is not surprising that there steadily grew an intense love for the land which he had made his home. He studied with intelligence and zeal the people who were building up the fortunes of the young nation that was arising, as he did the characteristics of the original owners of the land. He became more and more interested in the Maori inhabitants as he increased his store of knowledge of their character and their history. Simultaneously with his acquired knowledge of the history of the Maori since the advent of the white race to their shores he became conversant with the events of those memorable years when the New Zealand Company was making heroic efforts, under the guidance of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, to bring about a practical and progressive scheme of colonization. It was not an easy matter, coincident with the demands of an exacting profession, to find time to pursue his historical researches, but he was a hard and persevering worker, and he set himself resolutely to the congenial task of building up a library in which he would have at his hand the records of New Zealand's earliest days. He was imbued with the true spirit of a collector. Year by year he added new treasures to his library—rare papers, maps, periodicals, and manuscripts; he searched the world for anything that would find its proper place in such a collection. He realized that the history of New Zealand is involved with that of Australia at so many points that any collection confined to New Zealand publications would be inadequate for the purposes such a collection should serve; hence many of the early Australian periodicals and pamphlets were gathered by the industrious doctor to enrich his library and lighten the labours of future students. Moreover, when he visited England—where many rich stores of historical matter relating to the colonies lie hidden—he searched with indefatigable energy for unpublished manuscripts and early documents relating to colonial missions and the early days of colonization. The result was that he built up a collection of priceless value, which was regarded by its owner with a solicitous affection such as can only be felt by assiduous gatherers of rare and valuable things. His collection came to be known as one of the finest of its kind, and students and literary men from all parts of Australasia deemed it a rare privilege to be shown its many treasures.

It was therefore an act of the utmost generosity and self-sacrifice on the part of Dr. Hocken when in 1904 he offered to

make a gift of his collection to the people of New Zealand on condition that a suitable building was erected in which to house it and a sum of money raised to ensure that it would be properly taken care of. It was perhaps not unnatural that the public at first failed to appreciate—and, indeed, have not yet adequately appreciated—the generous gift. Only the student of history can fully realize that such a gift is more valuable than one of many thousands of pounds—indeed, that its value cannot be represented in terms of money; and only the genuine collector can realize that such a gift involves a greater sacrifice to the giver than any monetary benefaction from a rich man's purse.

However, after some time a sufficient sum was raised, with the assistance of the Government, to add the Hocken wing to the Otago Museum, and there the collection was housed. The building was opened on the 31st March, 1910, by His Excellency the Governor, Lord Plunket, in the presence of the Prime Minister and a large gathering of grateful citizens. Dr. Hocken was too ill to attend, but an admirable letter from him was read by the chairman. In that letter he dwelt on the reasons which induced him to give his valuable collection to the Dominion, and on the duty of every good citizen to do what in him lay to advance the interests of his country and the welfare of his fellows.

Full of good will to his fellow-citizens, breathing that fine spirit of public duty which had ever been the characteristic of its writer, Dr. Hocken's farewell letter was a fitting close to his useful and patriotic life, for he was never again to tread the streets of the city nor give pleasure to his friends by his cheery greeting.

Something remains to be said as to the present volume. In 1898 Dr. Hocken published a volume entitled "Contributions to the Early History of New Zealand," which dealt chiefly with the settlement of Otago—unquestionably the most complete and informative book on the subject that has been published. It is a matter for great regret that Dr. Hocken did not find time to complete some further publications he had in view dealing with the settlement of other parts of New Zealand. The volume now issued contains the substance of a series of lectures on the early history of Canterbury and also some lectures on Otago. The reader cannot fail to be impressed with the intimate and accurate knowledge they show of the subjects dealt with.

It should be borne in mind by the reader that since these lectures were delivered further light has been thrown on certain periods of the early history of New Zealand by the discovery of fresh material. Particular mention should be made of the interesting discoveries of Mr. Robert McNab in the archives of Paris as to the early French visits to New Zealand, and in the seaport towns of America as to the records of early American

whalers. Some of this material is to be found in the volumes issued by Mr. Robert McNab; some of it has not yet been made public; and, in any event, it does not seem to affect the accuracy of Dr. Hocken's narrative to any extent, but for the most part merely furnishes additional information. For this reason no attempt has been made to annotate the lectures here published.

Reference should also be made to Dr. Hocken's "Bibliography of New Zealand Literature," published in 1909 by the Government. This is a very valuable work, as prior to its publication no bibliography of New Zealand literature had appeared since 1889. The close scrutiny of other collectors has discovered some omissions, but it is not likely that the bibliography will be displaced for many years to come.

Another project which Dr. Hocken had in hand at the time of his death was a work entitled "The Life and Journals of the Rev. Samuel Marsden." For this project he had a unique collection of material, having secured when in England Marsden's original diaries and other papers. It is hoped that this Life will yet be published.

The titles of other lectures and papers published by Dr. Hocken on questions relating to New Zealand will be found in the above-mentioned bibliography.

It will not surprise the reader to learn that Dr. Hocken, by his will, left large sums to the University of Otago and to many other worthy objects, subject to a family life interest in his estate. These bequests are of a quite munificent character, and show still further how deeply imbued he was with a love of Dunedin and some of her valued institutions in which he had taken special interest. These splendid bequests added still further to the obligations of the people to one whose life had been marked by an unselfish devotion to the interests of others, and who had gained their lasting esteem.

Dr. Hocken died at Dunedin on the 17th May, 1910. He was indeed a truly estimable and lovable man, whose ability and persevering work in the cause of science, education, and all that pertained to the welfare of his adopted country was beyond praise.

GEORGE FENWICK.

Dunedin, October, 1911.



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THE  
EARLY HISTORY  
OF  
NEW ZEALAND.

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CHAPTER I.\*

The Unknown Southern Land—Abel Tasman—Captain Cook—De Surville and Marion—Benjamin Franklin's Scheme—Proposed Convict-station—The Whaling Industry—Massacre of the "Boyd"—Samuel Marsden.

I PROPOSE to give a sketch of the history of New Zealand from its earliest discovery, in 1642, to the successful settlement of its last and youngest province, in 1850—that of Canterbury. I have often been surprised that so many intelligent and educated persons should be comparatively ignorant of the history of their adopted country—a country of surpassing interest to so many sections of cultivated men: to the geologist, who in its islands, the oldest on the globe, studies the last remains of a vast and ancient continent now buried beneath the Pacific waves; to the zoologist, from whose eyes are but now departing strange wingless birds—some of gigantic size, and which strode over the surface of that continent; to the ethnologist, who studies in the Maori the foremost race of savage man, whose mythology, songs, and traditions are of a high class, and whose migrations, yet shrouded in mystery, offer for solution a problem of the greatest interest; to the politician and sociologist, who here see a new scheme of emigration worked out, and a large section of the British race, freed from the trammels and traditions of their former home, grappling under quite new conditions with social questions always and everywhere of the first importance to the success of the race. To me these studies have ever had a great charm, and if I can but succeed in interesting you in them, and so lead you to study them for yourselves, my object is gained, and I am well repaid.

Foremost of the early maritime adventurers were the Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, and English, who successively discovered the Pacific Ocean, many of the more northerly islands scattered through it, and America. The spirit of adventure, the greed of gold, and conquest for the sake of Holy Mother Church continually incited

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\* Lecture delivered before the Otago Institute, 31st August, 1880.

these bold seamen to sail through the trackless Pacific in quest of new discoveries.

It was, too, a favourite fancy of the old geographers and philosophers that there was a great southern land—an analogue of the great continents of Europe and Asia in the Northern Hemisphere, whereby the proper balance of the earth was supposed to be preserved, and a distribution of land and water secured. To this theoretical and undiscovered country was given the name of “Terra Australis Incognita”—the unknown southern land—and under this name it figures in an old map in my possession three hundred years old nearly. Of this wonderful continent the northern outline is alone given; but that encircles the globe—its lowest latitude including New Guinea, near the Equator, and its highest running down to 55° S. Such an outline would, as you perceive, include Australia, and as successive portions of the coast-line of that continent were discovered by various voyagers from the year 1615 and upwards it was thought that these constituted parts of the vast Terra Australis Incognita, and to these were given the names of the discoverers or of their ships, as seen in any old map of Australia—De Witt’s Land, Endracht’s Land, Van Diemen’s Land (of which, by the by, there are two), Leuwin’s Land, Peter Nuyt’s Land, and so on.

New Zealand hitherto had lain far south of the discoverers’ tracks. The honour of first entering the unexplored and silent seas washing New Zealand was reserved for Abel Jansen Tasman, the Dutch commander, who was sent on the 14th August, 1642, on a voyage of discovery for the purpose of adding to the possessions of the Dutch in the Netherlands of India. Anthony van Diemen was the then Governor of these possessions, and under his direction Tasman sailed from the capital and port of Batavia, in the isle of Java, having under his command the vessels “Heemskerck” and “Zeehaen,” or “Seahen.” Sailing south, he first discovered Van Diemen’s Land, the coasts of which he examined. Then steering east, he made the New Zealand coast on the 13th September, along which he sailed to the north, anchoring finally in an open bay, where he made his first and almost only acquaintance with New Zealand and its inhabitants. Then, as now, they were a bold, warlike race, and soon came off to his ships in their canoes, loudly shouting in an unknown tongue, blowing large shell trumpets, and evidently preparing to attack when opportunity offered, and this presently occurred, when a boat containing seven sailors put off from one vessel to visit the other. The New-Zealanders attacked the boat so violently as to cause it to heel over, and killed the sailors with what Tasman called a pike and clubs, but which were probably *taiha* and *mere*. They then retreated, carrying the poor murdered victims with them, whom they doubtless cooked and ate. Failing to procure refreshments, Tasman coasted

north, applying to the spot where he had been so inhospitably received the name of "Murderers' Bay,"—the first name ever given in this fair land; by it and Massacre Bay it is still known, though, from gold having been found there, it has also been called Golden Bay. Times have changed, and in a hollow near it, in Blind Bay, slumbers the peaceful town of Nelson. Tasman named the northern cape Cape Maria van Diemen, after the Governor's daughter, whose memory was ever with him, and whom he afterwards married. Still seeking for refreshment, he sought to anchor at one of the islands to the north-west of the cape, but here, to use poor Tasman's words, he saw "thirty-five Natives of very large size, taking prodigious long strides, and with clubs in their hands." This was quite enough for the affrighted sailor, who without the least delay bouted ship and refreshed nearer Batavia. It was Epiphany Day—the manifestation of Christ to the Gentiles—upon which he sighted these islands, and after the custom of the superstitious semi-pious sailors of those days, who frequently named their discoveries after some incident in Holy Writ, he named them the Three Kings, after the Magi or Wise Men of the East who visited the infant Christ. In Catholic countries the Magi are commonly called the Three Kings of Cologne, the legend being that their bodies or bones were brought from the East to Constantinople, thence to Milan, and were finally transferred to the cathedral at Cologne by Frederic the Red-bearded, where they may still be seen by the devout believer in relics.

Statenland, or Statesland, was the first name given by Tasman to New Zealand, believing, as he did, that his discovery was but a continuation of that made twenty-five years before by his countrymen Schouten and Le Maire, and considered by them to be part of that geographical will-o'-the-wisp the Polar Continent. But three months after it was proved that Schouten's Statenland was an island, so Tasman on his return to Holland rechristened his discovery "Nova Zealandia," or New Zealand, and by this name it will be known when it is old. Says Tasman, "It is a very fine country, and we hope it is a part of the unknown south continent"; and elsewhere, "As for New Zealand, we never set foot in it."

Nothing further was known of New Zealand for 127 years, until 1769, when the first intelligent and accurate account of this country was given by the celebrated navigator, Captain James Cook. Cook was born at Marton, near Whitby, in Yorkshire, in October, 1728, his father being a labourer. He was apprenticed to a shopkeeper in a neighbouring village, but soon quitted the counter in disgust for the more congenial occupation of the sea, serving for some years in the coal trade. At the breaking-out of the American war in 1755 he enlisted into the navy on board the "Eagle," commanded by Sir Hugh Palliser, who speedily dis-

covered his great merit, and promoted him. In 1758 he was master of the "Northumberland," the flagship of Lord Colville, who then had charge of the squadron on the American coast. Here, during a hard winter, he applied himself earnestly to the study of mathematics, astronomy, and other branches of science whilst engaged in the active and laborious duties of the war. In 1768 he was made a lieutenant in the Royal Navy, and was selected by Sir Edward Hawke to command an expedition to the South Seas for the purpose of observing the transit of Venus, and of making discoveries in those parts. Thus commenced his first voyage, which is of so much interest to us, and to which I shall presently more particularly refer. He returned to England in June, 1771, after an absence of nearly three years, having discovered the Society Islands, shown that New Zealand consisted of two islands (a wonderfully correct survey of which he made), sailed through and named Cook Strait, and afterwards explored the eastern coast of Australia, previously unknown. In his second expedition, extending also over a period of three years—from 1772 to 1775—he made several new discoveries, again visited New Zealand, and finally solved that troublesome problem of the Terra Australis Incognita by showing that it could not possibly exist unless near the South Pole and out of reach of navigation. On his third and last voyage his discoveries were again numerous and splendid, but were unfortunately terminated by his sad massacre by the Natives at Hawaii—or "Owhyhee," as he calls it—on the 14th February, 1779.

Until 1879, when it was reserved for the people of New South Wales to repair the omission by the erection of a splendid statue, no memorial had been raised in the Australian Colonies to the immortal memory of this celebrated navigator. At least, I have somewhere read that the only tribute to him in these colonies took the shape of a wooden pump, erected in one of the streets of Geelong by a public-spirited individual, and known as Captain Cook's pump. This fact is not creditable to us dwellers in New Zealand, and, though these are not the times in which to practise anything but the strictest economy, let us not forget when brighter days dawn to raise such a tribute to the memory of him, our great countryman, as will do credit to our taste and shall show that we are not unmindful of our indebtedness.

The portrait of Captain Cook now hanging in the University was presented by the late Mr. James Rattray, of Dunedin, and is a faithful copy of the original in Greenwich Hospital. Mr. Rattray must have taken much trouble, and I am sure must have been at much expense, in procuring permission from the Hospital authorities to make a copy of the portrait and in selecting the services of a competent artist. In the most obliging manner, Mr. Rattray has given me minute particulars of this portrait, and as they are of historical interest I take this opportunity of placing them on record.

When at Home in 1875 Mr. Rattray applied to Mr. Hart, R.A., who is Honorary Librarian and Curator of the national pictures, for a direction to the best portrait of Captain Cook. Neither he nor any other person of whom Mr. Rattray inquired knew of more than two portraits. One is a small picture in the National Portrait Gallery at South Kensington, by an artist named Webber: this Webber, by the by, was one of Cook's draughtsmen on his last expedition, and he frequently introduces a likeness of the great commander into the illustrations of this voyage: it is not interesting. The other is the picture now copied and gracing our Museum. It is an exact facsimile of the original, even to the frame, and is a very handsome and spirited picture, and was executed by Dr. B. S. Marks, of Fitzroy Square, London. Captain Cook sat for this picture at the request of Sir Joseph Banks, before setting out on his third voyage to the South Seas. It was bequeathed to the nation in Banks's will, and on the death of Lady Banks, in 1829, was transferred from Soho Square to Greenwich Palace, in the Painted Hall of which it now hangs. The painter was Nathaniel Dance, R.A., a young artist of great ability, who was becoming a formidable rival at that time of Sir Joshua Reynolds. Unfortunately for art he was very good looking, and so attracted the love of a lady of rank and fortune, who married him and converted him into a man of fashion, so much so that he became ashamed of his former position and busied himself in buying up and destroying all the canvas he had embellished. Mr. Rattray's gift is not only graceful but munificent. More on this point I may not say.

In concluding this short sketch of Captain Cook, I would make momentary reference to his published works. The account of his first voyage was published in two volumes, quarto, and edited by Dr. Hawkesworth, to whom Cook's journal was entrusted by the Lords of the Admiralty. It is well illustrated by maps and plates, the latter chiefly drawn by Sydney Parkinson, the principal draughtsman of the expedition, concerning whom so much research has been made and so excellent an account given by Mr. Colenso, of Napier, in the 10th vol. of our Transactions. Cook, I believe, was not pleased with the mode in which his first voyage had been edited, and he therefore wrote the account himself of his record voyage in two volumes, quarto, also illustrated by numerous maps and engravings drawn by Mr. Hodges. The general introduction or preface to this work concludes in such manly and modest language, so indicative of the style of the man, that I shall be excused for extracting it: "I shall, therefore, conclude this introductory discourse with desiring the reader to excuse the inaccuracies of style which doubtless he will meet with in the following narrative; and that when such occur, he will recollect that it is the production of a man who has not had the advantage of much school education,

but who has been constantly at sea from his youth ; and though, with the assistance of a few good friends, he has passed through all the stations belonging to a seaman, from an apprentice boy in the coal trade to a post captain in the Royal Navy, he has had no opportunity of cultivating letters. After this account of myself, the public must not expect from me the elegance of a fine writer, or the plausibility of a professed book-maker, but will, I hope, consider me as a plain man zealously exerting himself in the service of his country, and determined to give the best account he is able of his proceedings." Well worth reading ! The account of the third and last voyage in the ships " Resolution " and " Discovery," in three volumes, quarto, and with an accompanying volume of plates in elephant folio by Webber, was published by command of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty from the journal kept by Cook, who knew that it was expected of him to *relate*, as well as to *execute*, the operations of his expedition. It is therefore virtually written by himself. Captain King, who was one of Cook's lieutenants on the " Resolution," wrote the third volume, dating from the massacre of his commander. With this short preliminary sketch of the great explorer of New Zealand, I proceed to give a more minute account of his labours.

Captain Cook, then, sailed on his first voyage on the 26th August, 1768, accompanied by Dr. Solander, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Joseph Banks, and Mr. Green, the astronomer, in the barque " Endeavour," of 350 tons, which had been built for the coal trade. His instructions were to proceed to Otaheite to observe the transit of Venus across the sun's disc on the 4th June ; afterwards to prosecute the design of making discoveries in the South Pacific, to make and explore New Zealand, and thence to return to England. After leaving Otaheite he sailed south. On the 6th October, morning, a lad, Nicholas Young, one of the crew, from the masthead said that he saw the loom of the land, and this proved to be the fact, although denied by others on board, for in the evening it was undoubtedly visible and could be seen from the deck. On the 7th it looked still larger, as it was more distinctly seen, with four or five ranges of hills rising one above another, and a chain of mountains above all, which appeared to be of an enormous height. " This land became the subject of much eager conversation," says Captain Cook, " but the general opinion seemed to be that we had found the Terra Australis Incognita." In the evening they sailed into a bay and anchored, and went ashore in the boat.

Cook's first experience of the Maori—or the " Indians," as he calls them—seems much akin to that of Tasman, for soon after landing they were attacked by armed Natives who tried to cut off the boat. Two muskets were fired over their heads, but as this had little or no effect in frightening them, and as they were about to throw their lances into the boat another shot was fired, with the



effect of killing one of their number. Thus fell the first of the many Maoris who have since fallen by the hand of the European, or by the not less deadly accompaniments of his civilization. Cook stayed in this bay three days, finding the Natives warlike and hostile. To it he gave the name of Poverty Bay, because in that unfortunate and inhospitable place not a single article could he get but a little wood; and to its south-west point, in compliment to young Nicholas's sharp eyes, he gave the name of "Young Nick's Head," by which it is still known. I need hardly say that Cook here trod the ground on which the town of Gisborne now stands, and that the fertile district no longer deserves its first appellation. Thence he sailed south, entering Hawke's Bay, so called after Sir Edward Hawke, the First Lord of the Admiralty, a position so pleasantly filled now by Sir Joseph Porter, of H.M.S. "Pinafore."

It would be tedious to follow Cook's steps too minutely; suffice it to say that they were marked by numerous adventures, in which the courage and ferocity of the New-Zealanders were frequently displayed, and which more than once necessitated the taking of life. They themselves imagined that Captain Cook's ship was a bird, and many remarks passed amongst them as to the size and beauty of its wings. On seeing a smaller bird without wings (the boat) descend into the water, and a number of human beings also descending, the bird was regarded as a houseful of divinities, and nothing could exceed their astonishment. The musket-fire was considered to be a thunderbolt of the new gods. Many of the Natives observed that they felt themselves taken ill by only being looked upon by these *atuas*, and considered that they were bewitched by a single look. This account was given to Mr. Polack nearly fifty years ago by Manutai, a grandson of one who witnessed the first landing.

Cook surveyed the coast with the greatest accuracy, naming all the headlands, capes, and islands he passed. M. Crozet, the celebrated French navigator, says, "As soon as I got hold of the voyage of the English, I compared with care the chart which I had drawn of a portion of the New Zealand coast with that taken by Captain Cook. I found it to possess an exactness and minuteness which astonished me beyond all expression. I doubt whether our own coasts of France have been delineated with more precision." In Mercury Bay, so called from the fact that here observations were taken of the transit of Mercury, Cook displayed the English colours, and took formal possession in the name of His Britannic Majesty King George III. This was on Wednesday, the 16th November, 1769. Northward still, the Bay of Islands was reached and named—a spot which seventy years later was to teem with matters of historical interest, for here was the Gospel first planted and preached, the first English settlement—that of Kororareka—founded, the Treaty of Waitangi signed, and the first battle between

the European and Maori fought. Rounding the North Cape and Tasman's Three Kings, the "Endeavour" sailed down the western coast, naming Mount Egmont after the earl, and entering a sound, to which the name of Queen Charlotte was given.

Cook spent nearly a month here, visiting many of the delightful bays and coves which abound in this neighbourhood, and whose scenery at this day gives so much pleasure to the traveller who passes through those magnificent labyrinthic windings traversed by the Union Company's steamer on the passage from Nelson to Picton. Here, too, Cook pays a tribute which has so often since been paid by other travellers to the songsters of the New Zealand forests. He says, "In the morning we were awakened by the signing of the birds\*; the number was incredible, and they seemed to strain their throats in emulation of each other. The wild melody was infinitely superior to anything we had ever heard of the same kind; it seemed to be like small bells exquisitely tuned. We found that the birds here always began to sing about two hours after midnight, and continuing their music until sunrise, were, like our nightingales, silent during the rest of the day." The principal contributors to this delightful concert are known to us as the tui or parson bird, and the mocking or bell bird, whose songs, alas, are, as the years go by, more and more faintly heard in our bush. Here Cook gained for the first time indisputable knowledge of the practice of cannibalism, which he characterizes as being a horrid custom of the inhabitants. One of the Indians bit and gnawed a bone which Mr. Banks had taken up, drawing it through his mouth, and showing by signs that it had afforded him a delicious repast. This knowledge, as I shall presently explain, was to be of great use and benefit to those who, more than two ages later, were to colonize the New Zealand shores.

In Queen Charlotte Sound possession of the South Island was taken in the name of and for the use of His Majesty King George III. This was on the 30th January, 1770. The Union Jack was hoisted, the inlet honoured with the name of Queen Charlotte Sound, a bottle of wine drunk to Her Majesty's health, and the empty bottle given to the old Native who attended the party up the hill, and who was mightily pleased with his present. From the top of a lofty hill in the sound Cook descried enough to lead him to the conclusion that a channel or strait separated New Zealand into a north and a south island, and this conclusion was verified by his sailing through the channel, known to this day as Cook Strait, and then seeing Cape Turnagain, the point from which the "Endeavour" had first started. Here they hauled their wind to the eastward, and commenced the exploration of the eastern coast. The remains of Captain Cook's garden—or perhaps

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\* The pihoihoi—New Zealand robin—commences the concert.

now only its site—are still pointed out in Queen Charlotte Sound ; also Ship Cove, where the old “ Endeavour ” was careened, scraped, and cleaned. Here, too, were let loose those celebrated pigs, whose wild descendants, now known as “ Captain Cookers,” have overrun the interior of this island, and have afforded one of the staples of barter between the Natives and ships’ crews. Here Cook learned that the Native name of the South Island was “ Tovy Poenamoo,” and of the North “ Eaheinomauwe,” by which designation they are known on his maps. The first, or as we should more correctly spell it, “ Te Wai Pounamu,” literally means the water of the greenstone—the place where the valuable greenstone is procured, of which the most valued weapons, tools, and ornaments were made. This greenstone is found in various places along the great watershed of the west coast mountains, extending from the neighbourhood of Hokitika to the district of the sounds and lakes.

“ He mea hi no Maui ” is the correct orthography of Cook’s old name for the North Island. It means “ the thing fished from the sea by Maui,” or “ the fish of Maui,” and has evident reference, as you will see by the map, to the fish-like shape of this island. It is not, indeed, unlike one of the flat or rhomboidal fishes. Maui was one of the greatest heroes in old Maori mythology. He was out fishing one day in a canoe with his brothers, with whom he had had some misunderstanding. They consequently refused to give him any bait ; but Maui was equal to the emergency. He gave his nose a blow and drew blood, wherewith he saturated a piece of flax, which he affixed to his hook. This, by the by, was made of his grandfather’s jaw. He threw his bait overboard, uttering his spells—“ Blow gently, blow gently, my line ; let it pull straight ; let it pull strong. It has caught ; it has come. The land is gained, is in the hand, long waited for. The boasting of Maui ; his great land, for which he went to sea. His boasting, it is caught.” And so he pulled until the canoe nearly capsized. At last the tops of the mountains appeared, and finally the whole island. So now you know how the North Island of New Zealand was created. It is Maui’s fish. Its salt-water eye is now Wellington Harbour ; its fresh-water one, Wairarapa Lake. The jaws are formed by the north and south heads ; the head is a mountain near Wairarapa ; the body is Taupo and Tongariro, and the tail is situated at Cape Reinga, or Spirit Bay, so called because here the spirits of the dead leave this earth for the darkness of Po, the Maori Hades. It faces to the west, and, with the dying sun sinking into the western sea, the spirit of the Maori plunges into the waters of oblivion. Sir George Grey has done inestimable service by collecting amidst great difficulty stores of valuable information relating to the mythology, traditions, and songs of the New-Zealander. The importance of his work can hardly be exaggerated.

The time for the recognition of the full value of his labours has not yet come. It is a matter for regret that one of Sir George Grey's taste and culture should not have confined himself to the pursuit of studies evidently so congenial, and which would have done more to hand his fame down to posterity than his participation in the vexatious quarrels of New Zealand politics—at least, such is the regret of a non-politician.

Cook then hauled his wind to the eastward, and sailed southward towards our "ain cuntry," naming Cape Campbell and Banks Island, for so the peninsula appeared to him to be. He then kept close in to land, passing a part "widely diversified by hill and valley." This doubtless refers to the very broken country at the back of Waikouaiti and Palmerston—a feature noticeable by any one who has travelled by sea to Oamaru. I think that somewhere he has also given the name of the "Valley of Cones" to this region—a title applicable to the numerous conical hills dispersed through the Shag Valley district. Cape Saunders and Saddle Hill were passed and named—the nearest spots approached by Cook to our Otago Settlement. I suppose it is hardly necessary here to give a denial to that statement often made by unthinking people that Captain Cook sailed over the site of our Ocean Beach into the Upper Harbour. Still proceeding south, the "Endeavour" narrowly escaped being wrecked upon some rocks which were discovered under the bows at break of day. The danger was imminent, and the escape critical in the highest degree. From the situation of these rocks, so well adapted to catch unwary strangers, they were called the "Traps." South Cape was not recognized as being the south point of what is now known as Stewart Island. Solander Island was, of course, named after Dr. Solander, and now makes the first point of sight for the Melbourne steamers. The course was then northerly, past Dusky Bay, Open Bay, Cascade Point, Cape Foulwind, and Admiralty Bay, where the "Endeavour" anchored, and whence she finally sailed from Cape Farewell for Botany Bay, on the east coast of New Holland, the insularity of the South Island having thus been proved.

I have purposely sketched at some length the history of the discovery and first circumnavigation of these Islands by our great countryman. His opinion of them was very high, and he thought that if the settling of the country should ever be deemed an object worthy the attention of Great Britain the best place for establishing a colony would be either on the banks of the Thames—which is near Auckland—or in the country bordering on the Bay of Islands; and, as you well know, when the fulness of time came the first little colony was planted at Kororareka, now called "Russell," in the Bay of Islands; and the first capital erected on the site of Auckland. He also referred to a tree—known to us as the kauri—growing in swamps, tall and straight, and fit to

make the finest masts in the world. Fifty years later this reference was remembered, and thence sprang up one of the earliest trades with New Zealand—that for spars and masts.

I shall make but the shortest allusion to Cook's next visits—the second and third. In each of these he visited Queen Charlotte Sound and Dusky Bay, an accurate chart of which latter place he drew, and which is in use at the present day. Those who have been a trip to the Sounds will remember, doubtless, many of the names there given by him. Pickersgill Harbour, after one of his lieutenants; Observation Point, where his observatory was planted; Goose Cove, Cascade Cove, Facile Harbour, &c. In this voyage he corrected his errors of longitude, for he found that in the chart accompanying the first voyage he had laid down the North Island 30 min. and the South Island 40 min. too far east. Near the strait the two ships of the expedition were separated during a violent gale of wind, and it was not until five or six weeks after that Captain Furneaux, commanding the "Adventure," made Ship Cove, in Queen Charlotte Sound, their point of rendezvous, only to find that the "Resolution" had left. Here a terrible disaster befell a boat's crew from the "Adventure." This was sent ashore in the morning to gather fresh greens, with strict orders to return to the ship the same night, as it was Captain Furneaux's intention to sail early the following morning. As, however, no boat returned, a party started in search the following day, and before long had horrid and undeniable proof that their comrades had been killed and eaten, ten in number, and the best hands in the ship. When the search-party landed the Natives ran into the bush. About twenty baskets were found lying on the beach; these were opened and found to contain principally roasted human flesh; a little farther on they discovered shoes and a human hand with "T.H." tattooed on it, and so recognized as having belonged to one Thomas Hill, a fore-castle man; and farther on the heads, hearts, and lungs of several of the crew; and at a little distance the native dogs gnawing their entrails. Revenge was out of the question, as the Natives remained in the woods, and made no appearance. After a detention of four days, owing to contrary winds, the "Adventure" set sail for England.

On this voyage Captain Cook was in the habit of distributing amongst the Natives copper medals as tokens, whereby his visit to New Zealand might be made known to any future voyager. The only one I know of in existence is one kindly lent to me for exhibition this evening by Mrs. Thomson, widow of the late Mr. Peter Thomson, recently a valued member of this Institute. It was found in the garden of an old settler (Mr. Hunter) at Murdering Beach, near the north head of Otago Harbour. On the obverse is a head of George III, surrounded by an almost effaced and illegible inscription, "George III, King of Great

Britain, France, and Ireland." On the reverse is the representation of two quaint ships, over them the words "Resolution, Adventure"; and below them, "Sailed from England, May, MDCCCLXXII."

Cook's last visit was in 1777, and was of a fortnight's duration. The Natives dreaded that he had come to revenge the massacre, and for a long time would not venture on board. They were at length reassured, and some particulars were then obtained from them regarding it. A chief, Kahura, was pointed out as having been most active in the terrible tragedy. He seemed to be detested and dreaded by his followers, who frequently asked Captain Cook to kill him. Said one of them, "You tell me if one man kills another in England he is hanged for it. This Kahura has killed ten, and you will not kill him, though many of his countrymen desire it, and it would be very good." "But," says Cook, "if I had taken their advice I might have extirpated the whole race, for the people of each hamlet or village by turns applied to me to destroy the other." After much pressure Kahura ventured to say, "One of my countrymen having brought a stone hatchet for barter, the men to whom it was offered took it, and would neither return it nor give anything for it, on which the owner snatched up the bread as an equivalent, and then the quarrel began." This story seems probable. How often since then have similar occurrences taken place with slight variations of circumstances—the white man cheating and oppressing the unsuspecting savage, who naturally turning upon his oppressor is called bloodthirsty and ferocious.

The French were also early visitors to New Zealand. De Surville, of the "St. Jean Baptiste," anchored at Mangonui in 1769, whilst searching for an island of gold which it was believed the English had just discovered in the Pacific Ocean. He was received hospitably by the Natives, and treated by them with every kindness. This he requited in the most shameful manner. During a storm he lost one of his boats, and concluded that the Natives had stolen it. He thereupon set fire to a village—the very one in which his sick sailors had been so humanely treated—and enticed one of the chiefs on board, carrying him away from New Zealand. The poor chief soon died of a broken heart, pining for his fern-root and for his children, whom he was never again to see.

But retaliation was at hand. Three years later his countryman, Marion du Fresne, in his ship, the "Mascarin," landed very near the same spot as De Surville, and here again the very best feeling apparently existed between the French and the Natives, who were constantly on board the French vessel, and would frequently pass the night there. All suspicion was thus allayed. Matters thus continued for thirty-three days, when the behaviour of the Natives altered—it was observed that they discontinued

their visits to the ship, and were silent. Some days after this Marion went on shore, accompanied by sixteen of the ship's company. They did not return that day, but there was no suspicion of anything amiss. Those on board thought the party had gone a little into the interior on a fishing excursion. The following morning another boat was sent ashore for wood and water. After an absence of four hours, a man, one of those who went with the second boat, was seen swimming towards the ship; he was taken aboard, and then related a fearful narrative. He and his comrades were received on shore with every show of affection by the Natives, and were enticed into the wood, where they were attacked by the Natives, who brained them all with their stone clubs, with the exception of the survivor, who, though wounded, managed to escape and hide in the depths of the bush until he seized a favourable opportunity to swim off to the ship. From his hiding-place he saw the dead bodies of his shipmates divided and carried away, no doubt to be eaten. Further search was immediately made by a strong and well-armed party. They were followed by hundreds of the Natives, continually shouting, and with cries of wild triumph intimating that Marion was killed and eaten. With great difficulty the ship was regained, and then a terrible retaliation followed. Villages were burnt, and the Natives shot down by constant discharges of musketry. On entering the chief's deserted kitchen masses of human flesh were found, cooked and raw, and with marks of teeth upon them. M. Crozet, Marion's lieutenant, in his account of the terrible occurrence can give no explanation as to its cause. He repeatedly says that the Natives were uniformly shown every kindness, and says, "They treated us with every show of friendship for thirty-three days with the intention of eating us on the thirty-fourth." But from inquiries made on the spot in 1853 it would appear that the French were not so free from blame. They put two chiefs in irons, they cooked food with tapued wood, and trespassed on tapued places. The Native *lex talionis* demanded compensation for De Surville's cruelty and for these other wrongs, and thus was it taken. Since then the French have been known to the New-Zealanders as "the bloody tribe of Marion." Marion took possession of the North Island—but, of course, Cook had anticipated him years before—for the King of France, under the name of "France Australe"; and the scene of their disaster—Cook's Bay of Islands—was called the "Bay of Treachery."

And now for many years little further was known or heard of New Zealand. Accounts such as these, published in the voyages of the two foremost European nations, filled the reader with horror of such scenes of barbarity and cannibalism, and one or two vessels of discovery which touched the shores of New Zealand did so with dread and misgiving. Still, the seed of curiosity had

been sown by these accounts of a people so remarkable in many ways, and Cook had spoken in such high terms of the productions and climate of this far-distant region of the earth, its silky yet strong flax, used by the Natives in such a variety of ways, and its magnificent trees so suitable for spars, running up without a branch for 100 ft.

In 1779 the celebrated Benjamin Franklin proposed a scheme for civilizing the New-Zealanders. A vessel was to go out laden with articles for barter, and was to bring home such commodities as New Zealand could offer. As this original document is of some interest, I have disintombed it from "Dodsley's Annual Register," for 1779. In the process of search it appeared to me that in those days antetypes of Mrs. Jellaby were to be found—people possessed with quite a mania for promoting the well-being of savages—and it would seem as though the learned philosopher must be ranged with them. In this venerable periodical he engages himself in a hot discussion with some one regarding smoky chimneys and the proper management of cottage gardens. The following is a copious extract: "A Plan by Dr. Franklin and Mr. Dalrymple for benefiting Distant Countries: The country called in the map New Zealand was inhabited by a brave and generous race, destitute of corn, fowls, and all quadrupeds except dogs. These circumstances being lately mentioned in a company of men of liberal sentiments, it was observed that it seemed incumbent on such a country as this to communicate to all others the conveniences of life which we enjoy. Dr. Franklin said he would with all his heart subscribe to a voyage intended to communicate in general those benefits which we enjoy to countries destitute of them in the remote parts of the globe. This proposition being warmly adopted, Mr. Dalrymple offered to undertake the command of such an expedition, and he put the outlines of the scheme on paper, which was shown to Dr. Franklin, who compared the earliest conditions of Great Britain, when it was said to have produced nothing originally but sles, and what vast advantages it now possessed from communication with other countries—fruits, seeds, animals, and the arts. The inhabitants of those distant lands have canoes only. Not having iron they cannot build ships, not knowing astronomy, and having no compass, they cannot guide their canoes. It is, therefore, our evident duty, and demanded by Providence, that we should go to them. Many voyages have been undertaken for plunder and profit, but the voyage now proposed was not to cheat this distant people, not to rob them, not to seize their land, or enslave them, but to do them all the good in our power, and enable them to live as comfortably as ourselves." Then followed "Scheme of a voyage by subscription," to convey the conveniences of life—as fowls, hogs, goats, cattle, corn, iron, &c.—to those remote regions which are



destitute of them, and to bring from thence such produce as can be cultivated in the kingdom to the advantage of society, in a ship under the command of Alexander Dalrymple. "The expenses of this expedition are calculated for three years, but the greatest part of the amount will not be wanted until the ship returns, and a great part of the expense of the provisions will be saved by what is obtained in the course of the voyage by barter or otherwise, though it is proper to provide provision for contingencies.

Catt or bark, from the coal trade, of 350 tons, estimated at about	£	2,000
Extra expenses—Stores, boats, &c. .. .. .		3,000
		<hr/> 5,000
To be manned with 60 men at £4 per man per month .. .. .	£	240
		12
		<hr/> 2,880 per annum
		3
Wages and provisions .. .. .		8,640 for three years
		<hr/> 8,640
		13,640
Cargo included, supposed .. .. .		<hr/> £15,000

The termination of the American War of Independence necessitated an outlet for the convicts of Great Britain, and the question was discussed in 1787 in the House of Commons. Botany Bay, in New South Wales, was finally selected as being suitable for the deportation of the criminal class, and thither sailed in 1788 the first convict fleet. New Zealand was proposed in the House as being suitable, but here, fortunately, the well-known ferocity and cannibalism of the inhabitants served us in good stead, and thus was our future Colony of New Zealand spared the discredit of having its foundations laid by a convict population. Gradually a slight increasing communication took place between the Natives and Europeans of various occupations.

In 1794 the first industry and first trade, that of the whale-fishery, began to develop. In this year the whaleships of the firm of Messrs. Enderby, after whom the Enderby Islands are called, visited the coast of New Zealand, principally the Bay of Islands. For thirty years before, this enterprising firm had successfully carried on a large whaling business in the Northern Hemisphere, and also in what were called the South Sea Fisheries, visiting the Friendly and Sandwich Isles, and, indeed, generally the islands of the Pacific, refitting their vessels in Chili, Peru, and Valparaiso. It was found that whales resorted to the inlets and bays of New Zealand to breed, and here they were pursued, and as years passed on whaling-stations were founded in Hawke's Bay, Bay of Plenty,

Queen Charlotte Sound, Banks Peninsula, Dusky Bay, and later still, from 1833, in Waikouaiti and Purakanui Bay, in our own Otago Harbour, under the proprietorship, amongst others, of the late Mr. John Jones, and of Mr. William Palmer, an old settler now living at the Taieri. As might be expected, the New-Zealanders were found to be bold and expert sailors, and, says Mr. Enderby, "behaved better than British seamen." They were thus frequently engaged as seamen on board the whalers, and would visit Sydney in them, and occasionally England. Ropes made of New Zealand flax, and spun in Sydney, were found to make by far the best whale lines; hence sprang up another trade, and whole tribes would be engaged in scraping with their *pipi* shells flax to barter with the Sydney schooners. Captain Cook's pigs, and the potatoes he had planted in both Islands, had increased abundantly, and a trade sprang up from this source. Occasionally an escaped convict, or a runaway sailor, tempted by the dark beauty of some New Zealand maiden, or by the careless, easy life of the Natives, would join himself to some tribe, identify himself with them, and become their "pakeha," as he was then called at the beginning of this century—a European turned New-Zealander. As such he was held in high repute, and his chief duties were to transact barter between his deserted countrymen and his new-found friends. Whoever has not read that delightful book "Old New Zealand," by a Pakeha Maori, has a rich treat in store for him. He will there learn the pakeha's mode of life. And thus sprang up a sort of friendship and a better knowledge between the two peoples. Still, fearful scenes of violence and bloodshed were often witnessed—as usual, the white man being too often the aggressor—and then followed the certain and terrible revenge, or *utu*, of the unforgetful and unforgiving savage.

In 1809, at Whangaroa, north of the Bay of Islands, took place the massacre of the ship "Boyd," Captain Thompson, who sailed from Sydney for England, *via* New Zealand, where he proposed to take in a cargo of spars. There were seventy persons on board, amongst them three New-Zealanders returning from New South Wales, one of whom, Tarra, was the son of a chief, and engaged as a sailor. On the plea of ill health, Tarra refused to work. The captain laughed at him, twice tied him up and flogged him, deprived him of food, and further treated with contempt his chieftainship. The astute savage dissembled well, merely remarking that when they reached New Zealand he would prove that he was the son of a chief. He returned to work, was light and joyous, and ingratiated himself so far with the captain as to induce the captain to put into Whangaroa, where he would be sure to get spars. Arrived there, Tarra recounted his injuries, and revenge was determined on. The captain and some of the crew were decoyed into the forest under the pretence of looking for suitable trees, and

there murdered without the possibility of resistance. At dusk the savages, dressed in their victims' clothes, went down to the ship's side, and told the officer on watch that the captain purposed staying ashore all night, and had asked them to see some of the spars safely on board. Thereupon they ascended the vessel's side, brained the officer and every man on the watch. Every soul that could be found on board—man, woman, and child—was then massacred. A few seamen, under cover of the darkness, climbed up the rigging, and there remained all night. The next morning they were discovered and called down, under a faithful promise of being unhurt, but on touching the deck they were all instantly killed. Knowing Tarra so well, they cried, "My God, my God, save us!" But the relentless savage struck them dead with his own arm. The only survivors of the seventy were the cabin-boy, who had been kind to Tarra, and two little children and a woman who had remained concealed until the storm of savage fury had abated. These dwelt amongst the tribe until they were rescued six months after through the quiet courage and determination of Mr. Berry, supercargo of the whaling-ship "City of Edinburgh." One little child was the daughter of a Port Jackson resident: when delivered up to Mr. Berry it had feathers in its hair, New Zealand fashion, was much emaciated, and its skin broken out, and was dressed in a thin little shirt. When brought to the boat it cried out in a feeble voice, "Mamma, my mamma." Young as it was, the awful occurrence was burnt into its recollection, and when asked after its mother the child drew its hand across its throat, and further signified, with many appearances of painful feeling, that the savages afterwards cut her up, cooked her, and ate her like victuals. After a three years' absence she was restored to her father in Sydney. It is some satisfaction to know that, whilst plundering the ship, they found some guns and gunpowder, of which the warlike New-Zealanders have always been inordinately fond. To see if the latter were good they flashed a flint over it. As Artemus Ward might put it, they found it so very good that they had no further wish to test it. All on board were blown up, together with the upper part of the vessel. The last remnants of the unfortunate "Boyd" may still be seen in the water at Whangaroa, where they have been for the greater part of a century.

I must now introduce to you the Rev. Samuel Marsden—he who first introduced Christianity into New Zealand, and with it civilization, and by whose efforts the first germ of colonization was planted, as although such an interchange as that described had existed for some time previously between the whalers and the Natives, there was no instance before 1814 of the European making his permanent abode amongst them. Mr. Marsden was the first chaplain of the convict colony of New South Wales, to which he sailed in 1793. A man of fervent piety, strong judgment and

common-sense, great intrepidity and firmness, he was specially suited for the very difficult post he had to fill in the lawless times of that early settlement, composed as it was of the worst and most depraved class of felons. As an amusing instance of one of the modes in which a pastor of those days had to rule his flock, I might give the following anecdote: He had married a female convict to some man, and called in one day to see how the newly married couple got on. "Oh," said the husband, "she will do nothing. She will neither cook nor keep the house tidy, and when I speak to her she laughs at me." Mr. Marsden ordered her to be brought to him, but she refused to come. He then called to her in a voice of thunder, and, terrified, she came. "What is this I hear of you?" said he. "You swore before the Lord to obey your husband and do your duty to him, and yet you break your solemn oath. Words have no effect upon you; we must see what severer measures will do." Without further ado, he laid his horsewhip so hotly about her shoulders that she cried out for pardon and peace, and promised amendment. Soon afterwards Mr. Marsden called again, and said, "Well, John, how is your wife now?" "Oh, thanks to you, sir," said the delighted man, "there could not be a better wife; she is all I could wish." It seems a pity that so simple and excellent a mode of dealing with refractory wives has passed out of fashion.

Another incident of those times: One day, when walking by the banks of the river, Mr. Marsden saw a convict jump into the water, with the apparent intention of drowning himself. Without delay he threw off his coat, and plunged in after him. A violent struggle then ensued between them, the convict endeavouring to get and keep Mr. Marsden's head under water. Finally Mr. Marsden, being the stronger of the two, managed to get out, dragging with him the poor convict, who, struck with remorse, confessed his stratagem—that his intention was to drown Mr. Marsden in revenge for having recently preached a sermon which had stung his guilty conscience, and wherein he had considered himself specially referred to. Mr. Marsden magnanimously forgave the criminal, who finally became a respectable member of society, and deeply attached to his deliverer.

During their short visits to Sydney, Mr. Marsden met with several New-Zealanders, and pronounced a high opinion of their intelligence and manners—so much so, indeed, that he determined to use his best efforts to raise them. "They are a noble race," he wrote to a friend, "vastly superior in understanding to anything you can imagine in a savage nation." The New-Zealanders were his frequent visitors, and on one occasion he had as many as thirty staying with him, to whom he imparted instruction not only in religion, but in agriculture. The first wheat—in fact, the first grain of any kind—grown in New Zealand was from seed given by Mr. Marsden to his friend the chief Ruatara, in 1814, who planted

it at Rangihona, in the Bay of Islands—the same spot where the Gospel was first planted. The Natives watched the grain grow with the keenest interest, and, I may add, incredulity, for, accustomed as they were to derive their food from roots—the fern, the kumara, the potato—they could not conceive that ships' bread and biscuit were made from the small ear, and they were constantly pulling up the growing plants, and to their increasing disgust finding only a few thready fibres. But when Ruatara, following his directions, cut and threshed out his corn, grinding it in his own primitive way, and converted it into a sort of bread, they danced and shouted for joy. We have all heard of bush damper, and some of us no doubt have eaten it, indigestible as it is, but it no doubt would be a delicate morsel when compared with Ruatara's first essay at bread-making.

In the brig "Active," purchased by him for £600 for his benevolent scheme, Mr. Marsden set sail for New Zealand on the 19th November, 1814, with a motley crew. He took with him Messrs. Kendall, Hall, and King, and their families—the first missionaries—eight New-Zealanders, amongst them Ruatara and his uncle, the great warrior Hongi, of whom more by and by; two Otaheitian; and Mr. J. L. Nicholas, who wrote an excellent account of the expedition. There were also on board two sawyers, a smith, and a stowaway convict, a horse and two mares, one bull and two cows, with a few sheep and poultry. These formed the first stock introduced into the colony. The brig safely reached the Bay of Islands, and there, at Rangihona, on Sunday, the 25th December, 1814, being Christmas Day, was the Gospel for the first time preached in New Zealand—a solemn and highly interesting scene. Ruatara, the day before, had made some preparations; he had constructed out of an old canoe a primitive pulpit and reading-desk, covered with Native cloth; another canoe, turned bottom upwards, supplied seats for the Europeans; and the English flag floated over all. The chiefs, dressed in regimentals given them by Governor Macquarie, with swords by their sides and switches in their hands, formed with their people a circle. A very solemn silence prevailed—the sight was truly impressive.

"On Sunday morning," says Mr. Marsden, "I saw the English flag flying, which was a pleasing sight in New Zealand. I considered it was the signal and dawn of civilization, liberty, and religion in that dark and benighted land, and never viewed the English colours with more gratification, and flattered myself they would never be removed until the Natives of the Island enjoyed the happiness of British subjects." Such words were prophetic. "I rose up," he continued, "and began the service with singing the Old Hundredth psalm, and felt my very soul melt within me when I viewed my congregation, and considered the state they were in. After reading the service, during which the Natives stood up and

sat down at the signals given by Koko Koro's switch, I preached from 'Behold, I bring you glad tidings of great joy,' &c.—a most suitable text. Ruatara translated."

In this manner the Gospel was introduced into New Zealand. Seven times did this apostle of New Zealand visit his loved land, the last occasion being in 1837, when he was in his 73rd year, old and infirm. "Mine eyes," he writes, "are dim with age, like Isaac's; it is with some difficulty I can see to write." The following year he died, almost his last words relating to the New Zealand mission.

There are, I think, four great historical subjects worthy of being transferred to canvas by our rising artists—the landing of Captain Cook at Poverty Bay, the first preaching of the Gospel at Rangihona by Samuel Marsden, the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, and the arrival of the first immigrants at Port Nicholson in 1840.

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## CHAPTER II.\*

Missionary-work—Maori Vocabulary—Hongi Hika and the "King" Movement—Perfidy of Some of the Early Traders—First Attempt at Colonization—Kororareka, "the Cyprus of the Southern Seas"—Land-sharking—Natives petition the King—Mr. Busby appointed Resident—Ambition of Baron de Thierry.

IN mentioning the various names given to this country of Statenland, Terre Australe, and New Zealand, I omitted to say that this latter—the one it now retains—was given by Tasman, and so called after Zealand, the southernmost province in Holland, his native country. The practice of naming places by the use of the prefix "New" is almost barbarous—certainly clumsy—New Hebrides, New South Wales, New Caledonia, for instance. It has descended to us in the form of New Zealand, and is perpetuated in New Plymouth, and in the old provincial terms of New Munster, New Ulster, and New Leinster, applied respectively to the three islands. Dunedin narrowly escaped being called New Edinburgh. For reasons which will be given when speaking more particularly of Otago, I am inclined to consider that the name of Dunedin was suggested by the late Rev. Dr. Burns rather than by Mr. Chambers, who, in an interesting memorandum recently sent to the City Council by Mr. Bathgate, is mentioned as being the name-giver. Digressing still a little further in this matter of nomenclature, I may mention that persons possessed of little ingenuity and less taste have proposed from time to time various substitutes for the name of New Zealand—such as Zealandia, Britannia, Austral-Albion, Victoria, Albiona, Erinia (from some fancied analogy to Ireland), and doubtless many others. The iconoclast has not, however, yet appeared who can set up a title better than the one he would cast down.

And now to assume the continuity of this lecture, and to speak of missionary labour. To do anything like justice to so interesting a subject would demand at least its own special lecture; but my narrative would be quite incomplete were I to make but a passing reference to an agency which has always been recognized as being one of the chief pioneers and promoters of a following colonization. And this was especially the case in New Zealand. Missionary influence became a great power not only in the land amongst the Natives, but with the British Government, as will be seen farther on. For thirty years after Samuel Marsden's first visit this sway was almost undisputed, and then it commenced to decline, from various causes. The English Church Mission established stations throughout the North Island, from Paihia, in the Bay of Islands,

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as a centre. Amongst them were those of Tauranga, the Hot Springs, Wanganui, Waikato, and Otaki.

I have visited many of these old stations, now deserted or desolate spots, or else converted to purposes of a far different character. Nothing brought back to me so vividly the bygone past of New Zealand as wandering through these ruined remains. The once pretty garden—record of the missionary's taste and solace—choked with weeds and undergrowth; the fences and hedges destroyed; the quaint little church, with small overhanging belfry, locked, silent, and rapidly going to decay—the house silent, too, damp and mouldy, overrun and darkened with vines and creepers, now disorderly, once trim and well cared for as they clustered round the low verandah—the author and occupant of all this himself lying somewhere near, dead, and perhaps forgotten. Such scenes I have more than once seen, and very sad they are—food for much painful thought and retrospect. Of scenes like these are the antiquities of New Zealand; and they, indeed, deserve the name. Surely people unthinkingly say that New Zealand is too new a country—that it has as yet little or no historical interest, and no antiquities. To my mind, associations make antiquities, rather than great lapse of time. The grey-grown ruins of the Rhine are but of yesterday when compared with the eternity of that river upon whose banks they crumble to decay; and yet do these banks and that river excite the idea of antiquity? The thin mists of two or three ages, or of a century, are quite sufficient, to my way of thinking, to invest the past with the desired halo. When thicker, they become more impenetrable, and it is then difficult to conjure through them visions of the dead and of their deeds. When treading the steps that Captain Cook and Samuel Marsden and these old missionaries trod, I can readily see what they saw, hear what they said, and look upon the life that was around them. But the old abbey does not so readily recall to me the procession of cowl-clad monks whose solemn chants once filled its aisles. Perhaps I cannot see far enough through its stone walls: a prejudiced fondness for anything New Zealand may partly blind me; or perhaps, after all, my swans may be but little better than geese.

The Wesleyan Mission originally commenced their labours in 1822, at Whangaroa, the scene of the "Boyd" massacre, but they were driven from this foothold, and then selected Hokianga, on the west coast, as the centre of their operations. It was then agreed between themselves and the Church Mission that the latter should occupy the east and the former the west coast of the island.

The Roman Catholics established a mission at Kororareka, in the Bay of Islands, in 1838, when Bishop Pompallier arrived.

Amongst the numerous minor dangers and trials to which the early missionary was exposed may be counted that to his gravity:



had this been lost the results must have been disastrous to his influence and the success of his work. An amusing instance of this, and relating to the appearance presented sometimes by the New-Zealander when at church, is well told by the Rev. W. Yate, one of the early superintendents of the Church Mission, and must have taxed to the utmost the gravity of the missionary. He says, "The importation of European articles of dress has much increased the wants of these people. At times they cut a most grotesque appearance in their new clothing, as how many articles soever a man may possess he will frequently manage to have them all on at once. His trousers, perhaps, will be tied round his neck, his shirt put on as trousers, and his jacket the wrong way before or turned inside out. The women, if they happen to have two or three gowns, will put them all on; and they will manage so to arrange their dress as to have some part of each article visible. I have seen a person come into the chapel at whose monstrous appearance I had the greatest difficulty to restrain a smile. The sleeves of an old gown have been drawn on as a pair of stockings, two small baskets fastened on the feet as shoes, and one gown over another so placed that you could see the flounce of one, the body of a second, the sleeves of a third, and the collar of a fourth; with a piece of an old striped shirt thrown carelessly over as a shawl, or a pair of trousers hung round the neck as a boa, but so arranged as not to conceal any other article of dress. I have seen a person thus decked and adorned enter a chapel in the midst of service without exciting the slightest attention from the assembled congregation, to whom it did not appear at all strange." From this extract we may conclude that vanity and the passion for dress exist as strongly in the bosoms of our brown as of our fair sisters.

A few of the old missionaries still survive, but no longer missionaries by name, for they have long since ceased to perform their original functions. Amongst the few still remaining I may mention the Bishop of Wellington, Octavius Hadfield, a zealous man, and one of lofty character; Archdeacon Maunsell, now of Auckland, who compiled a New Zealand dictionary, and was a, if not the, principal translator of the Old Testament into Maori. The venerable Bishop William Williams, author of "Christianity among the New-Zealanders," who was in Dunedin a few years ago at the Church of England Synod, will no doubt be well remembered by most here. He was one of the earliest New Zealand missionaries, arriving in 1825 to join his brother, Archdeacon Henry Williams, who arrived in 1823. He died at Napier about four years ago. He completed the translation of the New Testament. Many interesting stories did he recount of the early times, when he, in common with his brethren, indeed carried his life in his hands. Then there was the Rev. Mr. Buller, author of the

recent work, "Forty Years in New Zealand," and the father of Dr. Buller, the ornithologist; and the Rev. W. Colenso, of Napier, so valued a contributor to the Transactions of the Institute.

Missionary influence was a phrase much in men's mouths forty years ago and later. By their enemies the missionaries were accused of being avaricious, greedy of land bought from the Natives at small valuation, inhospitable, desirous of establishing a sort of hierarchy, and of endeavouring by every means in their power to hinder the settlement of the country by Europeans. The outbreak of the early Native hostilities, the difficulties besetting the purchase of land from the owners of the soil, and the initiation of government measures distasteful to the early settlers were attributed to missionary influence. That some of the number became unfitted to discharge their high functions, and were dismissed from the body in consequence, is quite true; but it is equally true that we who have come after are to an extent indebted to them for the, at any rate, partially successful effort of civilizing the Natives and of teaching them the peaceful arts. Was it not their duty to step between them and the land-shark—as he was then first called—and prevent the sale of thousands of acres of valuable land at the price of a few hatchets, blankets, and a little tobacco? Were not their fears well founded that the fruits of their many years' labours would be destroyed by a tide of migration which might bring in its flood the scum of European population and of ex-convicts from the neighbouring colonies, specimens of which they so frequently saw? Were they not right in endeavouring to stem such a possible torrent? And when an English Government was founded, new to its position, from whom could it seek better counsel than from the missionary? Scantly recompensed as he was, exposed to many a danger, and with little opportunity of educating his children or of bringing them up to professions, did he not exercise but common prudence in making provision for them by the purchase of land? In New South Wales it was customary to make grants of land in favour of the early missionary's family, who had left the comforts of home and of society. All this and more must be fairly pleaded in their favour, and yet I must conclude, from research and from much conversation with men of education and integrity, that the missionaries often assumed an attitude unwarranted by circumstances, and savouring of suspicion, if not of hostility to the settlers. Some of the more highly educated missionaries were far above entertaining any such feeling.

In England the hostility of the Church Missionary Society to the movement of British colonization in New Zealand was decidedly of the most open character. Mr. Danderson Coates, its lay secretary and mouthpiece, declared that he would oppose the step by every means in his power. In it he saw the gradual

but certain deterioration and extinction of the Native race, and the thwarting of the missionary's best-laid efforts for their moral and religious advancement. Representations such as these had great weight with the British Government, and threw most serious obstacles in the way of the New Zealand Company. At all events, religious labours amongst the Natives have long waned; indeed, for many years past they have almost wholly or entirely ceased. In 1867 I remember Bishop Selwyn, when leaving these shores for his Lichfield diocese, mournfully deploring that this should be so. He did not seek to explain it, but, like a true Christian, bowed his head and left the mystery in the hands of God.

Often the missionaries complained that they were like men crying in the wilderness. Perhaps the seed fell on sterile ground. Perhaps, and probably, the advent of Europeans and their habits imparted none of their own virtues and all their vices. And perhaps some thoughtful men may see in Christianity but a lever introducing the civilization of a dominant race, and that the leverage is now accomplished so far as New Zealand is concerned. When Hawke's Bay was erected into a province some clever satirist proposed that this should be its seal: In the background was the westering sun, whose face was covered with a broad grin; towards it were hurrying a missionary and a Maori, the latter still clad in his Native mat; in the foreground, facing to the east, was a settler, at whose feet was a plough. Clever, severe, undeserved. The first book printed in New Zealand was printed by Colenso. It was printed at Paihia, at the newly erected Missionary Press, in 1835, and is a translation of the Epistles to the Philippians and Ephesians. Previously all necessary printing was done at Sydney, by G. Eagar, of King Street.

These facts are mentioned as of some historic interest, and this will be the proper place to say that the New Zealand language was reduced to law and order from chaotic confusion, and rendered susceptible of being written, by Professor Lee, of Cambridge, in 1820, who subsequently imposed on the vowels the open or Italian sound. Previously the phonetic qualities of the vowels were represented by the writer in accordance with his own idea of their orthography. Hence the clumsy appearance of "Poonamoo," "Wytangy," "Wycatto," "Hourackee." Some Native names in use among us to this day offend against the canons laid down by Professor Lee. The language is particularly soft and sweet, abounding in vowels, and every word terminating with one; so fair a tongue deserves the full beauty of the Italian dress.

It was Mr. Kendall, one of the first of Mr. Marsden's missionaries, who, visiting England in 1820, assisted Professor Lee in his labours on the language. He was accompanied by the celebrated chief Hongi Hika, the "Napoleon of New Zealand," as he was called, also a friend of Mr. Marsden's, and one who, as you will

remember, so greatly aided in the introduction of Christianity. Hongi, whose visits to Sydney and association with the white man had fired his curiosity, was restless to visit England, and thither he went with Mr. Kendall—in his own words, “to see King George, and bring back missionaries, carpenters, blacksmiths, Europeans, and twenty soldiers.” In England he was invited to visit the King, from whom he received a present of a suit of armour. He saw the greatness and grandeur of the kingdom, its soldiers, and its military preparations; he heard the stories of Napoleon’s battles, with which all Europe then rang; and, inflamed with all the warlike spirit of his race, he exclaimed, “There is but one King for England; there shall be but one for New Zealand.”

No doubt this was the first idea of a Maori king—an idea which years afterwards, carried to its conclusion in the person of Potatau, caused so much war and bloodshed amongst our fellow-settlers, and has so seriously impeded the progress of affairs in the North Island—a condition of things which unhappily yet remains in the newer forms of Hauhauism and of Te Whiti’s dogmatism. Thenceforth Hongi directed all his energies to the procuring of guns and gunpowder. He begged them from his new-found friends, and he converted his numerous and valuable presents into them, and immediately on his return he armed a great war-party with the deadly weapons, and with them he carried death and destruction to the most distant tribes—the Thames, Waikato, Taranaki—who could but feebly contend with their own Native clubs and spears. Wherever he went he was victorious, and for seven long years he carried on this bloody warfare, in which it is computed that between twenty and thirty thousand fell. Baskets of human flesh were sent as presents to his distant friends, and cannibal feasts were more numerous than perhaps they had ever been.

But out of this evil good came, and further preparation was made for coming colonization. The vanquished saw they must fight the victor with his own weapons, and to procure these they left no stone unturned. A rapidly increasing trade for these implements of warfare sprang up with Sydney. The Governor of New South Wales tried in vain to stop the bloody traffic. Arms and powder, and nothing but them, would they have for barter. Twenty or thirty muskets would purchase a small shipload of dressed flax. In 1830, vessels of 6,000 tons in the aggregate cleared out of Sydney for New Zealand, and returned with between 2,000 and 3,000 tons of flax—a quantity indicative of an immense amount of labour on the part of the Natives.

To our shame be it said, another form of barter was for preserved and tattooed heads, which were kept as curiosities or sent to distant museums. Not only were the heads of those sold who

had fallen in battle, but still further to meet the traffic the slaves were elaborately tattooed—a lengthy and cruel operation—and, when the process was complete, had their heads cut off and preserved by smoking, and these were then sold. To stop this, Governor Darling inflicted a fine of £40, with the publication of the offender's name if caught.

Some of the ship captains were a disgrace to the name of British sailor: for hire, they would carry in their vessels from one part of the islands to another war-parties, and would aid and abet them in their sudden and unexpected attacks on the defenceless stranger. One instance of this, and I have done with these tales of horror. I do but recount them that you may form some idea of the barbarous feuds that disfigured this beautiful land within the memory of many now living, and that you may readily see how any project to colonize such a country was no sooner formed than abandoned. In 1830, Stewart, captain of a whaler, conveyed the celebrated chief Rauparaha and eighty warriors to Banks Peninsula, there to avenge the death of their friend Te Pahi. Arrived there, they hid below, in the cabin of the vessel. Stewart falsely represented himself as trading for flax, and invited the unsuspecting Natives on board, amongst them being the chief Tamaiharanui, his wife and daughter. Descending into the cabin, this chief met face to face the cruel Rauparaha, who, drawing up Tamaiharanui's lip, said "There are the teeth that ate my father." Instantly all were massacred except Tamaiharanui, his wife and daughter, who were kept for torture. Rauparaha's warriors then landed, and slew right and left. Captain Stewart then put to sea, he himself, it is said, partaking of the human flesh which was cooked on board. The most fearful orgies were kept up, during which the three poor captives had to witness the indignities passed on their dead relatives' bodies. The distressed mother, by her husband's orders, strangled her daughter, a beautiful girl of sixteen. This act so enraged Rauparaha that he sucked Tamaiharanui's blood from a flowing vein, and killed him by thrusting into his body a red-hot ramrod. Stewart was afterwards tried at the Supreme Court, New South Wales, for his share in the matter, but escaped punishment, for want of evidence.

New Zealand had been a dependency of New South Wales since 1814, when Mr. Kendall, the missionary, and the chiefs Hongi and Ruatara were made Magistrates, and this was the first germ of British rule in New Zealand. Such lawless doings of Europeans as have already been recorded necessitated a further extension of legislation, and consequently in 1823 and 1828 Acts of Parliament were passed whereby the powers and jurisdiction of the various Courts of New South Wales were extended to the British subjects in New Zealand. As can readily be imagined, the difficulty and expense of procuring evidence rendered those

Acts almost a dead-letter and useless. Crime was frequent in the little European settlements, and went unpunished unless by the rude and extemporized law of Judge Lynch. The missionaries were few and scattered, and almost powerless except amongst the Natives, with whom their exemplary lives and their knowledge of the useful arts secured them high favour and influence—an influence which the whalers lost no opportunity of undermining. And, amongst other causes, it is certain that the evil deeds which the missionaries were constantly witnessing at the hands of the lowest of their countrymen led them years afterwards to offer considerable opposition to the settlement of the country by the colonists.

The first real attempt at founding a settlement in New Zealand was in 1825—a year of much speculation and of much misery. A Colonel Nicholls, of the Marines, had collected a great deal of valuable information respecting the country, and submitted his plans, but unsuccessfully, to Lord Bathurst, then Secretary of State for the Colonies. Thus unfortunate, he succeeded in interesting his uncle, Colonel Torrens, whose nephew of the same name is so well and favourably known in connection with the Land Act. Through Colonel Torrens's exertions a company was formed in London, composed of fifteen influential members, with the Earl of Durham as chairman. The views of the company were expressed to Mr. Huskisson, the President of the Board of Trade, who gave his sanction to the proposal, and promised a Royal charter in case the preliminary expedition should prove successful. A ship—the "Rosanna," I think, was her name—was fitted out under the charge of Captain Herd, the company's agent, and sailed with about sixty settlers—artisans chiefly. The site of the settlement was chosen near the mouth of the Hokianga River, on the west coast—indeed, the spot is known to this day as Herd's Point—and here a purchase of land was made. Unfortunately for the expedition, the New-Zealanders were enjoying their usual pastime—at war with some neighbouring tribe—and this, together with the terrifying scene of a war-dance in which they were engaged, so alarmed the would-be settlers that, like Tasman two hundred years before, they tripped anchor and sailed for Sydney. In this speculation £20,000 was lost; and thus disastrously ended the first attempt at colonization. Many of the artisans, however, less terrified than their leaders, returned to New Zealand, and became sawyers.

As you have already learnt, a small but increasing European population was disseminated amongst the Natives in various parts, but principally in the numerous inlets of the Bay of Islands and of the rivers discharging there. That part of the bay called "Kororareka"—the place of shags and cormorants—and now called "Russell," where the Union Steamship Company's steamers

coal, was the favourite resort of whalers for refreshment ; indeed, for traders generally. The anchorage was excellent, and well sheltered from prevalent winds ; the beach, about three-quarters of a mile in length, was the best in the bay, and there was gently rising, undulating ground in the background. Here, in 1830, Benjamin Turner, a shrewd man and an ex-convict from Sydney—or an “emancipist,” as they were more euphemistically called—worked as a sawyer, and, saving sufficient money, bought a few feet of water-frontage from the Natives, and thereon built the first grog-shop. From this small beginning started the first town in New Zealand, and in 1832 its inhabitants numbered 100, and consisted of sailors, who found here a paradise, where tobacco and grog were abundant and untaxed ; convicts, breathing free air once more ; fraudulent debtors ; storekeepers, large and small, who sold every kind of article to the ships frequenting the harbour and to the Natives ; beachcombers and sawyers—adventurers of every kind, all living together, and forming, no doubt, one of the most motley assemblages ever congregated together. In 1838 the population had increased to about a thousand. It then contained a church, of course, five hotels, innumerable grog-shops, a theatre, gambling-saloons, and skittle-alleys. As many as thirty-six whalers were anchored there at one time, and in one year 120 vessels sailed in and out ; indeed, this pandemonium became the favourite resort of the South Sea whalers, and from its general dissoluteness was called “the Cyprus of the Southern Seas.”

The Rev. Dr. Lang, of Sydney, who will be remembered as having preached in Dunedin in 1874, visited it forty years ago, on his way to England, and draws a fearful picture of these scenes. On his arrival in England he addressed “four letters to the Earl of Durham,” who was then chairman of the New Zealand Land Company, on the state of the country in 1839. In them he urged the advisability of colonizing it, and showed how eligible it was for the purpose. Of course, quarrels amongst themselves and with the Natives were constant, and it was useless to think of seeking redress in distant Sydney. Hence the Kororareka Association was formed, whose members drew up a set of rules, fifteen in number. They listened to complaints of every kind, and adjudicated upon them. Every member was to have a gun, pistols, twenty rounds of ball cartridge, a bayonet, and cutlass. Slight offences were punished by fine, greater by expulsion, and the greatest by expulsion preceded by tarring and feathering—or, as feathers were scarce, by being rolled, after the tarring, in the cottony flowers of the raupo reed or of the toetoe. Thus adorned, the culprit was marched through the settlement, the whole population following at his heels, and occasionally accompanied by such a primitive band of music as they could raise. He was put in a canoe, with strict injunctions never to come back—an injunction never disre-

garded—and was then paddled over to the other side of the bay, to Pahia, where the missionaries resided. Some such form of police is necessary, and is consequently developed, in every rude and primitive community. It was so, notably, in the early days of the Californian diggings. News of this rough-and-ready mode of dispensing justice soon reached the ears of the British Government, and it was determined to take some steps in the matter, but these were allowed to drop.

Such was the condition of things in the first town in New Zealand. I have used the term “land-sharking”; it means the voracious and insatiable appetite for earth. This disease of earth-hunger exists in a modified, though more injurious, form at the present day. Then comparatively few persons were affected by it. The capacity for land was something enormous. One hundred thousand acres was a small quantity to swallow, and did not seem to be productive of much harm, owing no doubt to the counter-acting effects of the few simple things used in the purchase, such as blankets, muskets, jews’ harps, looking-glasses, tomahawks, tobacco, and a very little money. But nowadays it is a much more serious affection, having recently been epidemic amongst all classes of the community, and causing almost certainly the effect of great emptiness in the chest. Even so small a quantity as a few quarter-acres, especially when situated in townships, has been known to be productive of much misery and discomfort. Adventurers, and those who were not adventurers, foresaw the high position that this favoured country must eventually take, from its splendid climate and its varied resources. They flocked down, chiefly from Sydney, and purchased millions of acres from the Natives at the most nominal price—500 acres, as an instance, for a penny. Messrs. Catlin, after whom is called Catlin’s River, professed to purchase 5,500,000 acres for £60; another speculator, 2,000,000 acres; Mr. George Green, lately deceased, 6,500,000 acres. A purchase was made in the North Island of a portion of land embracing a coast-line of 160 miles, and extending into the interior as far as the purchaser thought convenient to himself, the purchase-money being equivalent to about £160. Of course, scores of such claims were afterwards disallowed, but they will serve to show the nature and enormity of the traffic. As far as could be defined in September, 1841, there were in the South Island thirty-eight claimants for 19,250,000 acres of land, and in the North Island 339 claimants for 6,250,000 acres. The legal documents—if they deserve the name—were prepared in Sydney, and specimens of them I now exhibit. A special feature of interest in them is that the signature of the chief, who was unable to write his name, is represented on the parchment by an elaborate drawing of the tattoo upon his face. This method of signature is extensively used in the Treaty of Waitangi.



The missionaries did good service in representing these nefarious transactions to the British Government, dreading, justifiably enough, that what with internecine warfares and their loss of land the Native race would soon be exterminated. The missionaries further feared the annexation of the islands by the French, of whose claims I shall immediately speak. They accordingly, in 1831, induced thirteen of the principal chiefs at the Bay of Islands to apply for protection to King William. As the document is curious I transcribe a translation of it:—

“ To King William, the Gracious Chief of England.

“ King William,—We, the chiefs of New Zealand, assembled at this place called the Kerikeri, write to thee, for we hear that thou art the great chief of the other side the water, since the many ships which come to our land are from thee. We are a people without possessions. We have nothing but timber, flax, pork, and potatoes. We sell these things, however, to your people, and then we see the property of Europeans. It is only thy hand which is liberal towards us. From thee also come the missionaries who teach us to believe in Jehovah God, and on Christ His Son. We have heard that the tribe of Marion is at hand, coming to take away our land, therefore we pray thee to become our friend and the guardian of these islands, lest the teasing of other tribes should come near to us, and lest strangers should come and take away our lands. And if any of thy people should be troublesome or vicious towards us (for some persons are living here who have run away from ships), we pray thee to be angry with them, that they may be obedient, lest the anger of the people of this land fall upon them. This letter is from us, from the chiefs of the Natives of New Zealand.”

This document evidently bears the impress of the missionary hand. We need not stop to remark how curious it is that this handful of chiefs in the Bay of Islands should be taken to represent the whole Native population, the largest section of which was continually plunged in war and had never been associated with the missionaries. Suffice it to say that the document served its intended purpose. A gracious reply on behalf of his Sovereign was sent by Lord Goderich, one of the principal Secretaries of State, to the chiefs of New Zealand, and Mr. James Busby was accredited to them as British Resident—a title well known in the Native Courts of India, and given by the East India Company to those of their officers who were resident at those Courts, and who watched over the British interests.

Mr. Busby was a well-known New South Wales settler, and he held office from 1833 to the assumption of British Government in 1840 by Governor Hobson. His duties were generally to promote peace amongst all parties, whether European or Native; to assist the missionaries, and to communicate anything of importance to

the Government. Unfortunately, he had little or no means of enforcing his authority: he was single-handed, and he was facetiously called by the graceless European residents "a man-of-war without guns." When on a visit to the Bay of Islands, I called upon Mrs. Busby, widow of the late Mr. Busby. She was the most courteous and stately old lady I have ever seen, and much interesting information did she give me. Her house, which has stood upon its present site for nearly fifty years, is situated at Waitangi, upon a conspicuous point of land gently inclining down to the water's edge. Upon its slopes was signed the celebrated Treaty of Waitangi, whereby the chiefs of New Zealand ceded possession of New Zealand to the Queen of England.

Here will be the proper place to refer to the assumption of authority by the French. The French were frequent visitors to this country, upon whose shores their countrymen, Marion and his companions, met their sad fate. French whalers frequented its harbours, and men-of-war sailing through the South Seas rarely omitted to visit the spot, that had historic interest for their nation as well as for the British. Some efforts were made in France, and these were advocated by the journals, to found a colony and a penal settlement in New Zealand, and it was partly to counteract these efforts that Mr. Busby was installed as Resident and general supervisor. Very nearly, as you probably know, was the French standard planted at Akaroa in 1840. To this incident I shall more fully refer in my next lecture. But the most extraordinary—indeed, ludicrous—attempt of the French to take possession of New Zealand was on the part of Baron de Thierry in 1838. The whole scheme, inclusive of its ending, has a great savour of one of the celebrated though hare-brained undertakings of the immortal Don Quixote. The Baron de Thierry, though born and bred in England, was the son of a French nobleman—an *émigré*. In 1820, whilst at Cambridge, he met Mr. Kendall, the missionary, and Hongi, the chief, who were on a visit to England, and who were engaged in assisting Professor Lee in the compilation of his New Zealand Vocabulary. The scheme then, no doubt, commenced to develop in this fertile brain. He ingratiated himself with Hongi, who gave him pressing invitations to visit New Zealand, and prevailed on Mr. Kendall to purchase, on his return, some large blocks of land. This it was professed was done to the extent of some 40,000 acres of land, wood, and water, for the munificent consideration of thirty-six axes. The deed, such as it was, was signed by three chiefs, two of whom—Patuone and Tamati Waka Nene—afterwards became firm friends and allies of the early British Government, and fought by the side of our soldiers in their first engagements with the Natives. It would appear that no attempt was made for some years by the Baron to take possession of his territory—not, indeed, until 1835, by which time, to use their own expression, the three chiefs "had

their eyes opened," and saw that they had been grievously cheated. They accordingly repudiated the whole bargain, and very properly. In 1835 Prince Charles prepared to take possession of his kingdom, and notified to Mr. Busby that such was his intention. The document commenced thus: "Charles, Baron de Thierry, by the grace of God, sovereign chief of New Zealand"; and proceeded to say that he was awaiting the arrival of an armed vessel to convey him to the Bay of Islands. He shadowed forth the form that his future government was to assume, and promised magistracies, with salaries attached, to those who accepted office under his authority.

Owing to the difficulties thrown in his way, he did not land in New Zealand until 1838, when he brought with him his family and a body of retainers to the number of ninety, the majority of whom were men of the lowest description—adventurers and loafers picked up in the streets of Sydney—and with only about three weeks' provisions. He called a meeting of the chiefs, who, however, laughed at his pretensions, as did also his duped followers, who quickly left him to avoid starvation. The poor Baron, shorn of everything, was allowed to settle, by the sufferance of the chiefs, on a piece of land in the neighbourhood of his former kingdom.

Years after he was visited by a gentleman who gave an amusing account of his interview. The Baron was still full of high-flown ideas of past and future greatness, his excellent wife, who no doubt from long experience knew the uselessness of contradicting him, good-naturedly assenting to all her husband's assertions. There was every appearance of poverty in the household; indeed, an absence of the necessaries of life. If anything were wanting, the guest was politely told that it was simply because it could not be procured. There was no bread at supper, but this was simply due to the fact that the flour was finished the day before, and that a fresh supply was hourly expected by the next vessel from Sydney. There was no wine or spirits, and their absence was ingeniously accounted for on the ground that the Baron had quite recently become deeply impressed with the propriety of teetotal principles. The Baron died a few years ago at Auckland, where he had been making a scanty subsistence by teaching music.

This episode was followed by good results. On the receipt of the Baron's document, signed with a great seal, Mr. Busby issued an official address to his countrymen, and, calling a meeting of chiefs, informed them of this attempt upon their independence. As a consequence of this, thirty-five of the chiefs signed a paper, in which they asserted their independence, and agreed to form themselves into a confederation. A facsimile of this is here exhibited, and is the precursor of the more celebrated Treaty of Waitangi.

I have given a short sketch of some of the chief events in early New Zealand history, as far down as the year 1838. With the next chain of events—that relating to the active and real colonization of New Zealand—we here are intimately linked, and its consideration I shall defer until the next lecture. I can only regret that the exigencies of professional work have allowed me no opportunity whatever of revising what I have written, or of presenting to you many additional interesting facts. This consideration, however, gives me little anxiety, believing, as I do, that your good nature will pardon unavoidable faults.

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### CHAPTER III.\*

The New Zealand Company and Edward Gibbon Wakefield—Struggles of the Company for Recognition—Arrival of the "Tory"—Wellington chosen for the Settlement—Articles of Constitution—First Newspaper and Bank—Quarrels with the Natives—New Plymouth Company—British Sovereignty established under Captain Hobson—Treaty of Waitangi—Auckland selected as Capital—Protest from Colonel Wakefield.

I NOW propose giving you a short account of that great colonizing movement which, begun nearly half a century ago, has been carried on with varying energy ever since, and which finds us, indeed, the enviable possessors of one of the fairest countries upon earth—a Britain of the South, which, if led on with judgment and patriotism, must, like that Greater Britain, become a mistress of the seas at no distant date. At present one is inclined to exclaim, "Poor New Zealand!"

I fear that many of the details I am about to give you to-night will not prove interesting; but that is unavoidable if the promise made to the members of this Institute on the occasion of my first lecture is to be kept, and that was, to give a sketch of New Zealand history from Tasman's day down to the settlement of Canterbury—our youngest province.

The details of colonization may be considered dry and uninteresting by those who see in the arrival of fresh immigrants a very simple and every-day thing; and so nowadays it is—it is but a separation from old ties and an old country, a pleasant and speedy voyage, and then a settling-down in a new one to ways as civilized, and in communities almost as advanced, as those left behind. But this was not always so. The present condition of things is the outcome of many a hardship and many a labour on the part of our pioneers, who at last succeeded in making the way smooth for future comers. Nay, as you will presently learn, those who took part in the early colonization of these Islands, and who sought the aid of Government in their great endeavour, were constantly thwarted, and were all but forbidden to carry out the undertaking.

Now New Zealand is one of the great commercial centres of the world; it is no longer invested with that halo of romance which once belonged to the most distant spot on earth—rarely visited, inhabited by a cruel and bloodthirsty race, beloved by self-sacrificing missionaries and missionary societies—known almost only by its echo. Now its freshness and gloss have gone. Steam and electricity have disenchanting it, and plain, practical, civilized New Zealand of to-day is very different from the New Zealand of Tasman, and Cook, and Samuel Marsden. Try to form some

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\* Lecture delivered before the Otago Institute, 9th September, 1884.

conception of what it was like in 1838, the time I am about to speak of. There was not a road or bridge throughout its length. The whole European population did not number more than a thousand souls, and these, as a rule, were of a most discreditable sort—runaway convicts and sailors, fraudulent debtors, pakeha-Maoris, flax-traders and other traders, whalers and sealers, and missionaries. Of the thousand inhabitants, probably five hundred were located in the north of the North Island, principally in the little town of Kororareka, which for the wild orgies enacted on its beach and in its grog-shops was the very Cyprus of the Southern Seas. The beach off Kororareka afforded anchorage to the numerous whaling-vessels which resorted here for holiday-time and to refit. In Cook Strait there were numerous parties of whalers, who occupied various little nooks and bays. The small whaling village of Te Awaiti—or, as they, sailor-fashion, called it, Tarwhite—numbered about forty souls. Farther south again, dotted here and there, were other whaling and sealing establishments—Banks Peninsula, Akaroa, Moeraki, Waikouaiti, Otago, the Molyneux, the New River, and, southernmost of all, Preservation Inlet.

Such was the condition of New Zealand, so far as its European population was concerned, at the time when the New Zealand Company made its final and successful effort at the colonization of these Islands. It may be of interest here to recapitulate shortly the efforts, trials, and difficulties of those public-spirited men whose unwearied exertions were finally crowned with a success which deserved to be greater and more continuous than eventually was the case. Foremost amongst them—*facile princeps*—was the celebrated Edward Gibbon Wakefield, a man of undoubted genius, of indomitable perseverance, great foresight and resource, ready of pen and speech, and the author, amongst other works, of a new system of colonization. No account of our early history would be complete without a special reference to him. As a writer, his style was clear, fluent, and charming. His first work, published in 1829 under a *nom de plume*, was entitled "A Letter from Sydney," and in this agreeably-written book he sketches that system of colonization which, associated with his name, was applied to early New Zealand settlement, and which twenty years later was fully developed in his "View of the Art of Colonization." In 1838 he went to Canada as private secretary to Lord Durham, who had been appointed Governor-General at the time of the rebellion in that colony. Mr. Wakefield's assistance in searching out the causes of this rebellion, and suggesting suitable measures for their removal, were of great value. From this it may be presumed that Mr. Wakefield was well qualified for the important part he sustained in our earlier history. It may here be added that other members of his family have been, and are, identified

with New Zealand—Colonel William Wakefield, a brother, who was the principal agent of the company ; Captain Arthur, also a brother, killed at the Wairau massacre ; Edward Jerningham, a son, well known as a politician and author of “*Adventures in New Zealand*” ; and, lastly, the present member for Geraldine, a nephew, who possesses much of his uncle’s eloquence and talent.

With this short preface I come to the incidents immediately connected with our colonization. For valuable information on this and many other kindred matters I am greatly indebted to the late Mr. Justice Chapman, who, more than most of us are aware, took a very active part in the labours of Wakefield and his companions.

In 1836, then, Mr. Wakefield induced his friend Mr. Henry George Ward, M.P. for Sheffield, and father of Judge Ward, to apply to the House of Commons for an inquiry into the disposal of the waste lands of the British colonies. The application was granted, and resulted in the issue of a blue-book in August of that year. Mr. Wakefield gave the chief evidence to the Committee, and therein developed the views of his own special system, to which it will be necessary again to revert. In reply to the question of Mr. Ward, the Chairman, “*Are there any parts of the world subject to our dominion now in which you imagine new colonies might be advantageously founded under this proposed system?*” Mr. Wakefield replied, “*Very near to Australia there is a country which all testimony concurs in describing as the fittest country in the world for colonization ; as the most beautiful country, with the finest climate and the most productive soil : I mean New Zealand. It will be said that New Zealand does not belong to the British Crown, and that is true ; but Englishmen are beginning to colonize New Zealand. Adventurers go from New South Wales and Van Diemen’s Land, and make a treaty with a Native chief, the poor chief not understanding a word about it ; but they make a contract upon parchment, and with a great seal, and for a few trinkets and a little gunpowder they obtain land. We are, I think, going to colonize New Zealand, though we are doing so in a most slovenly, scrambling, and disgraceful manner.*” This was on the 27th June. In the afternoon of the same day, whilst Mr. Wakefield and Mr. Chapman were walking along the Strand, they were overtaken by the Hon. Francis Baring, a member of the Committee, who, referring to the evidence given before it that morning, said, “*Do you really think, Mr. Wakefield, that New Zealand would be a good field for colonization?*” “*Yes,*” said the latter, “*and if you will be chairman of a company for the purpose I will give you every assistance in my power.*” Further conversation and discussion ensued, and from this point and on this date we may consider that the foundations of that scheme were laid which eventuated in the extensive operations of the New Zealand Company.

During the latter part of 1836 Mr. Wakefield, with the co-operation of numerous friends, elaborated his plans, and in the spring of the following year the New Zealand Association was formed, whose members consisted of two classes—the first, those who purposed emigrating, and by whom the expenses of the undertaking were to be borne; the second, of gentlemen of high social standing, chiefly members of Parliament, whose connection with the undertaking was of a purely patriotic character, and was to further the great movement of emigration which was then agitating the nation.

At this time there was much commercial depression in Great Britain, and deep distress amongst the poorer classes. The price of bread was high, and Messrs. Bright and Cobden were urging with all their eloquence the acceptance of their free-trade principles as a relief to the calamities which had befallen the country. No wonder, then, that at such a juncture a judicious system of emigration, whereby the pressure and misery of a superabundant population might be diminished, should commend itself to the public spirit of men in high position as another means besides free-trade of affording relief. The committee of this association, then, was formed entirely of gentlemen of this class, and to them was entrusted its working. A Bill was drafted to facilitate and regulate the settlement of British subjects in New Zealand. Application was made to Lord Melbourne, the then Prime Minister, who granted an interview to the committee, and was apparently favourable to the undertaking.

It was not, however, destined to succeed. Violent and continued opposition was exhibited to it by the Church Missionary Society, who gave as a reason their fear that the influx of a European population would disturb and destroy their work of evangelizing the Natives, and that the so-called civilization of aborigines was only effected by passing over their dead bodies. Mr. Dandeson Coates, the lay secretary of the society, declared to a deputation which waited upon him to discuss the subject and to gain the invaluable assistance of the Church Mission that he was opposed to the colonization of New Zealand upon any plan, and that he would thwart it by every means in his power.

Without doubt, such opposition as a power behind the throne was one of the causes which induced the Government later on to refuse that assistance which Lord Melbourne had apparently intended to bestow on the occasion of the first interview. Then, too, dissensions had arisen between the two classes of which the association was composed, and the dissolution of Parliament, which ensued on the death of King William, finally caused active proceedings to be suspended. But they were not allowed to drop. Several members continued their efforts unweariedly. Information relative to New Zealand was collected from every quarter, was



published in a readable small 8vo volume, and was circulated far and wide. Articles and references appeared in various papers, and no stone was left unturned whereby the subject of New Zealand affairs could be brought before the public. The number of members on the already influential committee, was increased from eleven to eighteen. Amongst them were the Hon. Mr. Baring (who retained office as chairman), the Earl of Durham, Lord Petre, Sir William Molesworth, Mr. Ward, M.P., and Mr. Hutt, also M.P., after whom the River Hutt, near Wellington, is named.

Again, at the assembling of the new Parliament (Queen Victoria's first), was the assistance of the Ministry sought, but it speedily became evident that the efforts made during the recess by the enemies of the measure had had their weight. "The country," said Lord Glenelg, the Secretary for the Colonies, "had colonies enough; more than we could protect in time of war. There were diplomatic reasons against colonizing New Zealand particularly. The Russians, the Americans, the French would object to it; and as to the appointment of a special authority for the purpose, such a thing was without precedent—an innovation quite uncalled for."

After further correspondence with, and deputations to, the Government, Lord Glenelg promised the assistance of Ministers to the scheme, provided the association would no longer ask, as it had previously done, for a special Act of Parliament in its favour, but would be content with a charter of incorporation instead—would, in fact, resolve itself into an ordinary joint-stock company, with a subscribed capital. Other stipulations were also appended by Lord Glenelg—such as that the settlement and control of the projected colony should be confided to the company for but a short term of years; that the Government should have a veto as to the persons forming the governing body; that a similar charter might at any time be granted to any other colonizing body who should apply for permission; and that no purchase of land should be made from the Natives without the consent of officers appointed by the Crown. Clumsy and unworkable as many of these provisions were, their object was evidently the excellent one of preventing land-sharking and the trafficking in lands by persons whose sole object was money-making; and it was confidently asserted that there were many persons of this class who had joined the association with none other than these purely selfish objects. Lord Glenelg's propositions were rejected by the association, the avowed grounds being that they had all along sought but the public benefit, and not private gain, and that, acting upon such principles, it would not convert itself into an ordinary joint-stock trading company.

Having thus failed in their private interviews with Ministers, the association sought to be more successful by bringing pressure

to bear upon the Government through the intervention of Parliament. With this end in view, the influence of the members of the association was used in such a manner that a Select Committee of the House of Lords was appointed to take evidence on the state of the Islands of New Zealand, and on the expediency of regulating the settlement of British subjects therein. Their report is a highly interesting and valuable one, full of information relative to the Natives, the missionaries, trade, and productions from the year 1815 to the date of the report. Its recommendations, however, did not give that support to the views of the promoters which they had fondly hoped would be the case. The Lords simply reported that in their opinion the extension of the colonial possessions of the Crown was a question of public policy to be decided by Her Majesty's Government, and that if its support were given it should be in that direction which had previously effected the rapid advancement of the religious and social condition of the aborigines of New Zealand. This was, of course, a victory for Mr. Dandeson Coates and the Church Missionary Society. The matter was thus again left in the hands of a hostile Government, and with no special presentment.

There was little now to be done. As a forlorn hope, Mr. Baring and Sir George Sinclair, with a determination deserving more success, brought into the House of Commons a Bill for the provisional government of British settlements in the Islands of New Zealand. Mr. Baring spoke long and eloquently, pointing out the advantages of the measure to the Natives as well as to the emigrant, and bitterly denouncing its opponents—showing, indeed, that large tracts of Native lands had been purchased by certain members of the missionary body itself. But all was to no purpose. The Bill was thrown out by a large majority on its second reading, with many expressions of malignity from those who voted against it.

This was in June, 1838. And it would seem that, suffering from such continuous and severe defeats, the association must succumb. For a time its operations were, indeed, arrested; but its promoters had advanced too far to recede, especially as many persons, desirous of emigrating under their auspices, had relinquished their occupations, and had realized whatever property they possessed.

Early in 1839, and after continued trials, difficulties, and discussions, a new company was formed from the old one, under the title, first, of the "New Zealand Colonization Society," then the "New Zealand Land Company," and finally of the "New Zealand Company," by which title it was known during the remainder of its chequered existence. Its directorate was a large and influential one, the Earl of Durham, who ever took a warm interest in its fortunes, being governor. Its capital was £100,000,

in 4,000 shares of £25 each. With such favour was the project viewed that these shares were all taken up and the large capital paid within the short space of five weeks after the issue of the prospectus. In it the objects of the company were stated to be the "employment of capital in the purchase and resale of lands in New Zealand, and the promotion of emigration to that country."

Application was now made to Lord Normanby, the new Secretary for the Colonies, for a charter of incorporation, on the grounds that the association had, in accordance with the suggestion made by Lord Glenelg, the predecessor of Lord Normanby in office, resolved itself at last into a joint-stock company; but this application was refused, the Government exhibiting as much hostility to the scheme as before. Thus, again foiled and denied assistance, nothing remained for the company but to carry out the arrangements they had been making for many months previously by despatching their preliminary expedition.

At this point it will be convenient and interesting shortly to refer to those principles of colonization known as the Wakefield system, and upon which our earliest New Zealand settlements were founded. With Mr. Wakefield this system was raised to an art, considered by many competent to judge as a very perfect one, by others as having failed, and as having brought loss, and in some cases ruin, upon those who trusted in it. At any rate, its principles were fervently discussed by Mr. Wakefield with many of his able and brilliant friends—John Stuart Mill; Roebuck; Charles Buller, the statesman and M.P. for Liskeard; Thomas Duncombe; Mr. Rintoul, the well-known founder and editor of the *Spectator*; and the late Judge Chapman, then a rising barrister of the Middle Temple. Apparently it had been the custom of colonizing nations to grant waste lands to applicants almost without any restriction for a very small price, or for none at all, and in blocks of any size. The land was abundant and was waste, and what better mode was there of inducing settlement upon it than by freely bestowing it in this manner?

A remarkable instance of this system—perhaps the last—was that of the unfortunate Swan River Settlement, Western Australia, in 1829. A more lamentable instance of mismanagement and failure there could hardly be. Had it not been so disastrous it would have been ludicrous. The settlement was to receive no aid from the Mother-country; it was to support itself by means of its land, which was to be granted in blocks of varying size, from the Governor downwards to the humblest official. Mr. Thomas Peel seems to have been the chief victim—to him was granted 500,000 acres, to another 100,000, to a third 80,000, and so on. So that, in the graphic words of a witness before the Commons Committee, the settlers did not know where they were—that is,

each settler knew that he was where he was, but he could not tell where any one else was. That was why some people died of hunger, for though there was an ample supply of food at the Governor's house the settlers did not know where the Governor was, nor did he know where they were. Mr. Peel carried out with him about three hundred persons—men, women, and children. Sixty of these were labourers, and they, finding they could procure land with the greatest facility, left him and refused to carry out their contract with him. He was his sole servant. His implements of husbandry rusted and spoiled. His seeds and stock perished for want of shepherds. His houses, brought out in frame, rotted on the beach. The labourers, isolating themselves on their blocks of land, soon fell into great distress, and, returning to their masters, insisted upon the fulfilment of the agreements upon which they had come out. Mr. Peel said, "All my capital is gone; you have ruined me by deserting me, by breaking your engagements; and you now insist on my observing those engagements when you yourselves have deprived me of the means of doing so." They wanted to hang him, but he managed to secrete himself from them. Hundreds perished for want of food, shelter, and water—for want, in fact, of proper system and precaution at the outset.

Almost a ludicrous story if not so calamitous, and at least one to give point and weight to Mr. Wakefield's arguments; and to prevent the recurrence of such a disastrous state of things he suggested that a sufficient price should be paid for land, considering that free grants, so far from being beneficial, were actually injurious. He considered that a portion of the proceeds raised by the sale of such land should be devoted to the formation of an emigration fund, to be expended in sending out labourers or emigrants without expense to the Mother-country. This restriction of a sufficient price would thus compel the labourer to give his services to his employers until he had saved money enough from his wages to buy land, and so become in turn, if he chose, a landed proprietor. Such, shortly put, were the main features of Mr. Wakefield's scheme of ensuring a due balance between labour and capital in a new colony.

The limits of this lecture will not allow of a criticism upon its merits, and I shall at once proceed to give some account of the preliminary expedition. For this purpose the "Tory," a vessel of 400 tons, was purchased. She was commanded by Captain Chaffers, who had visited the Bay of Islands while master of H.M.S. "Beagle" during a voyage round the world in 1830-36, performed by Captain Fitzroy, afterwards the second Governor of New Zealand. The "Tory" received a complete outfit, was well armed and manned, and had a quantity of goods on board to be used as barter when negotiating with the Natives for the sale of their

lands. Colonel Wakefield was in charge of the expedition. Dr. Dieffenbach, who afterwards wrote his interesting "Travels in New Zealand," was the naturalist. Mr. Charles Heaphy, better known to us as Major Heaphy, and who died three years ago, was draughtsman. To his clever pencil are due our earliest pictorial representations of New Zealand scenery and settlement. Mr. E. Jerningham Wakefield, then a youth of nineteen, afterwards well known as an author and colonial politician, accompanied the party in a spirit of adventure. Nayti, a New-Zealander who had during a two-years visit to England lived with Mr. E. G. Wakefield, now returned, and was to act as interpreter in the forthcoming negotiations.

Colonel Wakefield's instructions were to proceed to Cook Strait, and there, if possible, to purchase lands, and to select a suitable site for the company's first town. The "Tory" sailed from Plymouth on the 12th May, 1839, and after a pleasant passage of ninety-six days sighted Cape Farewell, and the following day entered Queen Charlotte Sound, where, in Ship Cove of Captain Cook, anchor was dropped, the New Zealand flag hoisted, and saluted with eight guns.

It was speedily found that, while the scenery was lovely and the harbours good, there was a scarcity of available land. Patches of fertile soil were certainly here and there found, but were isolated, and closed in with high mountains and impenetrable forest. A few scattered whaling parties occupied some of the beaches, and were the only Europeans in these solitudes. Amongst them was one, Mr. Richard Barrett—otherwise "Dicky" Barrett—who, as flax-trader and whaler, had resided in New Zealand for twelve years—a good-humoured fellow, as broad as he was long, of marked character, and possessed of great influence amongst his brother whalers and the Natives. He was married to the daughter of a chief, and through her was connected with most of the influential chiefs in the Port Nicholson district. His advice and assistance were in many ways valuable, and it was partly on his recommendation that Colonel Wakefield determined to cross Cook Strait, with a view to the examination and possible purchase of the site upon which Wellington now stands and the adjacent land.

Accordingly, after a month spent in exploring the Sounds, the "Tory," after giving her name to Tory Channel, weighed anchor, and under the pilotage of "Dicky" Barrett sailed for Port Nicholson, and arrived on the 20th September, just forty-five years ago. The old Native name of this harbour was "Wanganuatera," but it was more generally known as "Poneke," this being the Native pronunciation of Port Nicholson, so named after an old Sydney harbourmaster.

Negotiations of a straightforward character were entered into without delay with the chiefs of the neighbourhood. Every effort

was made by Colonel Wakefield to make the people understand the nature of the bargain, and finally a stretch of country fifty miles in length by forty miles in breadth, including, of course, the harbour, was purchased from them, the consideration consisting of muskets, gunpowder, tobacco, blankets, clothing, implements of all useful kinds, and scores of other articles that go to make savages happy—in all, worth some hundreds of pounds. A deed drawn up by Mr. E. J. Wakefield, at his uncle's dictation, was signed by the contracting parties, and thus was the first step towards settlement completed. War-dances, hakas, and feasts were the order of the day. The health of the Natives was drunk in champagne, the flagstaff was christened, and formal possession taken of the harbour and district for the company. Everything passed off with the greatest good humour, and the Natives welcomed their new friends and assisted them in every way.

Captain Chaffers surveyed the headlands and bays of the port, and Colonel Wakefield named the principal ones of these after gentlemen who had taken an active part in the foundation of the settlement—names retained to this day, and no doubt known to you all: Lambton Quay, after the Earl of Durham, governor of the company; Thorndon, after the seat of Lord Petrie; Somes Island, after the deputy-governor; the Hutt River, after the M.P. of that name, and a director; and various other now less-well-known points. Instructions were given to erect some wooden houses on Thorndon Flat, and otherwise to prepare for the settlers who were expected to arrive at the beginning of the year.

The "Cuba," a barque of 270 tons, was despatched from Plymouth on the 31st July, with the surveying staff on board, and arrived after a passage of 156 days. The staff consisted of twenty-two men and three assistant surveyors, under the charge of Captain Smith, R.A., the surveyor-general of the company, whose directions were that he should first lay out the town, making ample reserves for public purposes, inclusive of a botanic garden, park, and extensive boulevards, and should afterwards survey the country sections. The town was to consist of 1,100 sections of one acre each.

On the 16th September the first three emigrant vessels were despatched from Gravesend—the "Oriental," "Aurora," and "Adelaide"—with five hundred emigrants on board. By the end of the year twelve hundred persons had sailed in ten ships, of nearly 5,000 tons aggregate measurement. No news had been received in England of the result of the "Tory's" expedition, and the instructions were that these vessels should sail for Port Hardy, in Cook Strait, as a point of rendezvous, where they would be directed as to their future movements.

Before sailing the directors visited each of the first three ships, and obtained the assent of the emigrants to a form of constitution

or self-government which should come into operation immediately on their arrival in the new colony, and would tend to peace and order. These articles were signed on the decks of the vessel amidst much enthusiasm and firing of cannon. They were fourteen in number, and confided to an executive committee of fifteen gentlemen, of whom Colonel Wakefield was president. The provisions were, shortly, that the parties to the agreement should consent to be mustered and drilled; that any person guilty of any offence against the law of England should be liable to be punished in the same manner as if the offence had been committed in England; that an umpire (who was George Samuel Evans, Esq., barrister) should preside at any criminal proceedings, and, assisted by seven assessors, should decide as to the guilt or innocence of any party, and should state the amount of punishment to be inflicted; that in civil cases the umpire, and two arbitrators sitting with him, should award, the umpire having power to compel the attendance of witnesses, and to demand the production of any documents; and that the committee should call out, if required, the armed inhabitants, and generally should make any further rules they considered conducive to the well-being of the community.

Many gentlemen of high social standing, and representatives of old English families, and many engaged in mercantile pursuits, were amongst the first emigrants—the Hon. Mr. Petre, Messrs. Molesworth, Dudley, Sinclair, Duppa, Walter Mantell, Hunter, Bethune, Riddiford, and the Rev. Mr. Churton. They took with them all the elements of civilization—a church, a school, a library, a dispensary, a bank, steam mills, machinery, and houses in frame. Such an expedition was unprecedented, and from its nature and arrangements did indeed seem to deserve that fostering assistance and protection which it had so long besought in vain from the British Government. A widespread interest was felt in the movement by all classes, and meetings were held in various parts of the kingdom to further its objects.

About February, 1840, and after passages varying from 140 to 170 days, the vessels arrived in Port Nicholson, and, as a matter now of historical interest, the emigrants disembarked at the sandy beach at its north end, close to the Native village of Petone, and about seven miles from the present City of Wellington. At this spot had been made the purchase of land from the Natives. Tents were speedily pitched on the alluvial flats and banks of the River Hutt. Goods of every kind and size were scattered about the beach in all directions. Willing and merry Natives swelled the number of the busy throng, and with alacrity and hearty good will assisted the new-comers in any labour. The whole affair seemed to be as much like a huge picnic as anything. The letters written Home at this time abound in expressions of delight at the new condition of things, the glorious scenery and

climate, the elastic, exhilarating air, the noble savages, the joyous freedom, and the general surroundings. It was a perfect mixture of Arcadian delights and savage simplicity.

Shortly before the arrival of the emigrants Colonel Wakefield proceeded northward in the "Tory" to select and purchase fresh lands for the establishment of further settlements. Prior to leaving he had left instructions that on the arrival of Captain Smith, the surveyor, that gentleman should proceed to lay out the town on the level ground on which Wellington now stands, including Te Aro and Thorndon Flats. Owing to some misunderstanding, however, and perhaps to his belief that the site of the Hutt was preferable as being more open, Captain Smith commenced his survey there. As the survey proceeded, however, it was found that the land was marshy and difficult of drainage. A heavy flood in the river, too, which swamped several of the tents, settled the question of the eligibility of sites, and it was determined to proceed without further delay to survey the site of Thorndon Flat, which Colonel Wakefield had originally recommended as being the one most suitable.

On the 14th May, 1840, the completed plan of the town was issued, and a copy of it lies here for your inspection. The name given to the first township by Colonel Wakefield was the unusual but perhaps not inappropriate one of "Britannia." The directors of the company, however, expressed the wish that "Wellington" should be the name of their first town, after the great Duke, whose powerful support to colonization generally, and especially to those principles of colonization upon which the company's settlements were founded, had proved so valuable.

The first newspaper, and, of course, the first in the colony, was issued on Saturday, the 18th April, 1840, under the able editorship of Mr. Samuel Revans, who, after a very chequered life, not only in the colony, but previously in the so-called rebellion in Canada, still lives at Carterton, on the Wairarapa Plains. The paper, a demy-folio sheet, was issued weekly, price 1s. per copy, or £2 per annum, in advance. Advertisements were charged 3s. 6d. for six lines and under. Herewith I exhibit a perfect copy of the first year's issue, probably the only one now existing. It is exceedingly well edited, and abounds in much curious and valuable information of the every-day life and doings of the early colonists. An apt conundrum appears in one number: "Why is Port Nicholson like a nursery?—Because it contains an infant colony, and is full of squalls"; from which we may conclude that then, as now, "windy Wellington" was not an inappropriate title.

The first bank was a New Zealand branch of the Union Bank of Australia, opened on the 24th March, 1860, under the management of a Mr. John Smith.

At the end of 1840 the population of Wellington numbered about eleven hundred souls, prosperous, and, on the whole, con-



tented. But already had occasional quarrels with the Natives taken place. Some of them openly repudiated their bargain, and were insolent and defiant. These were the first mutterings of that ferocity which a little later on found vent in the terrible Wairau massacre and Hone Heke's great war in the north.

At Home the company was most indefatigable in its efforts to make its great venture a success. Ships and emigrants were constantly despatched; pamphlets and information on New Zealand industriously circulated throughout the Kingdom; meetings for its advancement held in all the large towns.

At Plymouth, in January, 1840, the New Plymouth Company was formed under a very distinguished directory of noblemen and gentlemen, and with a capital of £180,000.

A newspaper—the *New Zealand Journal*—was published fortnightly in London under the editorship of the late Judge (then Mr.) H. S. Chapman, who in this instance again took such an active part in our early colonization. I have the pleasure of exhibiting the first volume of this journal, published in 1840. *En passant*, I may say that Mr. Chapman retained the editorship until 1843, when he received the appointment of Supreme Court Judge at Wellington. Under the initials “H. S. C.” he contributed many important articles and reviews to various journals. In 1842, under the title “The New Zealand Portfolio,” a series of papers appeared from his pen on subjects of importance to the colonists, and in later years he wrote a lengthy and well-considered essay on “Parliamentary Government; or, Responsible Ministers for the Australian Colonies,” at a time when this important question was agitating colonial communities. This list forms but a tithe of the contributions made by Mr. Chapman to colonial and other literature. When Mr. Chapman left England for his judicial appointment at Wellington the directors of the company presented him with a service of plate to mark their appreciation of his valuable assistance to them.

To return from this digression. The British Government, whilst still treating the company with cold disdain, and avoiding as far as possible all correspondence with it, could not ignore the fact that an extensive scheme of operations had been undertaken by it—nay, with the despatch of the “Tory,” had already commenced. Thus it was forced upon it to take unwillingly those steps which ended in the establishment of British sovereignty in these Islands. Accordingly, in August, 1839, Captain Hobson, R.N., was despatched to Sydney in H.M.S. “Druid” as Consul for New Zealand, with the understanding that if he could obtain from the Native chiefs the cession of certain portions of these Islands he was to assume the eventual title of Lieutenant-Governor—New Zealand then to be a dependency under the Governor of New South Wales. He was selected for this position from the thorough

reliance placed in his uprightness and firm dealing. He had, moreover, in 1837 been sent by Sir Richard Bourke, the Governor of New South Wales, to quell certain disturbances amongst the Natives at the Bay of Islands which seriously threatened the safety of the European settlers there. In the instructions addressed to him by Lord Normanby, the Colonial Minister, New Zealand was acknowledged by the British Government as a sovereign and independent State, held by the Natives in their own right as possessors of the soil, and every pretension to take or govern the Islands without the full understanding and intelligent consent of the Natives was disclaimed. But an effort to obtain this was authorized to be made by Captain Hobson. It was this disclaimer, amongst other considerations, which led the French to attempt the founding of a settlement at Akaroa early in 1840, and the consequent acquisition on their part of the South Island. But of this I shall speak hereafter. Captain Hobson was further directed to proclaim that no title to land would be acknowledged as valid unless derived from or confirmed by a grant made in Her Majesty's name. This would, of course, be a death-blow to the pretensions of the company and of those hungry persons who had already commenced to flock down from Sydney to purchase large blocks of land for paltry considerations.

Captain Hobson reached Sydney in December, 1839. The oaths of office were administered to him by Sir George Gipps, the Governor of New South Wales; and on the 19th January, 1840, he sailed for the Bay of Islands in H.M.S. "Herald," Captain Nias. A small staff accompanied him: Mr. G. S. Cooper, our present Under-Secretary, as Collector of Customs and Treasurer, with a salary of £600 a year; Mr. Felton Mathew, who afterwards laid out the plan of Auckland, as Surveyor-General, with £400; Mr. Willoughby Shortland, who had formerly served as lieutenant under Captain Hobson, as Police Magistrate, with £300; two clerks, a sergeant, and four troopers of mounted police. This was the first staff of the first Government in New Zealand.

Captain Hobson arrived on the 30th January at Kororareka, in the Bay of Islands, which you will remember was then the only European settlement in New Zealand. Immediately on landing he issued an invitation to all British subjects to meet him at the church at Kororareka to hear his commission read, and Proclamations to the effect that he had assumed authority over British subjects in New Zealand, and that no title to land would be considered valid unless confirmed by a grant from the Crown. He also circulated notices in the Maori language to the effect that on the 5th February he would hold a meeting of chiefs for the purpose of discussing a treaty he would lay before them. This was to be the celebrated Treaty of Waitangi, so called from the name of a jutting promontory of land on the opposite side of the water from

Kororareka, near to Paihia, the mission settlement. On it stood the house of Mr. Busby, the British Resident, who was now about to be shorn of the slight authority he had held for five years.

A short congratulatory address was presented to Captain Hobson, and signed by forty-five of the residents, the only now well-known name amongst them being that of Dr. Pollen. At 11 o'clock on the morning of the 5th, then, Captain Hobson held his first levee—the principal inhabitants, the members of the Church and Roman Catholic missions, and the officers of the "Herald" being present.

He then proceeded to the tents, gaily decorated with flags, which had been erected for the purpose about 150 yards below Mr. Busby's house. A great number of chiefs with their followers had assembled from every quarter, and seated themselves on the ground within the area of the tents. Mr. (afterwards Archdeacon) Williams, of Paihia, acted as interpreter. The scene was remarkable and imposing. Captain Hobson explained the objects of the meeting to the chiefs, assuring them that they might trust implicitly to the good faith of Her Majesty's Government. He then proceeded, sentence by sentence, to read the treaty, and asked the chiefs to make any remarks thereupon they chose. Twenty or thirty of them addressed the meeting, and some so violently that it appeared at one time that an unfavourable result would be the consequence. "Send the men away," said one. "Do not sign the paper; if you do you will be reduced to the condition of slaves, and be obliged to break stones. Your lands will be taken from you, and your dignity as chiefs destroyed." When the day seemed almost lost, the chief Nene arose and spoke with impassioned eloquence, asking his countrymen to reflect on their condition—to remember how much it had been exalted by intercourse with Europeans—how impossible it was to govern themselves without bloodshed. This Nene—also called Tamati Waka Nene—afterwards remained our firm friend, and during Hone Heke's war took the side of the Europeans against his own kin. His widow, whom I saw a few years ago at the Bay of Islands, still lives, though blind and decrepit. Government allows her a small pension. Turning to Captain Hobson, he said, "You must be our father; you must not allow us to become slaves. You must preserve our customs, and never suffer our lands to be wrested from us." Others followed in the same strain, and, amidst loud applause and cheers, the meeting was adjourned until the 7th to allow of further consideration. On that day, without further discussion, the treaty was signed by forty-six chiefs in the presence of five hundred of lower degree.

It was necessary to gain similar concessions elsewhere. Hence Captain Hobson visited Hokianga, and, after meeting with the same difficulties and opposition, succeeded in procuring fresh signatures there and further northward.

In consequence of a sudden and severe seizure of paralysis, a disease from which he ultimately died, the Governor instructed Major Bunbury, of the 80th Regiment, to act in his stead. Major Bunbury accordingly visited, in the "Herald," the east and south coasts of the North Island, and also the Middle and Stewart Islands. Several Church missionaries and Captain Symonds also lent their aid in procuring the signatures of the chiefs in their respective districts. By the end of June the treaty was signed by 512 chiefs.

On the 21st May, 1840, and before the final results of the success of his emissaries could have reached him, Captain Hobson proclaimed the Queen's sovereignty over the North Island by virtue of the treaty, and over the Middle and Stewart Islands on the ground of Captain Cook's discovery. He considered that the pressure of emergency compelled him thus to anticipate, for he had gained information that the settlers at Port Nicholson had formed themselves into a community, acknowledging that form of self-government to which I have already referred, with Colonel Wakefield as its leader.

I exhibit facsimiles of the Treaty of Waitangi, and of papers connected therewith, done by photo-zincography. The original treaty is preserved in the Government archives at Wellington. It was written by the Rev. Richard Taylor, Church missionary at Wanganui, and author of a work on New Zealand. It narrowly escaped destruction by fire at Auckland in 1841. Mr. G. E. Eliott, then Clerk of Records, succeeded in saving its different sheets.

The chiefs' marks or signatures to the treaty are principally copies of some part of the tattoo on the writers' faces. As you will remember, the tattoo of the chiefs varied distinctly, and it would be so possible to recognize the particular chief who signed in this manner. In something of the same way the Highland clans have their own special tartans.

The treaty is very short, and consists of but three sections. In the first the chiefs of New Zealand cede absolutely all rights and powers of sovereignty to Her Majesty the Queen. The second guarantees to the Natives full and undisturbed possession of all their lands so long as they wish to retain possession. If they wish to alienate them Her Majesty is to have the right of pre-emption. In consideration of this the third extends to them the rights and privileges of British subjects, and this is to be their great reward.

To discuss the various interpretations put upon this treaty—to show how elastic its provisions have proved to be—though interesting, would be beyond the scope of this lecture. Suffice it to say that it was a great engine in establishing our peaceful settlement in these Islands, and that the Natives generally viewed its provisions in the same light as one of their own eloquent speakers, who said, "What matter? Let the shadow of the land go to the Queen—the substance remains with us." The "shadow," it

is probable, appeared to them to be an empty magisterial authority, which they readily ceded to the Queen; the "substance" was the real and continued possession of their lands.

The charter for erecting the Colony of New Zealand was signed by the Queen on the 18th November, 1840. In it the three islands are designated respectively New Ulster (for the North), New Munster (for the Middle), and New Leinster (for Stewart Island)—names that have, fortunately, passed long ago into the limbo of oblivion. They were so named in compliment to Governor Hobson, who was an Irishman.

The first seat of Government was fixed at Russell, near to Kororareka, but this was found to be inconvenient. Accordingly it was determined to select a site more in the centre of the North Island. The neighbourhood of the Thames (so named by Captain Cook seventy years before) was by him considered as an eligible spot, should the settling of the country ever be thought an object worthy of the attention of Great Britain. It was accordingly visited and surveyed by Mr. Mathew, the Surveyor-General, but was considered inferior to the south shore of the Waitemata Harbour—which was central, and had great facilities of water communication in the magnificent harbour—the Manukau, the Waikato, and the Kaipara. Captain Hobson accordingly selected this site for the future town, to which he gave the name of "Auckland," after the first Lord of the Admiralty. A small body of officials came down from Russell on the 15th September, for the purpose of laying out the town. Amongst them was Mr. William Mason, now of Queenstown, and late of the firm of Mason and Wales. This gentleman held the post of Superintendent of Works. Such progress was made that in the following January the Governor and his suite came down and located themselves in the infant capital; not, however, before strong representation had been made by Colonel Wakefield, the company's agent, that, on all grounds, Wellington was a more suitable site for the seat of the capital.

And here I must needs close, though the recital of the story grows more interesting as it proceeds. I have brought it down to the point where two rival towns—antagonistic and jealous of each other, with but a handful of people between them—have sprung from the primeval wilderness. To whichever side our sympathies incline, it is well to remember that but for the determined and indomitable energy of the New Zealand Company the heritage of these fair lands would have been lost to the British Crown. A thousand pities that the Government, inspired by the powerful mission hierarchy behind it, refused to give that assistance to a movement which it was powerless to suppress. Had it been otherwise, the hands of all parties would have been strengthened, and Maori and colonist would have benefited alike. Spite of the feud which continued for years after, the infant colony progressed.

## CHAPTER IV.\*

The British and French race for Akaroa—Feeling between Wellington and Auckland—Legislative Council—Land Titles in Dispute—Settlement of New Plymouth and Nelson—The Wairau Massacre—Death of Captain Hobson—Mr. Shortland Acting - Governor—Colonial Newspapers—Governor Fitzroy.

HITHERTO the incidents which composed the history of New Zealand have run in a comparatively narrow channel—its discovery, the slight but gradually increasing contact of the Native race with the pioneers of civilization, and finally its peaceful cession to the Crown as a British colony. But now the channel rapidly widens and becomes filled with events possessed of great and curious interest to the watchful observer. Here, for instance, is the singular spectacle of two handfuls of English people dwelling on common soil, yet each forming a small colony of its own, rival and antagonistic to its neighbour—the one reared and fostered by the British Government, the other an outcome of the indomitable energy and perseverance of a body of British gentlemen, who in the face of every opposition sought to carry out a well-considered scheme of emigration, and to achieve for it a great success. Then, it will be instructive to trace those causes which gradually destroyed the good will which, almost without break, had previously existed between the defenceless Englishman and his savage host.

Amidst matters so numerous and diverse it is not easy to select a starting-point. Perhaps it will be most in order to recount those fortunate circumstances whereby the possession of this South Island was assured at Akaroa to the British Crown as against the claims of the French; especially as such a commencement naturally connects with the closing portion of my last lecture, which referred to the formal taking possession of the Islands of New Zealand by Captain Hobson.

I shall begin, then, with the planting of the British flag at Akaroa, unfurled, as it was, but a very few hours before the arrival of a French vessel with emigrants on board, who purposed there to found a colony of their own. Amongst the French whalers who, in common with those of the English and American nations, frequented these shores was one Captain Langlois, who professed to have bought in 1838 from various chiefs in the district 30,000 acres on Banks Peninsula, including the site of the present town of Akaroa and the harbour adjoining. On his return to France he induced several gentlemen, members of the mercantile houses in Havre, Nantes, and Bordeaux to form themselves into an association called the Nanto-Bordelaise Company, for the purpose of

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\* Lecture delivered before the Otago Institute, 22nd September, 1885.

founding a colony in New Zealand. The project was warmly espoused by several French papers, and it is said that Louis Philippe furthered it with substantial assistance. The *Journal du Havre*, of the 10th February, 1840, said that the attempt at colonization was not the only object of the expedition, but that if the locality were found suitable the company would cede to the French Government a portion of its territory as a penal settlement for convicts.

In March, 1840, accordingly the whaling-vessel "Comte de Paris" sailed under the command of Captain Langlois, with sixty souls on board—emigrants of the working-class—and after a stormy and disastrous voyage of five months, reached her destination on the 16th August. The day before, on the 15th, the corvette "L'Aube," one of the French squadron maintained for the purpose of looking after the interests of the French whalers in the Pacific, arrived at Akaroa from the Bay of Islands to act as tender or convoy to the expected emigrant vessel. To what must have been his intense disgust, her commander, Captain Lavaud, found that H.M.S. "Britomart," Captain Owen Stanley, had anticipated him by four days, and that the British flag was floating, and British authority established, over the land which had so nearly become the possession of his countrymen. The fact was that immediately on learning the object of the French war-vessel's mission Captain Hobson despatched on this service H.M.S. "Britomart," which was then lying at anchor in the Bay of Islands, under the command of Captain Owen Stanley.

It is interesting here to record that in an unofficial, but not on that account a less valuable, way the late Captain Wm. Barnard Rhodes rendered great service in his efforts to secure Akaroa, and with it the Middle Island, to the British Government. This was in 1839. In November of that year Captain Rhodes, who, with his partners, Messrs. Cooper and Holt, traded between New South Wales and New Zealand, sent several head of cattle from Sydney to Akaroa. Having received private information that the French emigrants were expected, Captain Rhodes lost no time in erecting a large flagstaff on that spot now known as Green's Point, and gave instructions to Green, who was in charge of his cattle, that when the French arrived he was to hoist the British flag, drive the cattle under it, and inform the officer on landing that the South Island had been taken possession of for the Queen by Messrs Rhodes, Cooper, and Holt. This was done, and, whatever may have been the legal value of the deed, it certainly strengthened the hands of Captain Hobson and Captain Stanley in the action afterwards taken by them—a fact admitted by Commodore Lavaud.

"L'Aube" remained at Akaroa for more than a year, and it was during this stay that M. Raoul, the surgeon of the vessel and an able botanist, made his valuable contribution to the study of the New Zealand flora.

Meanwhile the colony progressed, despite the bitter rivalries and jealousies of its two settlements—Wellington and Auckland. A large population was now constantly pouring in, chiefly from Sydney and the adjacent colonies, at the north; and at the south by means of the various ships despatched from England by the indefatigable New Zealand Company. Many of the company's emigrants, sent out at much cost, were attracted to Auckland, the seat of Government, by the promise of superior advantages—in the shape of larger wages and more permanent employment. This process of decoy or abstraction was called by the irate sufferers "crimping," and the catch-name of "Crimp Town" was applied by them to Auckland. The quarrel ran high, and each side resorted to a most undignified method of depreciating the other. It was, as some one said, as though two rival tradesmen were puffing the virtues of their various wares. Captain Hobson's position was a most unenviable one. Some of his bitterest foes were those, as one may say, of his own household—members of the newly formed Executive and Legislative Councils.

The first session of the Legislative Council was opened on the 24th May, 1841, and one of the first Ordinances enacted was that relating to the vexed question of land titles in New Zealand. This prohibited the purchase of any lands from the Natives, declared that all titles in the future were to be granted from the Queen, and appointed Commissioners to inquire into the validity of those earlier purchases effected before the institution of government in the colony. Within four months of the passing of this Ordinance no less than eight hundred of such land claims were sent to the Commissioners for hearing, representing an area of about 32,000,000 acres out of 55,000,000, the total area of these Islands. Some of these claims were as fabulously large as was the consideration given to the Natives ridiculously small. For blocks of land hundreds of miles and millions of acres in extent, blankets, pipes, tomahawks, were the sole equivalent, with occasionally a little money added to the bargain. For many a long year did these land cases drag their slow length along, strewing the path with violent dissension, perjury, and corruption. Indeed, the echo of the last of these has barely ceased sounding in our ears. The settlers, too, who came out under the auspices of the New Zealand Company to Wellington discovered, to their dismay, that they had no legal title to the land they distinctly believed they had purchased when emigrating—that, indeed, the provisions of this Ordinance regarded the Native title as unextinguished. Loud were their complaints against the company and against the Colonial and Home Governments. Their attention thus drawn to it in so many ways, the Natives speedily became aware of the value of their lands and of the deceptions practised upon them by designing land-sharks, and frequently quarrels of a serious



nature sprang up between them and the new-comers—quarrels which before long were to develop into the dreadful Wairau massacre and the war in the north. “Women and land,” says the Native proverb, “are the destroyers of men.” It will be readily conceived how difficult was the part Governor Hobson had to play in the midst of so much strife.

Meanwhile the company at Home relaxed none of their exertions. They at least had paid a good price to the Natives for the territory at Wellington, and were prepared to do the same with the further settlements they proposed forming. They acted, too, in all good faith towards those to whom they resold their lands, being firmly persuaded that the great influence they could command, the justice of their claims, and the magnitude of their operations, involving the well-being and safety of hundreds of British subjects who had left their native shores, would sooner or later be fully recognized, and that the Government would concede that sanction and assistance to their scheme which had been so long refused. And this was eventually the case, as I shall further on explain, when Lord John Russell granted a charter of incorporation under the Crown.

But meantime the condition of the earliest settlers was not an entirely enviable one, although the new condition of things, the glorious climate, freedom from the trammels of old civilization, and the well-founded hope that sooner or later matters would right themselves, tinted with a roseate hue a future that indeed possessed clouds of gloom and uncertainty. About two hundred settlers, finding they could not enter into possession of their sections at Wellington, migrated about the latter part of 1840 to Wanganui, to which the name of “Petre” was given, after Lord Petre, one of the energetic directors of the company. This name, however, soon reverted to the old Native one, by which it has ever since been known.

Conspicuous amongst those who thus went further afield was a sturdy, determined Scotchman, William Gordon Bell, who, with his two stalwart sons, was the first to drive his cattle along the wild and almost trackless way between Wellington and Wanganui. Arrived at his destination, amidst constant difficulties and dangers he toiled on to success. The Maoris caused him grievous trouble, and were constantly threatening him, but with indomitable courage and good humour he would continue his ploughing and other farming operations, his tormentors following in his wake, throwing every obstacle in his way, and demanding fresh payment for their lands already fairly bought. But old Bell was more than their match. He refused to take offence or to quarrel; joked with them; gave them many a hearty meal; and good-humouredly teased them in return. He was a puzzle to them—they could not understand him; but one day, emboldened by his indifference, and

by his comparatively defenceless state, they threatened him with actual violence. Then the old man turned upon them, his sons by his side. Seizing a spade, and with a resolute attitude that brooked of trifling no longer, he roared out in a voice of thunder, "Dinna ye think to touch a thing that's here noo; for if ye do, by the God that's abune us, I'll cleave ye to the grun'. A bargain's a bargain; I've paid ye richt and fair, and I'll gar ye keep to it." That day, and for the first time, the Maori learnt the Scotch dialect, and profited by his knowledge; and the brave settler remained thenceforth unmolested. Often in those days men did indeed carry their lives in their hands, and such men did the exigency of that time develop.

New Plymouth, however, is usually considered to be the second of the company's settlements, that of Wanganui being rather an offshoot from Wellington. It was formed in February, 1840, under the title of the "Plymouth Company of New Zealand," and was in strict connection with the New Zealand Company, from which it was intended to make purchases of land to be resold to capitalists or to be leased to farmers who might be disposed to emigrate and form the Plymouth Colony of New Zealand. This society was under distinguished patronage, the Earl of Devon being governor, and gentlemen of high standing forming the directorate. It was, as you will remember, part of Colonel Wakefield's instructions to select suitable sites whereon the successive swarms of emigrants from the parent hive were to settle, and aided by the advice of his friend the whaler, "Dicky" Barrett, the territory of Taranaki was visited in the exploring-ship "Tory" in November, 1839. Barrett had some years previously lived and whaled at Taranaki, where he had several Maori relatives. He thus possessed considerable knowledge of the natural advantages of the district, its fertile soil, and delightful climate. The "garden of New Zealand" was the term applied to it later by Captain Hobson—a term which still deservedly attaches to it. Hence Barrett's recommendations in his *role* of adviser to Colonel Wakefield were well justified. Accordingly here landed—whilst the Colonel proceeded still further northward—Dr. Dieffenbach, the naturalist of the expedition, and "Dicky" Barrett. Dr. Dieffenbach was the first white man to ascend Mount Egmont, and his account of this and of his explorations in the country around are highly interesting and valuable, and are to be found in his published travels.

The whole district was purchased in February, 1840, seventy-two Maoris signing the deed. Mr. F. A. Carrington, one of the chief surveyors of the company, and who is still resident in Taranaki, was sent from Wellington in the brig "Brougham" to examine and report on the suitability of this site for settlement. This old lithograph—the original of which was drawn by Mr. George

Duppa forty-five years ago—gives a faithful representation of the country at that period. As Mr. Carrington's decision was favourable, and confirmed the provisional selection of the site already made, the surveys were commenced without delay, although many of the Natives protested against the operation, putting their arms around the trees and declaring that they should not be cut down, dancing the war-dance, and more than once bringing down their tomahawks in dangerous proximity to the surveyors' heads. However, Mr. Carrington proceeded in his difficult survey with great courage and good humour, assuring the troublesome Natives that if they would but have patience they should receive ample compensation for their lands, together with other good things, on the arrival of the emigrants.

Originally, Mr. Carrington selected a site twelve miles farther north, at the Waitara, close to the spot where the small township of Raleigh now stands. He found, however, that the depth or draught of water in the river Waitara was too slight to be of much service, and as one or two of his boats had capsized when crossing the bar at its entrance he determined to fix upon what is the present locality of New Plymouth, although it had the disadvantage of an open roadstead, a disadvantage which is felt at the present day.

The surveys were still in progress when the pioneer vessel, the "William Bryan," of 312 tons, arrived at Wellington for information as to the whereabouts of the new settlement. This obtained, the vessel again sailed, dropping anchor off the Sugar Loaves on the 30th March, 1841. She had nearly 150 souls on board. Four months later the "Amelia Thompson" arrived with 187 passengers.

Prior to the departure of these ships from the English shores, a grand *déjeuner* and a fete were given at Plymouth in honour of the occasion. The attendance was large and brilliant, including lords and ladies, and the speeches eloquent and enthusiastic. The heroic work of colonization was lauded to the skies, especially that form of it founded on Edward Gibbon Wakefield's system, and the heroes of the work—the pioneers—were feted and praised as fit successors to those earlier voyagers—Raleigh, Hawkins, Drake, and Frobisher—who almost three centuries before had sailed away to unknown lands through seas almost as unknown. Amidst such exaltations the vessels sailed for their far-distant haven. A little later a grand ball and fete, for the purpose of supplying the poorer emigrants with clothing and other necessaries, took place at the Theatre Royal, Plymouth. It was one of the most brilliant balls ever given in the West of England. Over a thousand people were present, amongst them being most of the nobility and gentry of the counties of Devon and Cornwall. Various views of New Zealand scenery were exhibited as tableaux—the most

conspicuous of them being Mr. Duppa's picture, which was reproduced on a large piece of canvas and shown as a movable diorama. It was intended to devote the large sum raised by this means, together with various subscriptions, not only to the supply of clothing, but also to the erection of a mechanics' institute, the purchase of books for its library, the founding of schools for the education of the poorer immigrants' children and the children of the Native race.

This will give some idea of the intense interest, amounting almost to excitement, taken in this great emigration movement forty-five years ago—an interest very carefully and very successfully fed and fomented by the untiring efforts of the New Zealand Company. How almost odd does this sound to us in the present day, when emigration is a commonplace affair, devoid of all romance! Can we now conceive of a couple of barques, with three hundred emigrants between them, leaving England amidst so much acclamation and rejoicing, or meeting here with any more distinguished reception than that accorded in a newspaper quarter-column to most welcome fellow-sufferers in assisting to bear the increasing burden of New Zealand's heavy taxes?

But few of these early settlers remained in this home first chosen by them. Many have died, but, owing to the Native difficulty, most migrated to other parts of the colony. By the end of the year 1841 the population of the infant town of New Plymouth numbered under five hundred souls; to-day it numbers 3,500—no large increase for forty-five years, due to its having ever laboured in some shape under the Native difficulty, and to its want of a land-locked harbour.

And now I must proceed to give some account of the foundation of the next settlement—that of Nelson, together with that sad story of bloodshed to be ever associated with its name. The New Zealand Company reckoned this to be its second settlement, that of New Plymouth, though prior in point of time, having been launched under the fostering care of the Plymouth Company.

In February, 1841, Mr. Bryan Edward Duppa, brother of Mr. George Duppa, addressed a letter to the directors on behalf of a large body of gentlemen who contemplated purchasing land in New Zealand and emigrating under the auspices of the company, provided that their views and suggestions could be entertained by that body. They offered to invest with the company no less a sum than £300,000 in furtherance of their scheme, which, whilst it proceeded on much the same lines as those observed in the foundation of Wellington, was in some respects an improvement upon them.

It would not be within the scope of this lecture to particularize minutely the features of the new scheme. One, however, of the suggestions was that the surveys should be completed, so that

upon the arrival of the settlers each one might enter without difficulty or delay upon the section purchased by him before leaving the English shores. No doubt the precipitate manner in which it was attempted to carry out this intention contributed in no slight degree to the catastrophe of Wairau, which occurred during the latter part of the survey. Suffice it to say that the company did entertain the suggestions and offers of Mr. Duppa and his friends, and immediately afterwards advertised the project. They determined to give the name of "Nelson" to the new colony, after England's great naval hero, and in unison with the name of that great general after whom their first settlement, Wellington, had been christened. Instructions were sent to Colonel Wakefield, the agent at Wellington, to select a suitable site for the new settlement, and it was decided to despatch the preliminary expedition with the surveyors and others in the month of April, whilst the main expedition, with the emigrants, was to leave in the August following.

Accordingly, the vessels "Will Watch" and "Whitby" sailed from the Thames with a party of eighty picked labourers and the surveying staff. Amongst these latter was Mr. Frederick Tuckett, the principal surveyor and engineer—he who in 1844 selected the Otago Block for the Scotch settlers: Mr. C. L. Pelichet, whose name survives in Pelichet Bay; and Mr. Thomas Brunner, who afterwards explored a large portion of the west coast of this Island, and whose name is perpetuated in Lake Brunner and the coalfields of that vicinity. The lamented Captain Arthur Wakefield, who, as resident agent, was to take charge of the new settlement, was also one of the number. He was a younger brother of Edward Gibbon and of Colonel Wakefield, and had seen thirty years' active service in the British navy. Like other members of his family, he was possessed of great ability. His kindly disposition endeared him to all who came in contact with him, whether countrymen or Maori. He was energetic, cool in danger, full of command, yet quiet and unassuming, as such men usually are. Alas! that such a life was so soon to come to so untimely an end.

On the 8th and 18th of September respectively, after a five-months passage, the vessels arrived at their destination of Port Nicholson. Meanwhile, and two months before their arrival, Colonel Wakefield despatched the schooner "Balley," with Captain Daniel and Mr. George Duppa on board, to examine the east coast of this Island for an eligible site. These gentlemen sailed no farther south than Akaroa, and recommended that some portion of the coast-line between the Kaikouras and Banks Peninsula should be selected; and it is probable that Port Cooper, now Port Lyttelton, would have been the spot finally chosen but that Governor Hobson, who at this juncture paid his first visit to the settlers at Wellington, refused to accept Colonel Wakefield's choice,

and recommended, instead, Mahurangi, the Thames, or the Waipa, in the North Island, at no great distance from Auckland. It was, however, no part of the company's policy to be associated in this way with their rival, the Government, seeing that Captain Hobson had already refused compliance to their urgent request to plant his capital amongst them, and had given other indications of his disfavour. Hence it doubtless appeared to Colonel Wakefield that the greater the distance interposed between the rival settlements the better. The result of angry interviews and correspondence was that Blind Bay was agreed upon as the locality, and thither sailed, in October, the "Whitby," "Will Watch," and "Arrow" storeships.

After careful search for suitable territory, the present site, then called "Wakatu," with its remarkable boulder bank, was selected, and the survey was at once commenced with energy and despatch. This picture, by Mr. Heaphy, taken in November, 1841, represents the arrival of the pioneers. Shortly after it was taken Mr. Heaphy returned to England, there to notify to the directors the locality chosen, and to publish his little book entitled "Narrative of a Residence in New Zealand."

The first emigrants departed in September, in the ships "Lloyds," "Mary Ann," "Fifeshire," and "Lord Auckland." In accordance with what you will have seen to be the usual custom, a brilliant gathering was held, at which the usual speeches were made. Conspicuous amongst them was the eloquent address of the Rev. Dr. Hinds, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, delivered on the deck of the "Mary Ann" in the presence of the distinguished visitors who had assembled to wish "God-speed." So lofty and well expressed are the sentiments uttered that I am tempted to make an extract from them: "You are on the point of quitting your old country, your old homes, your old friends, to find, I think, in that new world to which you are going, more than enough to repay you for all the sacrifices which you have the courage to make. But pray recollect that there is at least one tie—one sacred tie, which I do hope will always bind you to all of us whom you are leaving behind—the religion of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. I am not going to preach a sermon to you; indeed, I cannot doubt that you are all carrying away with you that which is the birth-right of every Englishman—the knowledge of the saving truths of the Christian religion. But when I know what has taken place in past times—when I call to mind what occurred in too many instances a century and a half ago, when our people were pouring a tide of emigration to America just as they are now to New Zealand—when I recollect in how many melancholy instances it happened there that owing to the mere thoughtlessness of large bodies of Christian people like yourselves their very next generation grew up without any religion at all—grew up literally without

being baptized or Christianized in any sense whatever—when I remember the miserable results that followed, when the thought of all this rushes on my mind, you will forgive me, I hope, for anxiously impressing on you your duty and your danger at this moment. Rely on it, that it is with religion as with every other concern of men. Nothing others can do to help him will ever do unless he help himself. If you expect Christianity to flourish among you, and among those who come after you, you must take care of it for yourselves. Remember that God dwelleth not in temples made by hands, and that if you assemble in a Christian spirit, be it on the vessel's deck on the wide ocean, or on the naked strand of New Zealand, or in the wilderness which you will be subduing under God's decree, He will hear you as effectually as if you knelt beneath the dome of St. Paul's or in the aisles of Westminster Abbey: you will be that living temple which he has promised to bless with his spiritual presence and to abide in for ever. One word more. You are not going to an uninhabited country; you are taking with you the light which God has given you to the poor benighted heathen. Endeavour to civilize and Christianize them. Do it by the Christian life you lead amongst them. Do it by showing them that Christ does not make men spirit-sellers and spirit-drinkers, debauched and reprobate (as really some of the specimens which they have seen from Christian lands may lead them to suppose), but sober, honest, industrious, and respectable. Your responsibility to God and your country in this noble enterprise of yours is very great. You are going forth to be the founders of a new country—the parents of a future nation; and as your settlement is to be called by the illustrious name of our great sea-captain, our gallant Nelson, let me say to you in his words, 'England expects that every man will do his duty.' Let me say Christian England expects that every one of you will do his duty to her God as well as to her. Farewell, and God help you." Words of such burning eloquence are well worthy of reproduction here, and let us hope that they long vibrated in the ears and hearts of those who heard them then, and that they may do so with us who hear them now.

The total number of passengers in these four vessels was about 850, of whom sixty were cabin passengers. They arrived at Nelson Haven in January and October, 1842.

On the 12th March appeared, under the able editorship of Mr. Alfred Domett, the first number of the *Nelson Examiner*, by far the best-conducted paper in the colony, and whose existence continued for thirty-five years. Its leaders were written with great literary ability, and, though many of the subjects therein discussed have long since ceased to be of any interest whatever, the beauty and style of composition with which they are invested affords pleasure to him who should be fortunate enough to read

them to-day. Mr. Domett was ever a foremost colonist, and held many important official positions during his residence in New Zealand. He is the author of several well-known poems, his greatest flight being that of "Ranolf and Amohia."

It may be truly said that in those early days the most able and most accomplished colonists were Nelson men—Dr. Monro, William Fox, Edward Stafford, Dillon Bell, the Richmonds, F. A. Weld, and Charles Clifford, for instance. Nelson's glory has, however, long since departed, and it shines by little else than the lustre of these names. Some day the hidden mineral riches of its neighbourhood may waken it up again to a life of activity and bustle. At present it is but a very pleasant "sleepy hollow." A few years ago, when visiting there, an incident led me—somewhat inconsiderately, I confess—to remark to one of the residents that it appeared to me an infusion of some of our Otago energy would be of great service to them. My friend confessed it, but added immediately afterwards, as though a happy thought had struck him, "Ah, if you lived here for six months you would become as lazy as any of us"; and no doubt he was right. The quiet streets and squares are named chiefly after some incident connected with its great namesake—Collingwood, Trafalgar, Hardy, Bronte, Victory, and so on.

The letters from the early settlers, many of which are published, are pleasant reading, and abound in the usual stories of fun, hardship—abundance one day, starvation another—and all the vicissitudes cheerfully encountered, which form the life of a pioneer. One matron, whose hut was by the river-side, was asked by a new arrival whether she was not in any danger when the river rose. "Oh," she said, in the most natural way in the world, "sometimes the river comes in and the rain pours through the thatch, and then we just stand upon a box all night with an umbrella over us."

For more than two years high fern overgrew most of the streets; the houses were little better than raupo huts, or wattle-and-dab, with those huge clay fireplaces, whose warmest spot would probably be a seat on the chimney-top. The best houses—and very few of these—were all built on the same plan—two rooms in front and a lean-to behind, the two windows in front separated by a door, and the chimney behind.

The great grumblers in those days, and those who gave the most trouble, were the working-men—the labourers. Then, as now, they would strike, form themselves into something like what are now called "unions," and would instigate new-comers of their class to accept no work under a certain rate of wages. An amusing story is told that on one occasion, when the company's agent, finding the necessity for retrenchment, had given notice of a reduction in wages, the wives of the working-men—two hundred



Amazons strong—marched down in a body and asked the officials what they meant by it, and raised such a clamour that all notion of economy was incontinently abandoned.

Still, the settlement progressed, and by the end of the year numbered about two thousand souls. At the very outset of the Nelson survey Mr. Tuckett had drawn Colonel Wakefield's attention to the fact that there was not sufficient land in the neighbourhood of the town to satisfy the requirements of the land-purchasers. The quality of much of it, too, was extremely poor. Those who have travelled by rail from Nelson to Foxhill, through the Waimea Plains, will remember how utterly worthless are large tracts of the country passed through—little better than a stony desert. It thus became necessary to search farther afield, and various districts were accordingly visited about and around the northern coast-line.

It may be asked by what right of title was this intrusive quest made upon the Native territory. Colonel Wakefield's reply was that he had purchased this large tract of land when he first arrived in the country in 1839—nay, indeed, that he had purchased it thrice over—first from those ferocious chiefs Rauparaha and Rangihæta, who had conquered and dispossessed the original and real owners of the soil; second, so that there might be no dispute, from the dispossessed chiefs themselves, many of whom still held a quasi-tenure of their old lands; and, third, from the widow of a Captain Blenkinsopp, formerly an old whaler in the district, who professed to have purchased it years before from the Natives. Be this as it may, it is certain that wherever the surveyors went they met with the most determined obstruction from the Natives, who denied that they had ever parted with their lands. More than once did collision seem inevitable.

It was finally determined to survey the Wairau Plains, which not only contained a large quantity of available land, but also by a comparatively easy route afforded communication between Nelson and the level lands of the east coast. The survey was accordingly advertised, and commenced in the latter part of April, 1843. Intelligence of this soon reached Rauparaha and Rangihæta, who, vowing vengeance, and saying that they would fight for the land and would not part with it, sailed across Cook Strait to Cloudy Bay, into which the River Wairau debouches. They were accompanied by twenty-five Natives, and all were armed with muskets and tomahawks. Rauparaha contended, with high words, that the land had never been sold, and demanded that the surveyors should quit the ground until Mr. Spain, the Commissioner appointed by the Government for inquiring into the question of disputed lands, should examine into this disputed question also. This seemed a fair request on the surface, but not one, in Captain Wakefield's opinion, to be complied with. He considered that the

land had been thrice bought at a good price, and that to yield to Rauparaha's demand would be but useless procrastination, and would exhibit a vacillation, interpreted by the savages to mean cowardice. The two chiefs conducted themselves with great insolence and ferocity, and finally burnt the hut belonging to Mr. Cotterell, one of the surveyors, together with various other articles of value. Mr. Tuckett, the chief surveyor, who had been sent for from Nelson directly it was known that Rauparaha was coming, fruitlessly endeavoured to allay the storm that was evidently threatening to burst at any moment. The men were ordered off the field, and Mr. Tuckett was sneeringly told that if he loved the Wairau so much he should be buried there. Still, the exhibition of courage and the soft answer that turneth away wrath had some good effect, but it became quite evident that for their further safety the surveyors must leave the ground, take to their boat, and proceed to the mouth of the Wairau. As the boat was not large enough to take the whole party, the chiefs consented to allow some to remain until other boats were sent round to them from Nelson. Amongst those who remained was Mr. Barnicoat, now a member of the Legislative Council. Mr. Tuckett and party then sailed for Nelson.

Shortly before matters had arrived at this climax, word had been taken to Nelson of the impending danger by Mr. Cotterell, who had there laid a charge of arson against Rauparaha and Rangihæta before the Police Magistrate, Mr. Thompson. This gentleman, after much deliberation as to the best course to pursue under these complex and trying circumstances, finally decided to grant a warrant for the arrest of the two chiefs.

For some time previously there had been frequent occasions on which the two races had come into collision, and as no special notice had been taken of them by the authorities the Natives had become emboldened, and, after the manner of the savage race, had concluded that cowardice and fear on the part of the European had withheld a just retribution. And hence it arose that this was considered a fitting opportunity to vindicate the law and to impress the Natives with a sense of its authority. The Government brig "Victoria" accordingly sailed from Nelson for the Wairau on the 13th June with about twenty-five people on board, including Mr. Thompson, the Police Magistrate; Captain Wakefield, the resident agent; and about twenty labouring men, who had been sworn in as special constables. On the way Mr. Tuckett and party were met in their boats, and were taken on board, and on landing at the Wairau Mr. Barnicoat's reinforcement was also added to the number. Here arms, ammunition, and cutlasses were served to the party—forty-nine all told. Misgivings as to the result had already arisen in the minds of some, and in consequence of certain representations made to him by Mr. Tuckett, who was a member of the Society of

Friends, Captain Wakefield proposed that the expedition should return to town. This recommendation was, unfortunately, overruled, on the grounds that its members would be laughed at if they returned, and that so excellent an opportunity of making an example of these turbulent chiefs was not to be lost.

And so the doomed party proceeded a few miles up the river in search of the Natives. This was on the 17th June. Frequently Captain Wakefield cautioned his men on no account to fire unless orders were given. Always grave and taciturn, he became still more so, and it was evident that he viewed with gloomy foreboding the result of the expedition. It had, of course, been determined to complete the arrest in as peaceful a manner as possible—to negotiate it, as it were—and it was hoped that the sight of the armed men would be a powerful means of effecting this object.

At length they saw smoke, heard the voice of Rangihaeta, and found the Natives camped on the bank of a small creek called Tuamarina (or "still water"), which empties itself into the Wairau. This creek is here about 30 ft. wide, and unfordable. The Natives numbered about one hundred and twenty, thirty or forty of them being women and children. They were armed with muskets and other weapons.

At the request of Mr. Thompson, the Magistrate, a Native placed one of the canoes athwart the stream as a bridge, and by this means the Magistrate, Captain Wakefield, Mr. Tuckett, the chief constable, and some others crossed over, all purposely unarmed, the main body of the armed men remaining behind, but divided into two parties. A parley then commenced, Mr. Thompson informing the chiefs that he had issued a warrant of arrest on a charge of arson, and demanding them to come on board the brig, where the matter would be investigated. High words ensued, the angry conference lasting for twenty minutes. Rangihaeta, who hitherto had been concealed, rushed forward in a towering passion, brandishing his tomahawk, and threatened to kill the Magistrate. The small party, seeing how dangerous it was to be cut off from the main body, especially as they were unarmed, attempted to cross back in the canoe, the Natives meanwhile pressing forward.

All was now wild excitement, which banished whatever calm judgment or presence of mind there may previously have been, and all hope of a bloodless termination of the strife was over. The Magistrate called the attention of Mr. Howard, under whose command were one-half the men, to the formidable array of their armed opponents. "I don't care," said Mr. Howard, "if there are five thousand of them." "Keep your eyes fixed on them, my men," said Captain Wakefield, "they have their guns pointed at us," and immediately afterwards cried out, "Men, forward! Englishmen, forward!" Several ran down to the canoe, and by

its aid endeavoured to cross over to the Natives. How, why, by whom is not known, but at this time the first gun was fired. Some said it was fired by the Natives, others that it was accidentally discharged by one of the armed labourers, many of whom had probably never before handled a firearm, and hardly knew the muzzle from the butt. At any rate, the firing became general, and several were killed on both sides. Rauparaha, exciting his men with the war-cry, dashed over the stream in pursuit of the Europeans, who were retreating in great disorder. In vain did Captain Wakefield and the other gentlemen call upon their men to keep together and make a stand; they continued retreating, firing as they went. "Oh, men, men!" said Mr. Thompson, in bitter disgust, stamping the ground and tearing his hair.

As it became evident that the whole party would be killed, the order was given to cease firing, and two of the number advanced towards the Natives with a white handkerchief as a sign of truce. The order, however, was not obeyed, many of the scattered Europeans keeping up a dropping fire as they fled, which still further exasperated the Natives. One poor fellow, Mr. Cotterell, was dragged into the bush and there tomahawked. Captain Wakefield shouted, "Your only chance is to throw away your arms and to lie down." He and three or four others who kept together cried out, "*Kati! kati!* Peace! peace!" But, alas! there was no peace. They were surrounded. Captain Wakefield was seized by two Natives, who tried to strip him of his coat. He attempted to produce his pistol. Mr. Howard said, "For God's sake, sir, do nothing rash"; and "If we are to die, let us die together." This was the last seen of Captain Wakefield and his companions. But one of the number, who had escaped in the bush hard by, shortly afterwards heard the report of five guns, followed by a dull, heavy, dropping sound. When the bodies were discovered later it was found that the skulls had been smashed in with repeated blows from the tomahawks. But why proceed with the harrowing tale. Of the whole number, twenty-seven were killed or severely wounded, and twenty escaped in various ways—two or three making for the brig, others hiding in the bush for days, and living on whatever sustenance they could extract from wild-turnip tops.

The dreadful news of this catastrophe soon reached Nelson, where it caused the utmost panic and consternation. It was thought not improbable that the Natives, inflamed with their success, would make an onslaught upon the town. Accordingly the men were drilled and armed, and the pretty hill whereon now stands the church was strongly fortified. A strict watch was also kept at all the approaches to the town, but it was soon learnt, to the relief of all, that Rauparaha and Rangihæta had again crossed Cook Strait on the way to their island fastness of Kapiti Island.

At Wellington the event made a profound sensation, and everywhere armed bodies of Volunteers kept themselves in efficient readiness in case of a Native outbreak. A battery with two 18-pounders was erected on Flagstaff Hill, on the spot afterward known as "Plimmer's Steps." A large quantity of gunpowder was collected and stored, and drilling was the order of the day. Loud and deep were the invectives hurled against the Government by many of the settlers, who, incensed and alarmed, professed to see in the awful calamity that had just befallen them simply the result which was to be expected from a policy which favoured and upheld the Natives in all their transactions with the new-comers. The lapse of long years has, however, enabled us to view this sad event in all its aspects with an impartial judgment, and to conclude that those who paid the penalty with their lives incurred it through a lamentable want of foresight and wisdom, and even perhaps of justice. Be this as it may, it is deplorable to know that the Government at Auckland rendered little assistance, and showed less sympathy, to the unfortunate settlers in the south. This treatment was viewed as another indication of the bitter and hostile feeling evinced towards them, and with a short reference to it I shall close this portion of my lecture.

Information of the whole affair was sent by the Government brig "Victoria" to Lieutenant Shortland, who was then Acting-Governor. Mr. Shortland saw that it was imperatively necessary to allay at once those angry feelings, which might at any moment burst forth into a state of actual warfare between the two races, and be followed by consequences infinitely more disastrous than any which had hitherto occurred. He accordingly despatched Major Richmond, with fifty-three men of the 98th Regiment, to Wellington, and issued a Proclamation to the effect that all Volunteer drilling was at once to cease—that it was, indeed, illegal, and that persons assembling for the purpose would be proceeded against according to law. He doubtless considered that this constant open drilling must excite the hostility of the Natives, and precipitate the very danger the colonists hoped it would avert.

With respect to the special case of the Wairau, the Government asserted it to have been "illegal in its inception, and in every step of its execution unjustifiable in the Magistrate and the constables, and criminal in the last degree on the part of the attacking party." Such was the opinion of the Attorney-General, Mr. Swainson. Mr. Spain, the Land Commissioner, said that "this ill-advised and injudicious step was an attempt to set British law at defiance, and to obtain by force possession of a tract of land the title to which was disputed, and was then under the consideration of a Commissioner specially appointed to investigate and report upon it." Virtually the acts of Rauparaha and Rangihæta were thus con-

done by the Government, who professed to consider that they were justified under the circumstances of a great provocation given by the Europeans.

The Natives were not slow to see nor, later, to take advantage of the fact that the handful of Europeans in their midst were divided amongst themselves, and lacked that first element of self-protection—union.

Such was the unhappy position of affairs at this time. Further assistance had been sent for, and in October Sir Everard Home arrived from Tasmania at Port Nicholson in command of H.M.S. "North Star." Gradually matters became quieter, and comparative peace was restored, but there was a growing jealousy and animosity existing between the two races, which was constantly exhibited in various acts of aggression, and was soon to develop into the prolonged war in the North Island.

As having an indirect connection with the story I have just related, I may say that Mr. (now Sir) William Fox was appointed to the office of resident agent of the New Zealand Company at Nelson on the death of Captain Wakefield. Six years later, and on the occasion of Colonel Wakefield's death, he became the principal agent. Mr. Fox, who was a barrister of the Inner Temple and an Oxford man, emigrated in 1842, purposing to follow the ordinary avocations of a colonist. His career is well known, and he has always been identified with important political questions.

Governor Hobson, who had never wholly recovered from an attack of paralysis which seized him within a month after his arrival in the colony, died on the 10th September, 1842, at the comparatively early age of forty-nine, after holding the reins of government for two years and a half. His office had indeed been no sinecure, and his premature death was caused in no small degree by the constant worry and annoyance to which he was exposed on all sides, not merely, as we have seen, in the company's settlements, but also at Auckland, where, for instance, on one occasion a large and influential meeting, numbering three hundred persons, was held, at which resolutions were passed strongly condemnatory of his policy. It was stated that owing to the extravagant expenditure and mismanagement of his government, the country was in a state of hopeless bankruptcy, trade was paralyzed, emigration had ceased, and many settlers were almost reduced to starvation. A memorial was forwarded to Lord Stanley petitioning for his recall, which, by the curious irony of circumstances, official requirement demanded should be remitted to the Home Government by the Governor himself. Captain Hobson was a man of extremely sensitive disposition, and felt keenly the attacks made upon him; his enemies, discovering this, were ever ready to irritate his tender point. He was possessed of great kindness of heart, and of considerable judgment, but lacked tact and firmness; and, though

there was apparently much of the quarter-deck officer about him, it is certain that he was easily led by his subordinates.

The launching of the infant colony in those troublous and stormy times required indeed one possessed of special qualities—of great determination and great judgment. Mr. Shortland, who had previously served as lieutenant in H.M.S. “Rattlesnake” under Captain Hobson, administered the government after that gentleman’s decease for more than a year, and until the arrival of the new Governor—Fitzroy—in December, 1843.

In August, 1841, the first Chief Justice of New Zealand arrived at Auckland—the late Sir William Martin, a member of Lincoln’s Inn. He was eminently suited for his position, a man of great piety and high integrity, a sound lawyer, and possessed of a remarkably clear way of putting a difficult case before a jury.

Owing to the geographical features of the country, and the consequent difficulty of administering justice throughout it, it was found necessary to appoint an additional Judge, and this was done in the person of the late Mr. Justice Chapman, of the Middle Temple, who arrived in December, 1843, and who took charge of the Southern, or Wellington, district. Judge Chapman related to me once, in his own humorous way, an amusing instance of the difficulty of travel in those early days. He was returning from his official duties at Nelson to Wellington by means of the Government brig—a voyage or passage that is now accomplished in a few hours. Soon after starting one of the sails was blown away, and there was not another on board to replace it. A foul wind sprang up, and, as the sails were rotten, it was considered best to clew them up in reserve for a fair wind, and to lash the helm. In this plight they drifted backwards and forwards in the strait for a week, and then, by the mercy of Providence, reached Wellington. In the meantime they had nearly starved, the scanty supply of provisions having become exhausted. To add to their miseries, their sole light by night was derived from a piece of rag dipped into the cook’s slush.

An incident of travel that might well go side by side with this is of the first and last Bishop of New Zealand, Dr. Selwyn, who returned to Auckland after his six-months journey of one thousand miles by sea and land through his diocese. He approached the town with his last pair of thick shoes worn out and tied on to his ankles with pieces of flax, his feet blistered with walking the day before on the stumps, and his clothes threadbare. In this plight he took a path avoiding the town, and expressed a hope that in after-days it might be trod by the feet of many bishops better shod and far less ragged than himself.

Originally the Church missionary establishments in New Zealand were under the episcopal charge of Bishop Broughton, the first Bishop of Australia, but the Church Missionary Society had long

been desirous that New Zealand should be placed under a separate episcopal charge, and Dr. Selwyn, just relinquishing his post as an Eton tutor, was selected for this office. Shortly before leaving England for his diocese he was presented with a magnificent service of communion plate, valued at £300, by the inhabitants of the Borough of Windsor, as a mark of their esteem, regard, and gratitude. He sailed for Sydney in the "Tomatin," and landed at Auckland in May, 1843. So assiduously did he apply himself on the voyage to gain a knowledge of Maori that he was able to read prayers and preach to the Natives in their own tongue the first Sunday after his arrival, the 6th June.

At the end of 1843 there were nine newspapers published in New Zealand, of very various literary pretensions indeed. The *Nelson Examiner*, as I have remarked before, certainly heads the list. Then follows Mr. Revan's paper at Wellington—the *New Zealand Gazette*. Two were published at Kororareka, in the Bay of Islands, which were not much more than mere advertising sheets. At Auckland there were three—the *Southern Cross*, edited by Dr. Martin, who was an arrival from Sydney, and who wrote so bitterly against the Government that Acting-Governor Shortland forbade his officers to subscribe to the paper on pain of suspension or dismissal from office; the *Government Gazette*; the *Auckland Chronicle and New Zealand Colonist*; and last, though not least, the *Auckland Times*. Specimens of most of these papers I here exhibit. The most remarkable amongst these is certainly the *Auckland Times*, printed very badly on coarse paper, and in a mangle. Owing to a deficiency of type, capital letters are strewn pretty plentifully in the midst and at the end of many words, the whole thus presenting a most grotesque appearance. There was great enmity between the *Times* and the *Chronicle*, the latter on one occasion advertising with cruel raillery, "For sale, a very powerful English mangle.—Apply at the office of this paper." A publication was also issued by the Government in the Maori language, with the main intention of allaying any feeling of distrust or suspicion that the Natives might entertain towards the Government.

I have before said that the first session of the Legislative Council of New Zealand was opened by Governor Hobson on the 24th May, 1841. This form of government continued in force until superseded by our present system of representation and Responsible Government, which has existed since 1854. New Zealand was thus for the first fourteen years of its political existence a Crown colony, and the members of its Legislative Council held their appointments *ex officio*, the people having no voice whatever in their election. Long before, however, the principle of representative and of responsible government for the British colonies had been advocated by many thoughtful politicians, who contended that distant communities, who presumably best understood their own affairs and



interests, could best look after and administer them. Whether this apparent self-evident maxim is sound or not the experience of thirty years has failed to decide. That veteran politician Earl Grey has ever held the opinion that colonies, like children, should not be entrusted with the entire management of their own affairs, and that the attempt at such self-government is pretty certain to lead to disastrous failure; and when one reviews in an unbiased manner the last thirty years of New Zealand's political history, Earl Grey's conclusion does indeed seem to be one well founded. Our progress has been remarkable, truly, but it has been despite of obstacles ever impeding its way. Whether it will finally surmount these, or whether it will be brought to a standstill by them, is a question that ought to engage our most earnest attention. A Hercules or a Bismarck, or both, are now wanted. The hour has come; where is the man—one whose will is iron, whose eye is single?

Conspicuous amongst those who, whether right or wrong, defended this principle was the able Mr. Charles Buller, M.P. for Liskeard, a pupil of Thomas Carlyle, and one of that clever coterie of rising politicians to which I have before made reference. So long ago as 1840 he wrote his excellent little work on "Responsible Government for the Colonies," in which he was aided by his friend Edward Gibbon Wakefield. Both Governor Hobson and Governor Fitzroy—the one in 1842, the other in 1844—passed an Ordinance conferring a form of representative government upon the people. Either the provisions did not extend far enough, or they were not appreciated, and so they became lifeless almost as soon as born, and thus, as I have said, New Zealand continued to be a Crown colony for its first fourteen years.

The Legislative Council consisted of seven members—the Governor himself, the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney-General, the Colonial Treasurer, and three senior Justices of the Peace; four members, together with the Governor, formed a quorum, the Governor presiding, or, in his absence, the Colonial Secretary. The meetings were open to the public. Questions were discussed in the ordinary way, and were decided by voting, the Governor having a casting-vote. The discussions were not infrequently of a very stormy character, and were in no way restrained by the Governor's presence: that divinity that doth hedge a king certainly did not in those days hedge his representative. The lines of recent Governors have fallen in much more pleasant places than those of their predecessors. Their distance, under the present Constitution, from the turmoil of debate has lent enchantment to their view. It is positively appalling to read in some of the newspapers of the day letters of the most ribald character, wherein it is evident that the writer held the Governor in no more estimation than he was probably himself held by his fellows.

Captain Fitzroy, of the Royal Navy, had previously visited New Zealand in 1835, whilst in command of H.M. surveying-ship "Beagle," and it is probable that the knowledge he had thus gained of the country led to his appointment as Governor. It was on this voyage that he was accompanied by the celebrated Charles Darwin, who was naturalist of the expedition.

It may not be out of place here to read a letter which I received from Mr. Darwin shortly before his death, in reply to one I wrote accompanying the address which you will remember the Otago Institute forwarded to him on the occasion of his *magnum opus*, "The Origin of Species," having attained its twenty-first anniversary :—

"Down, Beckenham, Kent, February 25, 1881.

"DEAR SIR,—

"I received this morning your letter of December 30, and the address, which has deeply gratified me. I hope that you will express to the Council of the Institute my gratitude for the very great and unusual honour thus conferred on me. This honour is peculiarly gratifying to me as coming from New Zealand, the wonderful progress of which has interested me greatly. I have read every one of the volumes of the New Zealand Institute from the first as each appeared respectively, and always with admiration at the success and zeal with which science is followed in a country destined, as I believe, to be in the future the Great Britain of the Southern Hemisphere. I beg leave to return to you personally my sincere thanks for your very kind and courteous letter, and I remain, dear sir, yours faithfully and obliged,

"CHARLES DARWIN.

"To T. M. Hocken, Esq., President of the Otago Institute."

It is pleasant thus to know that the opinions of the great naturalist regarding New Zealand had undergone a mighty change since he spoke of it nearly fifty years before, on the occasion of leaving it for Sydney in the "Beagle." "I believe we were all glad to leave New Zealand. It is not a pleasant place. Amongst the Natives there is absent that charming simplicity which is found at Tahiti, and the greater part of the English are the very scum of society. Neither is the country itself attractive. I look back but to one bright spot, and that is Waimate, with its Christian inhabitants."

But to return to Captain Fitzroy. Subsequently to leaving New Zealand he became Superintendent of the Meteorological Department of the Board of Trade; the weather forecasts and the barometer of Admiral Fitzroy will serve to bring him more vividly to our recognition than will any act of his as Governor of New Zealand. It is said that his landing at Auckland in December, 1843, was highly ridiculous. A crown made of flax, with the

New Zealand flag underneath, was hoisted on a pole, and so carried over his head, whilst the procession marched to Government House, to the inspiring strains of a band playing "The King of the Cannibal Islands"; and to the assembled crowd he said, "I have come amongst you to do you all the good I can." But he soon found that matters generally were in a very desperate state. The Treasury was empty, and heavy debts were unprovided-for. The credit of the Government had long before been at a low ebb, and his early effort to raise money by way of debentures was at first quite unsuccessful. Two years before, Governor Hobson had borrowed a sum of over £40,000 from the neighbouring colony of New South Wales, and had further attempted in his extremity to draw bills on the British Treasury to the amount of £25,000. Debts of such a kind were bequeathed to his successor. Trade of all kinds seemed dead, and appeared as though unlikely ever to revive. Efforts to render the native flax a commodity of export had been made on an extensive scale, but had proved fruitless and ruinous to those who had engaged in them. The whaling industry, which for so many years had been so profitable, began to fall off greatly, owing to the improvidence and recklessness of the whalers, who, observing no close season in their fisheries, seemed bent on depopulating the sea. Addresses were forwarded to the Governor from the various centres of population, one of which stated in the most piteous terms that the country had become beyond example one general scene of anxiety, distress, and ruin, so that property had lost its value, personal security was at stake, and happiness had almost ceased to exist. By this time, too, the news of the Wairau massacre had rung through Europe, with the effect of almost entirely suspending emigration. With such difficulties had the new Government to contend.

An Act was passed through the Legislative Council, and a sum of £15,000 was raised in debentures bearing 5 per cent. interest. Thoroughly imbued with the principles of free-trade, and considering that most of the country's misfortunes had been induced by the imposition of Custom duties which had driven away the shipping trade, Captain Fitzroy abolished them, and declared New Zealand ports to be ports of free entry. He further imposed a tax upon property and income, in the ratio of £1 upon every £100. Any one rateable beyond £1,000 might compound by payment of £12. These were the salient features of Captain Fitzroy's policy. He further relaxed the rules regarding the purchase of Native lands, allowing purchases to be made not exceeding in extent one square mile. Upon these transactions a Government fee of 10s. was payable, but this was afterwards reduced to 1d. per acre. By these means did he endeavour to fill the empty coffers. These measures had the effect of temporarily relieving the stagnation. The unsettled land titles and land ques-

tion generally continued to be a prolific source of discontent to both Native and European.

This together with the renewed clamour that justice should be dealt upon Rauparaha and Rangihaeta induced Governor Fitzroy to pay an early visit to the southern settlements. He accordingly sailed in the "North Star" in February. The specially interesting incident of his visit is his interview with Rauparaha at Waikanae, which took place about seven months after the Wairau massacre. On this occasion Mr. Francis Dillon Bell was present. Mr. Bell had arrived in the colony a few months before as representative agent of many of the absentee Nelson land proprietors, having previous to leaving England held the post of assistant secretary to the New Zealand Company. About five hundred Natives were present, and Rauparaha sat next the Governor, who commenced by saying that his heart was dark, and that his first impulse was to send down the five ships filled with soldiers and to avenge the deaths of his friends and countrymen. He had, however, determined, after hearing the white man's story, to come down and learn what Rauparaha had to say. Rauparaha spoke at great length, giving his version of the story. After an interval, apparently devoted to consideration, the Governor said that he had now heard both sides, and had come to a decision, which was that the white men were in the wrong. They had no right to survey land which was stated not to have been sold, and, as they were first in the wrong, he could not avenge their deaths. He added, however, that the Natives had committed a horrible crime, but trusted that henceforth they would live in peace with those around them, and that they would always have full justice done them by himself and his officers. And then the interview ended.

Whatever may be our opinion of the justice and magnanimity of the view thus expressed by Governor Fitzroy, it is certain that the Natives held it in no such light. Accustomed as they were to their inflexible law of *utu*—an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, an injury followed by sure and quick revenge—they estimated these expressions of the Governor as unworthy—an indication of weakness and cowardice. Rauparaha, the very afternoon of the interview, said that the Governor had been talking a lot of nonsense to him—that he was not afraid of him; that he would eat him, ship and all. A few months later Kororareka was in flames.

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## CHAPTER V.\*

Trouble between the Races—Heke's War—Troops from New South Wales—  
Enrolment of Militia—Capture of Pomare—Maori War-dance—The  
Okaihau Fight.

BEFORE reciting that page of early New Zealand history which relates to the first great rupture between the Englishman and the Maori, known as Heke's war or rebellion, or "the war in the north," it will be convenient, as well as interesting, to review the bonds which in the early times so firmly knit together the two races, and the causes which gradually but surely loosened them, and converted fast friends into fierce antagonists. The earliest visitors to these shores recognized in the New-Zealander—ferocious cannibal though he was—a high type of savage man. He was brave, eloquent, and, as proved by his exquisite carvings, varied dress, dwellings, and implements, possessed of considerable taste and ingenuity. Three-quarters of a century ago the apostolic Samuel Marsden, chaplain of the then convict settlement of New South Wales, met several New Zealand Natives who, as sailors, visited Sydney. He was charmed with their vivacity and intelligence, and became fired with the idea of carrying to the New Zealand shores the blessings of Christianity and civilization. A full account of the mode in which he did this has been given you in a former lecture; but for my present purpose I must repeat that his method of evangelization proceeded on the plan of concurrently teaching the useful arts of life and religious doctrine. Hence his early mission staff was composed of men skilled in agriculture, the working of iron, stone, and wood. Often was seen the curious spectacle of a group of savages watching with amazement the fashioning of a piece of iron into a valuable nail, a lump of wood dexterously transformed into some useful article, the pious artisan meanwhile expounding a Gospel truth. The men who could perform such wonders, and could disclose the secrets of a new world, were regarded with the highest admiration and friendship of their wild hosts, who desired nothing more ardently than that hundreds of such men should come and dwell amongst them. And when the great chief Hongi returned in 1820 from his celebrated visit to England the story of the white man, of his vast cities, carriages, ships, soldiers, and courtly pomp, was eagerly listened to, and lost nothing by its repetition in the uttermost parts, and so the bonds between the two races became strong and far-reaching. One remarkable utterance the astute Hongi made: "Protect the missionaries, the men who wear black coats, for they do you good. But when men in red coats come, then beware—their occupation

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is war ; they will enslave you and possess your lands : fight them, and drive them into the sea." Such words could not fail to excite in the warlike New-Zealanders an undefined apprehension as well as an increased respect for a nation whose warriors must be greater than their own. Of the extent of missionary influence over the Native mind I have also spoken, and it must now suffice to say that this was undiminished until the advent of colonization ; indeed, for some time after the heroic work had begun this influence gained a new departure for its force, inasmuch as the interests of the Native race were tenderly regarded and stoutly supported by Exeter Hall—that is, by the missionary societies and by the aborigines' protectionists. To such an extent, indeed, was this the case that the early efforts of colonization were seriously impeded by the obstacles then thrown in the way. Again, the daring deeds and hardihood of the whaler found in the bold Maori not merely a warm admirer, but one who was only too ready to share in them ; hence most of the ships' crews and whaling parties reckoned amongst their number many a friendly rival.

Colonization, however, was sure to bring its attendant evils, and under its Juggernaut wheels the Native race at once began to disappear. Fifty years ago it numbered 110,000—now 40,000 is the sum. Interesting as it might be, I enter here into no disquisition regarding the causes of this and allied problems. Some consider that the inevitable law of progress has but received another verification, and that not for one moment can the so-called rights of a few savages be allowed to weigh against the requirements of a civilized people in its advance ; others regretfully say that with us might was right—that a noble race has been destroyed and dispossessed of the home where it had dwelt for hundreds of years the rightful and undisputed master. This, at least, was the view taken by the Maori himself. His eyes were open, and he began to see, to invert his own saying, that the substance had gone to the Queen, whilst the shadow alone remained with him. Thousands of people poured into the country intent on purchasing his land ; and though this was effected in an equitable way on the whole, it was through the agency of a Court of law—a piece of machinery which at least divested him of the power of granting a direct title to the purchasers. Jealousies and quarrels sprang up, finally culminating in the dreadful Wairau massacre, which I described in my last lecture. The news of this catastrophe flew through the length and breadth of the land. It was the first conflict of any moment between the two races, and its result, ending in the destruction of most of the white men engaged, had given a heavy blow to the prestige or *mana* of the pakehas. After all, they were not to be dreaded so much. They had not been taken unawares. With all their preparation and their vaunted prowess, Rauparaha had shamefully beaten them, and those who escaped

did so by ignominious flight. Was Ruaparaha, asked Hone Heke, to have all the honour and glory of beating the white man? Had not Governor Fitzroy condoned the deed, saying that the English were alone to blame, instead of exacting *utu*—a just retribution—like a true warrior? Gradually Hongi's mysterious utterance, to beware of those dressed in red garments, began to lose its portent, and in many a savage breast sprang up the desire to see what manner of men they were.

Opportunity soon unfolds itself to those who seek it. The town or settlement of Kororareka, in the Bay of Islands, had for some time been losing its trade, and consequently its importance; the whaling-vessels had almost deserted it, and instead of being, as heretofore, a port of free entry, Customs duties were levied upon imports. It had a European population of four hundred inhabitants, and was situated on a narrow beach about three-quarters of a mile in length, with rising swampy ground behind, which was flanked at either end by a lofty hill. On the northernmost one of these was erected a flagstaff for the purpose of signalling vessels. On the opposite side of the bay, two miles across, was the mission settlement of Paihia, where resided the Rev. Archdeacon Henry Williams and his family. From this point the interior was most conveniently reached. The adjacent country is intersected by the large rivers Kerikeri, Waitangi, Waikari, and Kawakawa, which debouch into the bay, and give it much of its picturesque beauty. Here it was that Captain Cook was so nearly wrecked on his first voyage to New Zealand. On the banks of the Waitangi the Treaty of Waitangi was signed, and up the Kawakawa the Union Company supplies its steamers with coal.

About twenty miles from Kororareka was the Native settlement of Kaikohe, the headquarters of Hone Heke, the great leader of the rebellion. Hone Heke, who belonged to the Ngapuhi Tribe, was a nephew of the celebrated fighting chief Hongi Hika, whose warlike spirit he emulated. He was married to the beautiful and clever Hariata, Hongi's daughter, and it is reported that to her sage and wifely counsel, both in peace and war, he was greatly indebted. He was baptized by Archdeacon Williams, with whom he resided for some years at the mission-station, and here he occasionally did church duty as a lay reader. Gradually, however, his former instincts overcame his Christianity, which he relinquished, though he retained at his finger-ends his knowledge of Scripture, using it on suitable occasions as keenly as a two-edged sword. He soon became the recognized head of the tribe, attracting to himself a fine, if turbulent, body of marauding, mischief-loving followers. It required little to depict himself as the patriot of his race. His quick eye saw how firmly the pakeha was planting his footsteps, and his willing ear readily listened to the treasonable stories of the disaffected white men ever at his elbow, who told

him that his authority was as nothing before the Queen's, and that ere long he and his race would become slaves, and soon be swept away like sand before the advancing tide. The flagstaff was pointed at by them as an emblem of the Queen's rule, and of his race's subjection. So long as its flag floated, so long would trading-vessels keep away from the port and bestow their benefits elsewhere. How this evil was to be remedied was a source of constant discussion amongst the neighbouring chiefs, and it was resolved that the solution lay in the simple plan of cutting down the flagstaff.

During the early part of 1844 Heke paid many visits to Kororareka with his followers, and before long it became evident to the inhabitants that mischief was brewing. He behaved insolently, defiantly entered dwellings, and committed various acts of depredation. A slight incident afforded him an additional pretext for picking a quarrel. A Native woman, formerly a slave of Heke's, lived with a butcher at Kororareka, named Lord, as his wife. Heke sent to this man's shop demanding her to return to him; she, however, contemptuously pointing to some pigs hanging up for sale, said, "Heke is a pig—there is Heke." The insulting message was faithfully delivered to the incensed chief, who demanded satisfaction. Failing to obtain this, and meeting with no resistance, he became still more violent. The war-dance was danced upon the beach, with cries of "War! War to the white people! Cut them in pieces and drive them into the sea! Rauparaha killed them: let us do the same." The inhabitants became much alarmed, and hurriedly consulted with Mr. Beckham, the Magistrate, as to the best means of self-defence. That gentleman seemed unable or unwilling to suggest any, and said that the police would keep guard, and that in his opinion there was no cause for real alarm. It was, however, agreed that if necessity arose through the night the church-bell should ring out its warning-note and the inhabitants muster at certain points of the beach.

The aspect of matters rapidly grew worse, and it was as though the place were in a state of siege. Heke told the people not to interfere with him—he had but come to cut the flagstaff down, nothing more. So passed a day or two of anxious suspense. Probably a hundred men were ready to shoulder arms in self-defence; but Mr. Beckham would not consent to this, on the grounds that he had not authority to do so, and that such a procedure might excite the infuriated savages to slaughter.

On the morning of the 8th July, at daybreak, the Natives—who were well armed, and 100 in number—marched along the beach, and formed themselves into parties, one of which ascended the hill and, unhindered, cut down and into pieces the hated flagstaff, which they burnt, carrying away the ropes and signal-balls. They then crossed over to Pailhia in their canoes, where



they defiantly danced the war-dance before Bishop Selwyn, who happened at the time to be superintending the mission school.

His object thus accomplished, Heke soon afterwards returned to his headquarters at Kaikohe, and in this inglorious manner was enacted the first act of that inglorious war which did not terminate for eighteen months later.

Word of these occurrences was at once despatched to Auckland, the seat of Government, and there produced a profound sensation. Exaggerated rumours were everywhere current. It was reported that increased numbers were coming, and that Heke was coming to attack the capital itself.

Governor Fitzroy acted with the greatest promptitude; and had he displayed throughout equal firmness, and a determination to quell the insurgents, it is more than probable that at this time all further hostile attempts would have been crushed. For the sum of £550 he chartered a merchant vessel, the "Sydney," then lying in harbour and ready for sea, to proceed to the Bay of Islands with a subaltern, Ensign Campbell, and thirty men of the 96th Regiment, then stationed in Auckland. The vessel was afterwards to sail for Sydney with a despatch to Sir George Gipps, the Governor of that colony, urgently requesting him to send military aid.

Sir George Gipps acted with similar promptitude. Within an hour after receiving this application he summoned his Executive Council to advise upon it, with the result that within two days of her arrival the "Sydney" again sailed with 160 men of the 99th Regiment and a field officer, 30,000 ball cartridges, camp equipage for 300 men, two 6-pounder guns, 100 new muskets, ammunition, and stores. After a nine-days passage she arrived at the Bay of Islands on the 14th August.

Information was sent to Mr. Beckham, the Magistrate, of the measures taken; he was directed to replace the flagstaff, and to observe temperate and conciliatory measures until assistance arrived, which would be with all speed.

On the 25th August Governor Fitzroy himself arrived at Kororareka with H.M. sloop "Hazard," Captain Robertson, and the colonial brig "Victoria," accompanied by Lieut.-Colonel Hulme, of the 96th, with a detachment of that regiment numbering fifty men. The total force disembarking consisted of about 250 men, and the display of so imposing a military body produced an undoubted effect upon the Natives, who had seen no such spectacle before—and doubtless a salutary one, inasmuch as many of the least disaffected of the chiefs, instead of joining Heke, decided to adhere to the side of law and order.

Preparations were made to follow Heke into the interior, to his headquarters at Kaikohe, and there to inflict punishment upon him. Accordingly the three vessels were anchored at the mouth

of the Kerikeri, and boats were hired for transporting the troops up the river. At this juncture an application was received by Governor Fitzroy from Mr. George Clarke, the Chief Protector of Aborigines, and the resident missionaries, to the effect that many of the influential chiefs of the neighbourhood who were friendly to the Europeans, and who highly disapproved of Heke's rebellious proceedings, were desirous of discussing the whole matter, with a view of preventing further hostilities and of preserving peace. The chiefs represented that the disturbance had arisen entirely from the fact that they were no longer able to dispose of their produce to the numerous vessels which used to frequent the port, but which had now been driven away by the Customs duties; nor, owing to the various restrictions, could they as heretofore deal with their land. Hence poverty and discontent were prevalent amongst them.

The Governor, considering there was force in these complaints, called a meeting of the inhabitants of Kororareka, at which he informed them that henceforth the duties would be abolished and the Customhouse officers removed. He then proceeded, on the 2nd September, to meet the chiefs at Waimate, the central mission-station of the district. At this interesting meeting were present Bishop Selwyn, Archdeacons Williams and Maunsell, and other missionaries, Colonel Hulme, and Captain Robertson. The Governor's speech was translated by Mr. Puckey, an old catechist; though lengthy, it was eloquent. In it he recounted the mutual relations which had gradually grown up between the two races, mainly through the instrumentality of the missionaries, who had raised the Natives from a condition of barbarism. He spoke of the advantages they enjoyed under the powerful British rule, and with no very complimentary allusions congratulated them on being under that protection rather than that of the French, American, and Russian nations, who had, he said, looked upon them with greedy eyes. Such benefits conferred did not, indeed, merit the ungrateful return of the recent outbreak. Bygones, however, should be bygones; and their trade regulations should be altered so that in future they could trade freely with ships visiting the port. He wound up by demanding that ten guns should be delivered up as an atonement for Heke's misconduct and as a public acknowledgment.

No sooner had the Governor concluded than several chiefs sprang up and laid twenty guns at his feet, together with as many tomahawks, saying that if he desired he should have as many more. Then followed loyal speeches from the assembled chiefs, delivered in the usual figurative style. But one of these shall I extract, being the utterance of the celebrated Tamati Waka Nene, who shall thus introduce himself, especially as he was one of our prominent allies in the impending war. You will remember

that to his good offices four years previously the acceptance of the Treaty of Waitangi was mainly due. He said, "Governor, if that flagstaff is cut down again we will fight for it; we are one tribe, and we will fight for the staff and for our Governor. I am sorry that it has occurred, but you may return the soldiers. Return, Governor; we will take care of the flag. We, the old folks, are well disposed, and will make the young folks so also."

The value of so influential a chief's assistance and friendship in those struggling days of the young colony is not to be exaggerated. Mohi Tawhai and Patuone, chiefs whose *mana* was great, were present at this meeting, and their assistance later on was also valuable. Heke himself remained at Kaikohe. He sent a letter to the Governor which displayed impenitent raillery. He wrote,—

"FRIEND GOVERNOR,—

"This is my speech to you. My disobedience and rudeness is no new thing; I inherit it from my parents, from my ancestors. Do not imagine it is a new feature in my character, but I am thinking of leaving off my rude conduct towards the Europeans. Now, I say that I will prepare another pole inland at Waimate, and I will erect it in its proper place at Kororareka, in order to put an end to our present quarrel. Let your soldiers remain beyond sea and at Auckland. Do not send them here. The pole that was cut down belonged to me. I made it for the Native flag, and it was never paid for by the Europeans.

"From your friend HONE HEKE."

Wherever he went he spoke contemptuously of the meeting, with its score of rusty muskets, and said that if the flagstaff were again erected he would again cut it down. He was, however, stung by the pledges of the chiefs to look after him and keep him in check, and angrily said, "Let Waka keep to his own side of the Island, and not interfere with me."

In this lame fashion was a sort of peace patched up. By direction of the Governor, the troops returned immediately to Sydney by the vessel in which they came but a fortnight before. The "Hazard" and "Victoria," with the Governor and Colonel Hulme's detachment, sailed for Auckland, arriving on the 6th September. A grave error was undoubtedly here committed in not establishing a strong military post at Kororareka. Such a step would not have been incompatible with the pacific measures agreed to; and any insurgent movement could have been easily crushed, especially as the approaching summer would have rendered military manœuvres easy of execution. But the golden opportunity was lost. Governor Fitzroy's sympathies were entirely with the Natives, and in questions relating to them he was greatly influenced by the advice of those who were known as the missionary party—a term including much more than the missionaries them-

selves. Had there been no such thing as colonization, probably no better counsel could have been sought; but a new era had dawned, and it became necessary that the interests as well as the safety of the new-comers should not be made secondary to sentimental considerations.

At this time the general condition of the colony was as bad as bad could be. Governor Fitzroy's despatch to Lord Stanley was almost piteous in its complaints: there was no money; general poverty everywhere; holders of land could not lift their titles, being unable to pay even the Court fees; Government officers were receiving only half-salary, and that was paid in debentures, Customs receipts were rapidly falling off; and there was every prospect of terrible disaster unless aid were sent without delay. The Governor's lot was far from being a happy one; he was worried on every side, his accusers affirming that the misfortunes of the colony were caused by his vacillation and misgovernment.

At this time the European population of the whole of New Zealand was under twelve thousand. Of this number about 3,500 resided in Auckland and farther north. Such a handful of people, indeed, seemed to be at the mercy of the Natives; at Auckland, so much did the colonists fear to exasperate them that they were afraid to drill. St. Paul's Church and the Britomart Barracks were the only impregnable places, and thither numbers often repaired for safety on occasions of alarm or panic, which in these times were not unfrequent, amongst the number being even the Governor himself and his wife. In the march of progress the hills on which these places stood have been levelled and cast into the sea, and on the foundations thus formed stand instead warehouses devoted to peaceful commerce.

News of fresh disturbances at the Bay of Islands again soon reached the capital. Horses and cattle were stolen, settlers' houses broken into, and every act of lawless depredation committed. These deeds were done chiefly by Natives acting under the leadership of Kawiti, a chief of the Kawakawa, who now enters upon the scene. This man was in some sense an enemy and rival of Heke's, though very shortly the exigencies of war led the two to join forces and make common cause against their enemy. While the patriot Heke professed to fight against the Queen and the flagstaff only, Kawiti was actuated by motives of plunder and of driving the white people away.

On the 6th January, 1845, a very daring outrage was perpetrated by the rebels on some settlers, whose cottages were broken into and divested of everything they contained. On the 10th of the same month, soon after daylight, Heke, with his tribe, again cut down the flagstaff, without, however, offering any violence to the inhabitants, or even marching through the town. He threatened he would return speedily and destroy the Government buildings.

A Proclamation was consequently issued by the Governor offering a reward for the apprehension of the chiefs concerned in these outrages, and a special one was devoted to Hone Heke himself. This highly incensed Heke, who asked whether he was a pig that he should be thus bought and sold, and in retaliation for the affront he in turn offered another reward of 1,000 acres of land for General Fitzroy's head.

Again were instant measures taken. Mr. Beckham was directed still to possess his soul in patience, and to re-erect the emblem of British sovereignty, which he was assured would shortly be defended with a blockhouse. By the "Tryphena," on the 21st, despatches were sent to New South Wales, requesting Sir George Gipps to send again military and naval assistance, which would not be required, Governor Fitzroy thought, for a longer period than three months, by which time he hoped to have crushed the rebellion. Colonel Hulme was directed to send a detachment of thirty men in the colonial brig "Victoria," Captain Robertson, to return immediately from Wellington with H.M.S. "Hazard" (eighteen guns) to Auckland, and thence to proceed with the blockhouse. H.M.S. "North Star" (twenty-six guns), Captain Sir Everard Home, was expected daily from Sydney.

In Kororareka all was excitement, preparation, and drilling. The first arrival, early in February, was that of the "Victoria," with her detachment of thirty men, and with Dr. Andrew Sinclair, the Colonial Secretary. Despite the remonstrances of Archdeacon Williams and of others conversant with the Native feeling, a temporary pole was raised by order of the Colonial Secretary until the more complete and better-defended one could be erected. The defence of this was divided between the detachment and some of Tamati Waka's men, and it was boastingly asserted that this force would keep at bay any number of savages.

And now followed the fulfilment of Heke's threat. On the 18th of February, leaving his armed men below, the bold chief marched up the hill, and there was confronted by a few of Waka's men who happened to be on guard. One of them pointed his musket at Heke, who coolly pushed it aside, saying that he did not wish to hurt him. He cut through the backstays of the pole, and when it fell said, "*Heoi ano*" ("That is enough"). He then quietly walked down the hill again. There was no bloodshed. He and his men then took to their canoes, paddling under the very stern of the "Victoria," at the same moment discharging their muskets as a token of contempt and derision.

Whilst awaiting the anxiously-looked-for assistance, the inhabitants continued to drill, and established patrols. The house of Mr. Polack, an old resident, was selected as a place of refuge for the women and children. A strong stockade was erected round it, and it was further used as the powder-magazine. Meanwhile the

insurgents were active. Acts of violence were of constant occurrence in the neighbourhood, though from participation in these Heke kept aloof. He remained chiefly at Kaikohe, making every effort to induce the tribes to enrol themselves under him. In this he was very successful, and, professing the patriotism of his motives, he enlisted their sympathies and assistance against the Government.

The "Hazard" after a stormy voyage round the East Cape, during which she had to throw overboard seven of her eighteen guns, arrived at the Bay on the 15th February, and the work of erecting the blockhouses and flagstaff was at once proceeded with. One of the blockhouses, with a battery of three guns, was built a little way up the hill, and above Mr. Polack's fortified house; this was in charge of some of the inhabitants, under Mr. Cornthwaite Hector, a brave civilian, and father of Captain Nelson Hector, well known in the P. and O. service. The lower part of the new flagstaff was shod with iron, and a deep trench cut around it. It was further protected by the upper blockhouse, manned by twenty soldiers of the 96th Regiment, under Ensign Campbell. The other (or south) end of the town was guarded at the Matauhi Gorge, or road which there leads into it, by a picket and one of the "Hazard's" great guns. The picture here exhibited, and which was drawn by Captain Clayton on the 10th March, the day before the destruction of the town, affords an excellent view of the whole position.

About this time Heke seems to have been restless and anxious. Archdeacon Williams and the Rev. Mr. Burrows saw much of him, and urged him to peace. He gave his gold-laced cap to the Archdeacon to *tangi* or weep over in case of his being killed, and then finally decided to join his forces with those of Kawiti. On Sunday, the 9th, the Rev. Mr. Brown, late Archdeacon of Tauranga, preached in Heke's camp from the text, "From whence come wars and fightings among you?" After the service Heke walked up to him and said that he had better preach that sermon to the soldiers, who had more need of it. In accordance with Maori usage, Heke sent word by Mr. Gilbert Mair, an old resident, that at daybreak on the morning of the 11th he purposed attacking the town and cutting down the flagstaff, and he further described his intended operations: the settlement was to be entered at different points—by Kawiti at the Matauhi Pass, by Pumuku at the other end, whilst he himself would attack the flagstaff and blockhouse.

And so was to commence the first struggle between the British lion and the Maori rat. The accounts given of it and of the later operations vary in many details, and much of the information I give has been derived directly from conversation with those who took part in the war, or who were otherwise quite reliable. Amongst those I may mention the late Judge Maning, Captain

J. J. Symonds, and an old Kororareka resident well acquainted with Heke.

Some discredit and contempt were cast on the piece of news brought in by Mr. Mair, who, with just anger, concluded his warning by saying that, whatever might happen, he had done his duty. Fortunately, Captain Robertson, of the "Hazard," did not disregard this warning, nor omit to act upon it. When told of this scheme for taking the town, he said, "Then they shall pass over my body first." A few hours later these words proved prophetic. On the night of the 10th, aided by the darkness and the dense cover of the scrub, Heke and his party noiselessly ascended the Signal Hill, and there lay down awaiting the dawn of day. So well concealed and so close to the blockhouse was he that he readily saw every movement of the soldiers on guard.

The morning of the eventful 11th dawned thick and misty. About 4 o'clock Ensign Campbell started from the upper blockhouse with a small party of men for the purpose of completing a trench on an adjoining hill, leaving behind fifteen men and a corporal on guard. At the same time Captain Robertson, with fifty seamen and marines, marched from the barracks near the lower blockhouse (where they had spent the night) to the Matauhi Pass, there also to complete some works at the one-gun battery. Almost at the moment of their arrival the sentry on duty at this battery caught sight of Kawiti's armed men—about two hundred in number—quickly bearing down upon him. He challenged, and immediately afterwards fired upon them. Then began a close and furious conflict, and the firing became general. The brave Captain Robertson, followed by his heroic band, dashed sword in hand into the thickest of the outnumbering foe. Long afterwards was the fame of his deeds in the mouths of the Natives. Man after man fell before him; even Kawiti's last hour had come had not the sword-stroke been intercepted by a long-handled towahawk, which was severed in twain. Still leading, he fell dangerously wounded, having been struck by four bullets, one of which broke his thigh-bone. On, however, pressed his men, valiantly cutting their way through the enemy, whom they finally compelled to retreat up the hills in every direction, after half an hour's hard fighting.

Where was Heke? The clever chief's opportunity had come, and his plot succeeded. Hearing the sharp report of musketry proceeding from the other end of the town, Ensign Campbell and his men ran to an eminence close by to learn the cause. With the same intention, the corporal and ten of his men dashed up the hill out of the blockhouse, leaving but three or four men behind him. In a moment, in every direction, and as though by magic, up sprang Heke's warriors from amongst the dense fern. With loud yells they rushed to the blockhouse, instantly killing the four

poor helpless fellows inside, and then attacked the remaining party. To regain the position was hopeless, and it but remained, as the corporal afterwards put it, to retreat backwards to the shelter of the lower blockhouse, fighting as they went. For the fourth and last time Heke applied his axe to the root of the hated flagstaff, and, quivering and crashing, it fell; and there it remained fallen and rotting for nine long years, when—such is the irony of fate—it was replaced in Governor Browne's more peaceful days by Kawiti's own son.

Lieutenant Barclay now left the barracks with a detachment going double-quick time across the beach towards Matauhi Pass, with the intention of assisting Captain Robertson and his marines. He was, however, so hotly attacked in his flank and rear that he was obliged to retire the way he came, and make for Mr. Polack's stockaded house. The fighting and firing amongst the detached parties now became general—so general, indeed, that occasionally it became indiscriminate, and friends and foes fired on those of their own household. The "Hazard," which owing to the disablement of the commander was now under the command of Lieutenant Philpotts, then opened fire with her great guns. This was directed towards the blockhouse, with the intention of dislodging Heke and his men. The clear voice of a Native was heard shouting "Beware of the earthquake guns"—the name they gave cannon. But the earthquake guns worked no wonders, the balls falling harmlessly near their target. And so the key of the position—the upper blockhouse—was lost and never recovered. It was proposed by Mr. Hector, whose bravery throughout was most conspicuous, to rush the hills with a picked body and retake the blockhouse at all risks. Many volunteers offered themselves for this forlorn hope, but the proposition was wisely overruled and abandoned, as it must have resulted in a serious loss of life.

As the day wore on a council was held on the "Hazard," and it was determined by Lieutenant Philpotts that, for safety, the women and children who crowded Mr. Polack's stockade should be removed on board the vessels lying in the harbour, as he proposed shelling the town, though why or wherefore never clearly appeared. The removal was effected about midday; and not a moment too soon, for, to add to the chapter of disasters, the powder-magazine, which contained all the ammunition of the shore party, blew up with a tremendous explosion, destroying the valuable property of the inhabitants, which had there been stored. How this occurred no one could exactly tell, but an explanation would not be far to seek when it is known that the powder was lying about loose, that cartridges were hurriedly made by the aid of linen clothing torn into strips for the purpose whilst the muskets were blazing away, and that there was actually smoking of pipes amidst the explosive material.



A general retreat of the inhabitants to the shipping now took place. The Natives viewed the scene from the hilltops, and, to their amazement, saw that the town had by this desertion been virtually ceded to them. It is quite certain that the destruction of the flagstaff was all that they intended, and that the taking of the town formed no part of their scheme. The inhabitants seem to have been demoralized by the panic which had seized them. All were not, however, panic-stricken, and these remained in their houses, conscious that the quarrel was not with them but with the soldiers. One lady told me that during the progress of the fray Heke darted into her house in great glee, saying, "We have beaten your Queen, we have beaten your Queen!" and then proceeded, as he was an old acquaintance, to tell off a guard of his men for the protection of her goods, which, as a special mark of friendship, he would not allow to fall into any hands but his own. She describes Heke as being a tall man, clever, a splendid warrior, and humane; and Kawiti as small, repulsive-looking, cunning, and cruel. These portraits, taken by a Mr. Merrett forty years ago, will enable you to judge of their countenances for yourselves.

Heedless of danger, Bishop Selwyn—who was himself a man of war—and Archdeacon Williams went about rendering what aid they could to the wounded, and assisting the removal of the women and children. Seeing the town was abandoned, the Natives began to plunder it, and removed whole canoe-loads of valuables. They carried on this work with the utmost good humour; and, shameful to relate, many of our own countrymen engaged themselves in it also. Pillagers and pillaged pillaged shoulder to shoulder.

The next day Kororareka was almost entirely burnt to the ground; by Heke's orders, however, a small portion of the north end of the town, containing the Anglican and Catholic churches and the adjoining cottages, were spared.

The ships in the harbour received on board the refugees. Captain McKeever, of the American corvette "St. Louis," whilst observing the strictest neutrality, behaved with the utmost kindness, and took about a hundred and twenty persons on his vessel. The "Matilda," Captain Bliss, sailed into the harbour during the conflict, and received about a hundred persons. Altogether there would be about three hundred refugees. The "Hazard" contained crowds of wounded men, Captain Robertson lying amongst them, his life despaired of. Bishop Selwyn's schooner, the "Flying Fish," completed the number. The town being destroyed and the inhabitants bereft of all their possessions, it was determined that the vessels should sail for Auckland. This they did, arriving at their destination after a fine-weather voyage of two days, and within an hour of each other.

The British who took part in the engagement numbered over two hundred and fifty; the Natives about four hundred. Our loss was thirteen killed and twenty-three wounded; the Native loss about thirty-four killed and sixty-eight wounded.

The disastrous news caused great excitement in Auckland, and it was rumoured that at the next full moon Heke intended attacking the capital itself with a thousand men. Many people fled to Sydney, though there was really no foundation for this idle rumour. A day or two after the arrival of the refugees a public meeting was held, whereat there was a great deal of very plain speaking, and charges of cowardice and neglect were freely made.

Governor Fitzroy now consented to the enrolment of a Militia. He had hitherto persistently refused this, on the ground of expense, and that undisciplined men with arms would do more harm than good, and would excite the Natives. The redoubts and fortified places were strengthened and multiplied, and generally a warlike spirit pervaded the small settlements of the colony. The brave Captain Robertson, who slowly recovered from his severe injuries, was the recipient of most flattering addresses, and on his departure for England, invalided, he was presented with a purse of £60, to be devoted to the purchase of a sword.

On the 23rd March H.M.S. "North Star" (twenty-six guns), Captain Sir Everard Home, arrived from Sydney, after an eleven-days passage, with the anxiously expected troops, and on the following day the transport schooner "Velocity," with the heavy baggage, ordnance stores, and troops—in all, 280 men of the 58th Regiment, under Captain Grant. On the 21st April the "Slains Castle," transport, came in with a further 200 men of the 58th, under Major Bridge. The schooner "Aurora," with seventy men of the 96th Regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Hulme, and fifty Volunteers under the bold civilian Mr. Cornthwaite Hector, completed the convoy. Sailing again, the vessels dropped anchor in the Bay of Islands on the 28th April, with 470 men on board. Whether or not for the purpose of striking terror into the hearts of the rebels, and of conveying to them an intimation that at last the hour of their well-deserved punishment had come, I know not, but at any rate the campaign was commenced with some of the pomp and circumstance of war, which seemed eminently ridiculous in view of the fact that a fortnight later the whole force returned the way they went, and not victorious.

The troops landed on the Kororareka Beach in the afternoon, and there hoisted the Union Jack. The proclamation of martial law was read, the "North Star" thundered forth a salute of twenty-one guns, the yards were manned, the band of the 58th played "God Save the Queen," and then the troops re-embarked. The vessels then sailed up the Kawakawa River, and anchored opposite Pomare's pa at midnight.

Pomare was one of the rebel chiefs, and it was well known that much of the plunder taken at the sacking of Kororareka was secreted with him. He was of drunken and dissolute habits, and many a wild orgie amongst the whalers was indebted to him for the supply of a disgraceful traffic. Pomare, then, was singled out as being one of whom severe example should be made, and accordingly soon after daybreak on the following morning he was taken prisoner. This was not, however, done in a manner creditable to the British arms. At daylight a flag of truce was discovered flying at the pa, and in reply a similar one was hoisted from the fore royal masthead of the "North Star." Meurant and Merrett (the interpreters) were sent ashore by Colonel Hulme, who requested that Pomare should come on board and confer with him. This the chief at first refused to do, saying that if the Colonel wanted to speak to him he must come to the pa. He was then assured that no harm should be done to him, and that if he persisted in his refusal his pa would be attacked and his people destroyed. Pomare at last consented to go. At this moment two companies of troops began to ascend the steep hill on which the pa stood, and immediately the Natives, who were highly exasperated and also well armed, rushed forward to meet them, and an immediate conflict seemed inevitable. Mr. Merrett, however, ran between the two parties, who were within a few yards of each other, and explained the circumstances to the commanding officer, with the effect of stopping the advance. Pomare then walked down the hill with the two interpreters to the beach below, and through them had some conversation with Colonel Hulme, by whose orders he was almost immediately made a prisoner of war and taken on board the "North Star." Colonel Hulme excused himself afterwards by saying that as only loyal Natives were authorized to hoist the white flag he could not recognize the supposed right of a rebel chief to do so. After this a demand was made that the Natives should surrender their arms within two hours' time. As little notice was taken of this the pa was searched, and in it a large quantity of plunder, pigs and poultry, and two large guns were found, and it was then burnt to the ground and the canoes destroyed. The Natives escaped to the hills beyond.

It was Colonel Hulme's intention to have marched the troops from this point for the purpose of attacking Heke and Kawiti at their pa at Okaihau, twenty miles inland, but the descriptions given by the guides for traversing this almost unknown country were so various and conflicting that he wisely abandoned the idea. Archdeacon Williams, who examined the maps drawn by the Natives in chalk on the deck of the vessel, pronounced the lines to be rivers, and not tracks through an almost impracticable country, which was furthermore occupied by Pomare's and Ka-

witi's warriors. "You may get there," said he, "but you will never get back." "And," added Sir Everard Home, "you are going, you know not where; you had better re-embark your men." And re-embarked they were, and started back to their old anchorage off Kororareka, where they met the friendly chief Tamati Waka, with two hundred of his men. With him measures were concerted for the march after Heke. The "Hazard" arrived from Auckland, and immediately all the ships started for One-whereo Beach a few miles farther north, where there was excellent landing. At daylight on Saturday, the 3rd May, the troops disembarked, and then commenced the first march of what was surely the most ill-conceived and badly executed campaign in which the British soldier was ever concerned. The first step was of a remarkable and unique character, for here Tamati Waka and two hundred of his warriors joined his English friends, and in the shape of a war-dance gave such a welcome as must have astonished them.

It has been my good fortune twice to have witnessed this spectacle, and I may be allowed to give a short description of it for the benefit of those who have not been so fortunate, and who in these degenerate days will no more see it than will they the lost wonders of Rotomahana. Imagine a couple of hundred stalwart tattooed savages, six or eight abreast, clad in the *tatua* or war-girdle only, and holding some weapon aloft in their right hands. At a special signal given by a chief, or perhaps by some ugly old woman more horrible in aspect than a Fury, the whole party with one loud yell dashes forward for a few yards as one man, and with inconceivable speed. They come to a full stop in a second's time, drop on one knee, and then at another signal leap high into the air, brandishing their weapons, slapping with the left hand the left thigh. Again and again they leap, oscillating from side to side, but keeping the most perfect time, whilst the very ground trembles beneath the thunder of their tread. With furious shouts they roar out the words of some war-song. Their utterly distorted countenances acquire most demoniac expressions—tongues flaked with foam lolling out to a fabulous length, eyes rolling, turned up, and showing but the whites, and every man vying with his neighbour all the while as to who shall make the most frightful gesture and grimace. Again and again with redoubled energy is the scene enacted—*vires acquirit eundo*—until the actors, still furious but at last exhausted, end with the same precision as they began.

By such an artifice did the Maori of the olden day lash himself into sufficient courage to meet his foe, and in some such way did Tamati Waka give to Colonel Hulme a taste of his quality. Throughout the campaign the Native allies wore a white headband to distinguish them from the enemy.

The distance to Okaihau, the site of Heke's pa, was about twenty miles inland, and it was expected that this would be traversed in two days at most. So imperfect were the arrangements that no sufficient provision for transport had been made, and thus it was necessary that each man should carry extra food and ammunition. Accordingly, all were supplied with five days' biscuits, two days' cooked meat, and thirty extra rounds of ammunition. There were no tents, cooking-utensils, or camp equipage; no artillery, only a few 3 lb. rockets from the "Hazard." Truly this was one of the many sad instances of underrating a savage enemy. "*Veni, vidi, vici*" would seem to have been the motto under which the expedition set out; but it was certainly not that under which they returned. The first day's march, though only a nine-mile one, was much impeded by the difficulty of carrying the rocket gear. The track passed over high hills, down ravines, and through flax marshes and masses of scoria buried in fern, rendering the travelling very laborious. Pretty cultivated spots were here and there passed, but deserted by the settlers. Later in the afternoon the first camping-ground was reached—an open piece of grassy country traversed by a deep stream. Here camp-fires were lighted, and springy fern was cut for beds. By the flickering light the Natives danced their wardance and cooked their kumaras, while the soldiers ate their tasteless meal of biscuit and meat, and sang comic songs or told stories. Near midnight, whilst all excepting the pickets slept, it began to rain, and then to pour down.

Those who know the Bay of Islands know in what pitiless torrents the rain falls there. The fires were extinguished, and the shelterless party were soon shivering and wet to the skin. Their supply of biscuits was spoiled, and two-thirds of the ammunition was rendered unfit for use. So passed the weary night, and the only cheerful sound was that of the bugle at daybreak to continue the march.

A detour of four or five miles from the direct line was now made so as to reach and recruit at Mr. Kemp's mission-station, near the head of the Kerikeri River. It was, I have been told, one of the series of subsequent blunders that the first day's journey was not performed by a boat service up the Kerikeri River. Had this more direct route been selected, not only would the fatigue of a most toilsome march over the worst part of the road have been avoided, but there would have been every facility for transporting heavy guns, a full supply of ammunition, stores, and provisions. From this point onwards there was a fair cart-road, about six or eight miles in length, to the Waimate Mission-station. But no; such a course, my informant said, would have made it appear as though the mission party countenanced or at least gave some semblance of co-operation with their countrymen.

The incessant rain compelled the soldiers to remain for nearly two days at Mr. Kemp's, where they found excellent accommodation in the church and outbuildings, and also plenty of food. When the incidents of this detention came to be told to the unfriendly detractors, who were but too glad to have an opportunity of severely criticizing the whole of Captain Fitzroy's military policy, it was asked, "Where was the pluck of the British soldiers when rain caused them to halt and stay indoors?" and it was sneeringly suggested that an apparatus should be supplied to them whereby they could fix umbrellas to the bayonet-catch of their muskets. An endeavour was made to borrow a bullock-dray at the Waimate. The residents were, however, unable to assent to this, on the ground that they were too near the rebel party, and feared reprisals.

On the 6th the march was resumed at daylight, the weather having moderated, the same heavy loads being dragged and carried as before, up hills, down ravines, through swamps and streams swollen with the late rains, and the tired party reached their last encampment about sunset. This was at Tamati Waka's pa, situated about a mile from the Omapere Lake and about two from Hone Heke's pa. The accommodation here provided for them, and not nearly sufficient, consisted of two long huts, built of fern-trees and nikau palms, about 120 ft. in length and 18 ft. in breadth, slightly partitioned, and facing each other—altogether not unlike the primitive stables one often meets with in the country. These were filled with fern beds. Numbers of Waka's people, women and children, met and vociferously welcomed the soldiers. Blazing fires were lighted for them, and they were feasted with pork and potatoes.

On the forenoon of the following day Colonel Hulme, with two or three officers, proceeded towards Heke's pa, with a view of reconnoitring it and of planning the attack. From the preparations made, which as we have seen were of so paltry and inefficient a character, it is quite evident that a Maori pa was estimated to be some sort of rude unsubstantial structure, to be demolished with very little trouble. I shall not just now interrupt the current of this narrative by entering into a description of one, though this must presently be done to render it more intelligible.

Colonel Hulme's inspection soon undeceived him, and he found he had undertaken to attack what was really a fortification of great strength; and yet he seems to have persisted in underrating it, for in the evening a party was sent to inspect the palisading of Waka's pa close to the encampment, so that they might see what kind of works they expected to storm and cut down on the morrow. Waka laughed at the very idea. "Your men," said he, "would all be shot down before they could get into my pa, and mine is not half so strong as Heke's, which is trenched, and has stonework."

The soldiers made light of the matter too, for, having borrowed axes and tomahawks from the Natives, they proceeded to show them, amidst derisive laughter, how they should be used.

The pa, which was built on a slight eminence, was of square shape, zigzagged at the corners. It had three rows of palisades, 15 ft. in height, sunk into the ground, each palisade being about 5 in. or 6 in. through, and set close to its neighbour; a mass of stone rubble covered with earth further strengthened the foundation. Within all was a trench. The whole was loopholed for musketry fire, green flax was rammed and twisted in between the palisades so as to turn off the musket-balls. The front (or north) face looked towards a low hill about 150 yards away, the back and east side were sheltered by fern and dense bush, and the west side was protected by the Omapere Lake and a hill. The accompanying sketch will afford a good idea of the relative positions.

At 7 o'clock on the morning of the 8th, after another night of heavy rain, the bugle sounded the advance. Wet and cheerless as it was, all impedimenta in the shape of blankets and knapsacks were left behind, as the distance to be marched was nearly three miles. To make matters worse, the unfortunate soldiers started on empty stomachs, for there was no food. Apparently Colonel Hulme's tactics were to surround the pa on its east and west faces, to drive out its occupants by means of the rockets, then to invest it, and to trust to British bayonets and British courage for what might follow. By 8 o'clock the men were on the ground; the rocket party, under Lieutenant Egerton, were posted on the hill in front of the pa and about 150 yards away from it—far too near, as the results of the firing proved, for the rockets flew over it. Close by, the main body and the Native allies were drawn up. The storming-party was at hand, awaiting the signal to secure the position of the western hill, from which they hoped to rush the pa at the proper time. The party numbered over two hundred men, and included the marines, under Commander Johnston, and the light company and grenadiers of the 58th, under Captain Denny and Lieutenant McLerie. As at Kororareka the Natives had dreaded and wondered at the earthquake guns, so now it was well known that they had heard much of and feared the rockets—a terrible gun, they said, which flamed and roared and twisted in its course, and then burst into a thousand pieces; and on these, no doubt, Colonel Hulme cast his die. "The chances of war," he said, "are many and uncertain." Perhaps his dependence on these chances had been better founded had the rocket-fire been well directed. The first rocket flew over the pa, and did no harm; the second cut through the palisading, and exploded inside, causing the greatest consternation; the dogs barked and rushed out, and so did a few Natives. This was the juncture of which the storming-party availed themselves. At double quick they advanced

towards the pa, a galling fire being opened upon them as they approached; then they rounded it, going between its west face and the lake, and made for the hill forming one of its boundaries. They were determined to take up a position upon this, as it commanded a view of the interior of the pa, and from it an overwhelming descent could be made upon the Natives, who, when driven out of their fastness, would be compelled to fight in open ground. As they neared it, however, they found that it was occupied by a body of Kawiti's Natives. A short, fierce fight then ensued, Kawiti's men yielding, but keeping up a fire as they retreated. The stormers then lay flat down on their new-gained vantage-ground to avoid injury from any stray rockets, and to await their time to charge. An hour so passed. All the rockets, a paltry nine in number, had been discharged without producing the expected panic and consequent stampede, and it was then determined to storm. With this view the pioneers, protected by flanking-parties, crept steadily down the hill, and were about to make the final rush. Heke, observing this movement, called out, "Now let every man defend the spot he stands on and think of no other, and I for my part will look to the great body in front."

An incident here changed the current of war, for suddenly a friendly Native—Hone Hopiha, or John Hobbs, by name—called loudly out, "Kawiti! Kawiti!" On looking round, the pioneers discovered that chief with three hundred followers within 50 yards of their rear. His men had noiselessly crawled through the dense fern and scrub from their ambush in the forest close by, and but for this providential discovery would have inflicted terrible slaughter upon the soldiers. The order was immediately given to charge, and this was so effectually done that Kawiti speedily retreated, followed downhill by the main body of the storming-party, who loudly cheered and showed the most invincible courage, though now exposed to the fire of the south face and of numerous men in ambush.

Signalling by means of flags now took place between Heke within and Kawiti without the pa. A large red English ensign flew up, and immediately about two hundred of Heke's men poured out of the pa and made for the few defenders remaining on the hill. The stormers, however, returned to the assistance of their comrades, pursued this time by Kawiti. A most fearful and prolonged onslaught now ensued, soldiers, marines, and Natives fighting in a confused mass. It was the evident intention of the insurgents to drive their enemies down the hill into the lake below. Gradually the British got closer together; their blood was up, and fixing bayonets and loudly cheering they fairly drove the mass before them. On the ground below the fight waxed hot again, and bullets poured from the pa; but the strife was virtually over, for Kawiti's men now finally withdrew. Kawiti was severely



wounded, and only escaped bayoneting—for no quarter was given—by lying as though dead under the body of a Native. No quarter was given, and the bayonet was freely used on the prostrate foes, for it was found that they had a dangerous trick of raising themselves up the moment their enemies had passed, firing after them, and then dropping down dead again.

The storming-party remained in possession of the hill for four hours, waiting for any of the further chances of war which might arise. The main body still kept up the continuous fire of musketry with which they had plied the southern and eastern faces of the pa throughout the day, but this probably without greater effect than of engaging the attention of the Natives to those parts, and so of indirectly assisting the storming-party. The retreat to the main body was then effected, but not without great difficulty and further loss. A detachment under Captain Grant was told off to protect this retreat, and to assist in the removal of the wounded. Slightly through the swamp, and wading through the lake, they returned with their wounded comrades, exposed to the quick fire of the musketry and of a couple of 6-pounders.

The main body reached, the fruitless fight of Okaihau ended. The soldiers fought with the utmost bravery, but they had gained no victory. The rebels remained masters of the position. Warily the despondent soldiers retraced their steps to the encampment, where they arrived after sunset, and again did they lie down supperless on the beds of fern. Not until the following day, and after a thirty hours' fast, did they get anything to eat, when a wandering bullock was found and killed for food. Thirteen of the British were killed and thirty-nine wounded. The Native loss it was difficult to estimate. Waka visited Heke's pa according to Maori custom after the engagement, and, amongst other questions, asked concerning the loss, but could get no satisfactory answer. Probably thirty killed would be near the number, amongst them being one of Kawiti's sons. Kawiti had previously lost a son at Kororareka.

Heke behaved with great magnanimity, as, indeed, he did on many occasions throughout the war. Once for all, it may be remarked that throughout the entire campaign Heke acted with much chivalry. Many instances were given of this feature in his character as a warlike leader. The English officers often expressed wonder that they were not harassed during the toilsome marches of the campaign. It would have been a perfectly easy matter for bands of Natives to have made a descent upon the wayworn soldiers, relieving them of food and ammunition. Sentiments of honour prevented this, and perhaps to the war-loving Maoris something more; "for," said they, "where would be the good of doing that, and stealing their powder? If we did that, how could they fight us?"

The following day Heke sent word that he had picked up the dead, who, owing to the difficulty of the retreat, had been left as they fell, and that he would give them Christian burial. He further forbade his men to strip the dead of their uniforms, which were much coveted, and insisted that they should be buried with them. The Rev. R. Burrows, the missionary stationed at the Waimate, read the burial service in Maori over the bodies of the British soldiers in the presence of Heke's people, and then the poor fellows were buried in the very ditch of the breastwork which less than twenty-four hours before they had endeavoured to capture with all the spirit of war.

I would here digress for a moment to say that throughout the campaign every respect was shown by the Natives to the missionaries, who constantly visited the hostile camps unharmed. It is not too much to say that some at least of the chivalrous feeling displayed by the Natives resulted from these interviews. Powerless as these good men were to prevent the war, they did much to mitigate its miseries. One of them, Archdeacon Williams, for a long time lay under the most unjust aspersions. In the affair at Kororareka he was accused of playing false with his countrymen, of giving wrong information, and in various ways of secretly abetting Heke's party. He was ordered from alongside the "Hazard," and the epithet of "traitor," was applied more than once to him. In the fullness of time he abundantly exonerated himself from these charges. Mr. Burrows has recently published some very interesting extracts from his diary kept at this time. In it he gives an example of the estimation in which Mr. Williams was held. Almost by accident he found himself one day in a very unenviable position between some contending skirmishers. By mutual consent the firing ceased to allow of his passing safely through them, after which the firing recommenced.

After a day's rest all marched back to Mr. Kemp's station at the Kerikeri, the wounded being carried on stretchers. Here they were supplied with food and every comfort, and were then taken in boats down the river and re-embarked in the vessels, which sailed for Auckland, arriving on the 14th of May.

The Native allies took but little part in the day's fighting. Had the pa been evacuated, Heke's men, it was presumed, would have been driven to seek the shelter of the neighbouring forest, and in such case the allies would have pursued and dislodged them.

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## CHAPTER VI.\*

Continuation of the War—More Troops from New South Wales—Storming of Ohacawae Pa, and Repulsion of British—Pa deserted by Natives—Period of Inactivity—Peace Negotiations—Recall of Governor Fitzroy and Appointment of Captain Grey—Capture of Ruapekapeka Pa—Close of the War.

THE victorious Heke, elated with his success, now withdrew about six miles farther inland to Ohaeawae—distant nineteen miles from the Bay of Islands and seven from the Waimate Missionary Station—where a small pa belonging to the chief Pene Tani was situated. With the assistance of Kawiti, he at once proceeded to enlarge and strengthen this in an extraordinary manner to resist the renewed attack which all knew was imminent and would be conducted on a much more formidable scale than before. The two were constantly engaged in small fights or skirmishes with Tamati Waka and his men, who were also busy erecting a pa in the vicinity to be ready by the time the fresh troops arrived. It was in one of these skirmishes that Heke received a severe wound in the thigh, which put him *hors de combat*, and necessitated his removal to his old home at Kaikohe.

Desirous that no blemish should stain the reputation of our faithful and patriotic ally Waka, I think it advisable to make some explanation on his behalf, lest censorious people might think that in thus fighting with us against his own countrymen he was acting the part of a traitor towards them. But the fact was that for a long time old unfought and unpaid scores existed between Heke and Tamati, and that the latter, honest and warlike spirit as he was, and undoubtedly faithful to us, had no objection to pay them off under the British wing.

During times of peace the Maoris were accustomed to dwell in villages, called “kaingas”; we in the south call them “kaiks.” Their situation was chosen with special reference to eel or fishing grounds and to the fertility of soil suitable for the cultivation of kumaras and taro. When the alarm of war was sounded they would desert the peaceful village for the pa or fortification, which was usually close by. The site for this was also selected with great judgment, and was usually in some very inaccessible and almost impregnable hill. Occasionally some natural position, such as a broad and swift river, or the sea, or perpendicular rocks, would be taken advantage of to afford increased security. Proximity to forest was almost indispensable, as supplying means of procuring young trees and saplings wherewith to erect palisades, which were sunk into the ground. Probably a deep moat, equal to anything constructed in civilized warfare, and surrounding these extensive works, would

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\* Lecture delivered before the Otago Institute, 28th September, 1886.

complete the truly remarkable engineering. And when it is understood how scanty and how poor were the implements used—wooden spades and stone hatchets—our wonder and admiration are increased. A hundred years ago Captain Cook expressed his astonishment at the strength of the pas and the skill exercised in their construction ; and later writers described them in similar terms. So recently as 1843—but two years before this outbreak—a visitor to these shores, Lieutenant George Bennett, of the Royal Engineers, wrote a lengthy report upon the Native pas, which was published in a blue-book. He described them with great exactness, dilated on their great strength, and stated that without artillery they were simply impregnable. In the face of these facts it does seem that the expedition just concluded was undertaken with most inefficient means and with an inexcusable ignorance.

The plan here exhibited of the Ohaeawae pa was drawn by Lieutenant Wilmot, of the Naval Artillery, who took part in the engagement before it. The relative position on a natural clearing in the dense forest is well shown in this coloured sketch made by Sergeant Williams. The pa was about 90 yards in length by 50 yards in breadth. It was built of three rows of palisades, from 15 ft. to 20 ft. in height, and sunk 6 ft. into the earth. These palisades were young trees, from 6 in. to 20 in. in diameter, which had been dragged with immense labour from the adjoining bush ; indeed, it would require the united efforts of perhaps thirty men with ropes to drag and erect the largest of them. These were securely and closely lashed together by means of flax. The outermost and middle rows were separated about 3 ft. A storming-party engaged in pulling down the outer row would be exposed to the full fire of those inside. The middle and innermost rows were separated by a ditch 5 ft. deep, communicating with the interior of the pa by excavations. The besieged fired from the ditch, which from its depth afforded excellent shelter. The palisading was perforated at its base with loopholes, and these, from the elevation of the pa on rising ground, were about on a level with the enemy. The men slept in underground huts, which also protected them from stray bombs, and in these were kept their food and ammunition. There were three flanking bastions as offshoots from the pa, in which were mounted ship-guns. Such was this really formidable stronghold, twice at least the strength of that at Okaihau, and manned with 250 warriors, against which a force of 600 men was brought.

Though disastrous, the experience of the previous few months was valuable, and we shall now proceed to see how far this was utilized, and what precautions were taken to prevent the British flag from again being dragged through the mire. Reinforcements still continued to arrive from New South Wales and Hobart Town, where the greatest interest and sympathy were felt for the unfor-

tunate colonists in New Zealand. On the 1st June, a fortnight after Colonel Hulme's return to Auckland, the ship "British Sovereign" arrived after a fortnight's passage from Sydney with two hundred officers and men of the 58th, 96th, and 99th Regiments, under the command of Colonel Henry Despard, an experienced soldier, who had seen much service in the East Indies. Upon this officer, as colonel of the staff, devolved the entire command of the troops in New Zealand. Upon his arrival he found every one in a bustle of preparation for a second expedition. Every available piece of ordnance was being furbished up and placed on new tumbrils for the convenience of transport, and the ships were ready to start for the Bay of Islands.

Some efforts had been made by the missionaries, who frequently visited Heke, to bring about a cessation of hostilities, but without avail. Heke was elated with the success which had stamped him as a great general, and he skilfully replied to every overture by very sharp rejoinder. To Mr. Burrows, who endeavoured to show from the Treaty of Waitangi how tender was the regard of the Europeans for the Natives, he replied by asking whether the rockets and guns fired at his pa at Okaihau were proof of this. To the Governor he sent a most overbearing letter. It was written in the highly figurative Native style, and certainly contained some severe as well as truthful home-thrusts. He ended with, "If you say 'Let war continue,' I answer 'Yes.' If you say 'Let peace be made,' I answer 'Yes.' If you agree to this, come and converse. Turn against your own countrymen and fight them, and let me fight with Waka."

Within a week of Colonel Despard's arrival all preparations were completed, and on the 8th June the first of the vessels sailed for Kororareka. All seemed confident of success this time. The previously despondent soldiers now gained new courage, and, referring in a punning sort of way to two of their favourite leaders—Colonel Despard and Brigade-Major Deering—spoke of what they would do now that Colonel Despard and Captain Daring led them.

On the 13th Colonel Despard received word of Heke's severe wound, which, at all events for the time, had placed him *hors de combat*. This piece of news decided him to press operations on with all speed, and, as the last of the vessels—five in number altogether—had reached the rendezvous, they got under way for the former landing-place, Onewhero Beach, near the Kerikeri River. A disaster at once befell them. Half an hour after starting the "British Sovereign" ran on a dangerous reef, and, as the weather was thick and heavy, there was every appearance of her speedily becoming a wreck. The other vessels rendered every assistance, and the men were safely taken off. The vessel was with great exertion got off the beach, but so badly damaged that it was found

necessary to run her ashore. This caused a delay of two days. The troops then marched to Mr. Kemp's station, at the head of the Kerikeri, through and over the same dreadful swamps, bogs, valleys, and hills, and awaited the arrival of the guns, ammunition, and heavy baggage, which had been sent up the river in boats under the command of Commander Johnston, of the "Hazard," who put in an appearance about 3 o'clock in the morning.

Stock was now taken, if one may so say, and the means of transport were found to be sadly deficient. These consisted of three drays drawn by bullocks and two carts with two horses to each. It was therefore necessary to leave behind half the ammunition, a great part of the provisions, and all the baggage belonging to the men, who thus moved in light order, merely carrying a knapsack and a blanket apiece.

The guns then became a source of difficulty. The proper gun-carriages had been removed in Auckland, having been considered old and unserviceable, and had been replaced by clumsy ship-carriages, with little heavy wooden wheels. The guns were thus top-heavy, and were a constant source of vexatious delay. The only mode of dealing with them was to drag them at the tail of the drays.

Here it will be as well to sum up the force:—

Colonel Despard, 99th, commanding.				
58th (Major Bridge) .. .. .	..	..	..	270
99th (Major MacPherson) .. .. .	..	..	..	180
96th (Colonel Hulme) .. .. .	..	..	..	70
Marines of H.M.S. "Hazard" (Capt. Johnston and Lieut. Phillpotts) .. .. .	..	..	..	30
Auckland Volunteers (Lieut. Figg) .. .. .	..	..	..	80
				—
				630

The guns were four in number—two 6-pounder brass ones and two 12-pounder carronades—in charge of Lieutenant Wilmot, R.A., and Captain Marlow, of the Engineers.

Our Native allies, under Tamati Waka, numbered 250. They had been ensconced before the Ohaeawae pa, agreeably passing the time in occasional skirmishes with the enemy until the arrival of their British *confrères*. It was in one of these skirmishes that Heke received his wound.

The march for the Waimate Missionary Station, distant twelve miles, commenced soon after noon, and was accomplished in about thirteen hours—that is, by 1.30 in the morning. Almost at the first river-crossing one of the carts containing ammunition broke down; it could not be repaired, and so was left for the time in charge of a body of men. A little farther on the second cart and a bullock-dray sunk immovably into the mud; nor could all the horses, bullocks, and men drag them out. Darkness and torrents

of rain came on, and so a halt was called until the moon rose, and then this toilsome march was resumed. Constantly did the top-heavy guns roll over, and if this happened in a swamp, as was not unfrequently the case, they simply sunk out of sight. Curses loud and deep and threats of terrible vengeance found vent this night. Colonel Despard was a passionate, impulsive man, and such a journey, as may be well assumed, gave ample scope for the exhibition of his qualities. The hopelessly bogged drays were unloaded, and the contents brought on by hand. The soldiers arrived fagged out with their toilsome sleepless night and want of food. They soon, however, made themselves at home, and cleared the place of every living thing that could be killed and eaten. Tamati Waka, too, had fortunately sent the day before a present of a ton of potatoes, so that the quiet mission-station was speedily transformed into a huge cooking establishment—pots, pans, and pails of every size and description being pressed into the service.

At the Waimate the troops remained five days, whilst the stores were brought up from the shipping and from Kerikeri. Here Colonel Despard, who had probably never seen a Maori before, made the first acquaintance of his Native allies. This he did, no doubt, with a very bad grace, and he rebelled against the very idea of consorting with them in warfare. At this time the extent of his alliance was doubtless limited to humouring them so far as to preserve them inactive friends rather than convert them into active enemies. When Waka was introduced to him and offered his services, he savagely said, "When I want the help of savages I will ask for it." Waka did not understand English, fortunately. Later on Colonel Despard had abundant reason for enlarging his views on the subject.

On the 23rd June, at 5 o'clock in the morning, the whole body commenced the march from Waimate to Ohaeawae. Though the distance was but seven miles, it was not accomplished until sunset. The road was very heavy, the river-banks required sloping to allow of the guns being taken across, and some of the rivers had to be crossed by means of broken branches and fern-trees, which were thrown in and so formed a sort of primitive bridge. The camp was pitched about 400 yards from the pa, amongst some of the Native gardens, which were found fortunately to be well stocked with potatoes and other vegetables. Waka selected a position to the right, on a low hill, which commanded a view of the pa in front and also of the soldiers to his left. The stillness of the first night was broken every now and then by the wild battle-cries of the Maoris, who, according to custom, taunted their enemies: "Come on, soldiers, and revenge your dead, who are lying stiff! *Whai mai, whai mai!* Come on, come on!" Then Waka would retort: "We Ngapuhi have killed you by heaps, and will kill you again. *Whai mai, whai mai!*"

The four guns were erected on a small mound made of stones and clay a few feet high about 300 yards from the pa, and on the morning of the 24th the first gun of this battery opened fire against it. The firing was kept up from this with no more effect than if popguns had been used; occasionally the recoil would cause them to sink into the slightly cohering stones and clay, and now and then to actually upset. The mortars were on better. The Natives sheltered themselves from the shells in their underground huts; many of the shells did not even burst, and it was proved that some of the fuses used were made in 1807, nearly forty years before. The position of the battery was changed three times and taken nearer, but with no better result. Whatever little damage was done was repaired by the Natives during the night. The ammunition, too, was beginning to give out.

In this dilemma Colonel Despard determined to send for one of the 32-pounders belonging to the "Hazard," which was anchored at the mouth of the Kerikeri. With this he felt sure he should make a breach.

Ensign Symonds, who was then, as he was wont to say, the last officer on the list, being the junior ensign of the 90th Regiment—the last regiment in the Queen's service—told me that in this weary and profitless manner passed many days. The soldiers had little to do but eat, drink, and sleep, and had the weather been warmer and the ground drier the whole affair might have resembled a picnic. Breakfast, dinner, and tea were taken with punctual regularity, and after each meal there would be a little more firing as a divertimento—at least, it proved to be nothing more. When night came all would lie down and enjoy as sound a sleep as though there were no such thing as war's alarms. The Natives kept closely to their pa, and never ventured into the open.

Colonel Despard, fretting and fuming, at length declared that he would storm the pa, and was only restrained from giving the order to do so by the earnest remonstrances of those who knew its impregnability. Colonel Hulme, for instance, had had experience of this with a fortification not half the strength. Tamati Waka said the English leader might go, but for himself he would not take his men into the jaws of certain death. Mohi Tawhai was asked his opinion, and, as he replied in a somewhat peculiar manner, Colonel Despard, who suspected treachery, furiously demanded from the interpreter what he was saying. The interpreter tried his best to evade the question, which confirmed the colonel in his suspicions. "What is it he says, sir? I insist on knowing." "Well, sir," said the interpreter, "if you must know it, he says you're a hold lass." Captain Marlowe, of the Engineers, said certain failure would follow the attempt. Lieutenant Philpotts, as brave a sailor as ever trod, uttered the same opinion, and was accused by the commander of cowardice. Poor Philpotts



who so soon was to meet his sad fate, was a son of the then Bishop of Exeter. He was a bold, rollicking, impulsive sailor—a great favourite alike with his brother officers of the “Hazard” and with the Maoris, both of whom knew him by the familiar name of “Toby.” He often dressed in a careless and conspicuous fashion, an eye-glass and tall white hat not being the least remarkable of his fancies. The Maoris and he were uncommonly good friends, their sprightliness, courage, and unflinching good humour winning from him the hearty admiration of a kindred spirit. One can readily conceive how an insinuation of cowardice would rankle in the breast of such a man.

An excellent suggestion had been made to breach the palisades by blasting them with powder deposited in suitable places at the base. Of course, the difficulty was how to perform this dangerous service, and Lieutenant Philpotts volunteered to make the tour of inspection. Unarmed and alone, he quietly walked across the empty space between the belligerents to the very face of the pa, along which he as quietly proceeded, making his observations. He was allowed to pass unharmed, and to return in safety. One Native meanwhile hoisted himself to the top of one of the palisades, saying in a friendly sort of way, “Go back, Toby; go back, or you’ll get shot.”

At length, on the 29th June, the long-looked-for 32-pounder made its appearance in camp, with twenty-six rounds of ammunition. To say that this gun had no carriage-wheels and that it weighed  $1\frac{1}{2}$  tons is to say that it also, like its predecessors, had some remarkable adventures by the way. Nearly two days were employed in putting it into position, and this was selected on the side of the hill occupied by Tamati Waka’s camp. It was confidently expected that this great gun would speedily make a breach, or would at least so shake the palisades that a storming-party might readily effect an entrance. Accordingly its gape was directed towards the particular angle marked in this plan of Lieutenant Wilmot’s, and it began to fire at 9 o’clock on the morning of the 1st July. Colonel Despard and a small party were standing by watching the result, when suddenly there was a loud cry and sudden confusion on the hill just above them, followed by a downpouring of soldiers and Natives, who were followed closely by the enemy. The pursuit, however, almost as suddenly ceased, for the sortie had been successful, and back the victorious enemy made for the fastness of the forest and the pa. The fact was, through some carelessness, they had been allowed to make a noiseless and roundabout approach, and then a sudden rush upon Waka’s position, which they took. One soldier was killed by his gun, two Native women wounded, and Waka’s huts rifled of what little valuables they contained; but what was worse, for on it hung the crowning disaster, a Union Jack which had been flaunting on the summit of the hill was dragged

down and carried away. Quicker than I tell the story the bugle sounded, a detachment was in arms, and the position was retaken, or, rather, reoccupied. To pursue the sortie party was useless; they went as quickly as they came.

The worst was now at hand. What was Colonel Despard's horror and indignation to see half an hour later the great Union Jack of England turned upside down and floating inside the pa upon the same pole as the Native flag, but underneath it. His fury knew no bounds, and, right or wrong, he then determined to storm. It is right to say that Colonel Despard considered—though Captain Marlow, of the Engineers, entirely differed from it—that the great gun had at last loosened the timbers, that the Natives were gaining confidence and might attempt something on a much larger scale than the recent sortie, and that they might harass and intercept those who so slowly and so laboriously were bringing forward the munitions of war. Besides, what else was to be done—still to fire ineffectively and see the cannon-balls stick between the palisades like mud upon a wall, or to strike camp and leave the contemptuous Natives master of the field? And so it came to pass that an order to storm the pa was given, and those told off for the service were to parade at 3 o'clock the same afternoon. Perfect silence was to be observed whilst the party proceeded by a roundabout way under the shelter of Waka's hill, and thence down into a ravine within about 80 yards of the pa; from this, when all was ready, the final rush was to be made. A forlorn hope of twenty men and two sergeants, who had volunteered for this terrible service, was to show the way; this was under the leadership of Lieutenant Beatty, who had begged for the post. This was closely followed by a body of 130 men under Major MacPherson, and this again by Major Bridge, with 100 men; Colonel Hulme, with another 100 men, was to form a reserve to dash in when the breach was effected. Axes, scaling-ladders, and ropes, wherewith to hew, pull down, and climb the palisades, were carried by the party.

And in such order silently marched into the valley of death the devoted band. Here for a few seconds they halted. All was excitement within the pa, too, its occupants well knowing that at last the hour had come for a strife as fierce as it was to be unavailing. "Stand every man firm," cried a chief, "and you shall see the soldiers walk into the ovens." Suddenly the bugle sounded the advance, and, with a loud, long British cheer, forward dashed Beatty's forlorn hope, closely followed up by the two assaulting columns.

Who is it in strange dress, and with uplifted sword, that at the same second of time rushes down Waka's hill after the flying columns with such speed that, short as the distance is, he will outrun them and be the first to face the pa? That is

Lieutenant Philpotts, who, smarting under the treatment he has received, and wild with excitement, says, "I will not die a soldier." So casting off every article of the Queen's uniform, bareheaded, dressed in blue woollen shirt, white drawers, and boots, he seeks in certain death his solace and revenge.

When within a few yards of the pa a long line of smoke and flame pours forth from its loopholes on the doomed men, who fall by tens. Still they press on, and strain every nerve to force an entrance. Every man is possessed of the strength of a Hercules, but the palisades do not yield; the outer one, the Pekerangi, has given a little, but there is the solid immovable face of the second. In vain do the leaders give the example, and encourage to fresh efforts. Phillpotts has fallen dead just outside the pa, Beatty is dangerously wounded, Captain Grant is killed, and a third of the men are down; and all this within less than ten minutes. The courage is indomitable, but the pa is impregnable.

I have been told that Colonel Despard now seemed to lose his head. He ordered the bugle to sound the recall; directly afterwards he demanded with an oath to know who ordered the bugle to sound. "You yourself, sir, did this moment," said Ensign Symonds. The baffled men now came trooping back, carrying their wounded and dying. Forty men were killed and eighty wounded. One of the enemy's guns had been loaded with a bullock-chain, and this had inflicted severe wounds.

The troops passed a miserable and anxious night. Shrieks were often heard proceeding from the pa, and it was presumed that they were uttered by some prisoners undergoing torture. Such, however, was not the case; they were the ravings of some fanatic *tohunga*, or priest. Often was the stillness broken by the hated war-cry, "Come on soldiers; come on and have your revenge; your dead are with us. *Whai mai, whai mai!*" It is probable that not more than a dozen of the Natives were killed and two dozen wounded.

The next few days were spent in an uncertain, listless way. Under a flag of truce the dead were gathered together and buried in one large grave, the service being read by Archdeacon Williams, who, with the Rev. W. Burrows, frequently visited the camp, and rendered such advice as men so well skilled in a knowledge of Native customs were able to afford.

Colonel Despard attributed the non-success of the assault principally to the fact that the scaling-ladders and ropes had not been carried forward by the party, but had been left in the ravine. The result, however, would have been no more favourable had these been used. As all the ammunition had been expended, the commander's position was a most embarrassing one. It was impossible to strike camp and return to Waimate until the wounded had been safely removed there. There were seventy

of these lying under tents upon fern beds, and merely covered with a cloak and blanket apiece. A few at a time were removed on litters made of the boughs of trees or on the drays that brought in provisions, and within a week all were in the more comfortable quarters at Waimate. The Native allies, too, gave but little assistance; indeed, Colonel Despard, who had never been favourably disposed towards them, considered that they were a positive nuisance and obstruction. On one occasion he told them as much, and, the result proved, with very good effect.

On the 9th a fresh supply of ammunition was brought to the camp, and again the firing commenced. The idea of breaching the pa was this time abandoned, and what is called a plunging fire was resorted to—that is, the guns were so elevated that the bombs would burst within its walls, and the 32-pounder was dragged higher up the hill. This was continued until nightfall. As the night wore on, something unusual was noticed. No longer was its stillness broken by the oft-repeated war-cry or by the accustomed noises from the pa; the barking of innumerable dogs inside it was alone heard. Suspecting what had occurred, one of the Maoris, under cover of the darkness, crept up to the palisades and then within them, and found that the place was deserted, with the exception of the dogs and a sleeping old woman. Dark and late as it was, the rejoiced soldiers hurried into it, tumbling into the pitfalls and trenches, and were soon engaged in plundering whatever they could lay their hands on. Food was found in immense quantity—ducks, geese, maize, kumaras, and potatoes. The pa was then utterly destroyed by means of large fires which were lighted here and there, and it took three days to accomplish this. As showing its strength, it may be mentioned that it took the united strength of forty men to drag down some of the posts with ropes, although the earth had been previously dug and loosened around them. The timber principally used was hard puriri wood, and in it many of the shot were found sticking at a slight depth. Colonel Despard was amazed at the construction of the pa, and refused to believe otherwise than that it had been built under European direction. Bibles, various English books, and much of the pillage from Kororareka were lying about. The bodies of Captain Grant and Lieutenant Philpotts were found unburied, and were removed to the Waimate Cemetery.

On the 14th the troops returned to Waimate. The British considered this a victorious ending for their arms, and such was implied in one of the despatches: "The pa is in our possession, and the rebels have retreated." Those, however, best acquainted with Maori customs by no means allowed this to be a victory. When blood had been spilt the Maoris were in the habit of abandoning a pa, and, with remarkable celerity, of building another elsewhere. In this way did they desert their fortress at Okaihau

after the soldiers had ceased their attack. Thus did Heke boastfully say that he would compel the pakehas to follow him from pa to pa, dragging their heavy guns after them. Yet the obstinate bravery and unflinching obedience of the soldiers had had a wonderful effect, and the Maori instinctively began to feel that, given a little more experience, Hongi's warning to beware of the red-coat would prove full of truth.

And now followed a long period of inactivity, founded on a policy of consideration towards the Natives and a belief that Heke and Kawiti would be glad to make peace with the Governor. Colonel Despard's own desire was to push on warlike operations with the least possible delay, and to attack Kawiti before he had time to erect a new pa. Peremptory instructions were, however, sent that all offensive operations were to cease, at least for a time, and that Colonel Despard was to return to Auckland. There the news of the defeat was received with bitter disappointment, and men's hearts failed within them. The reason assigned by Captain Fitzroy for requesting Colonel Despard's presence in the capital was flimsy enough; it was that he should hold a court-martial on Lieutenant Barclay and Ensign Campbell, against whom the serious charges had been laid of cowardice, neglect, and desertion from the post of duty at the time of the attack upon Kororareka. This inquiry resulted, by the way, in a complete acquittal of the officers, whose faults were found to have arisen simply from the inexperience of two very young men. Colonel Despard fretted much under this enforced supineness, convinced as he was that the attempts made to procure peace would not only prove fruitless, but would allow Heke and Kawiti the opportunity they so evidently desired for completing the new pa at Ruapekapeka, the construction of which had been begun almost immediately after Ohaeawae. The guns were mounted on suitable field-carriages in place of the previous clumsy contrivances, ammunition was collected and examined, and other preparations made for a future which was felt to be not far distant.

The peace negotiations, so called, certainly did not originate with Heke and Kawiti, who had been urged to initiate them. These chiefs skilfully prolonged the correspondence, with the sole view of gaining time, and of ensuring the postponement of fresh hostilities until the return of another winter season; and in this endeavour they were indirectly assisted, curious as it may seem, by the presence of so large a body of inactive troops. War, with its attendant miseries, brings advantages to some in the shape of increased expenditure, and such was naturally the case with many of the residents, both English and Native, in the Waimate, who in this way derived considerable profit from the soldiers, and would have been losers by their withdrawal. The contract price of the meat supplied was, for instance, 4½d. per pound—so high,

indeed, that in a land of fresh beef the soldiers were supplied five days in the week with salt meat. Other commodities were proportionately high.

The letters which passed between Governor Fitzroy, Heke, and Kawiti extended over a period of four months, and were of a remarkable character, abounding in Scriptural allusions and pious sentiment. The first one from Heke was dated the 17th July—a fortnight after the storming of Ohaeawae. In it he justifies himself, and fences generally. His second—written six weeks later—is very lengthy, contains many unpleasant home truths, and after a lame sort of fashion professes to ask for peace. To this the Governor, only too ready to discover the faintest shimmer of contrition, replied in September, stipulating that—(1) the Treaty of Waitangi should be binding, (2) the British colours should be sacred, (3) plunder should be restored, (4) certain land should be given up, and (5) all hostilities should cease. To this letter no reply was received from Heke, but the old savage Kawiti, a man of few and pithy words, wrote characteristically, “As you have said we are to fight, yes, let us fight. If you say let peace be made, it is agreeable; but, as regards this, you shall not have my land—no, never, never. Sir, if you are very desirous to get my land, I shall be equally desirous to retain it for myself. This is the end of my speech; it ceases here.” This was written in October, and in this fruitless way were four months wasted.

Those who stand by see most of the game. In a private letter written Home at this time, Sir Everard Home, of the “North Star,” after stating that he has not lifted anchor for ten weeks, complains that they are on the eve of a bad peace, the Governor negotiating with the disaffected at a moment when strong reinforcements are arriving and when a sound drubbing might be administered.

The final scenes of this most interesting chapter of our early history now begin to unfold, and that I may draw your attention to them in a more interesting way I shall ask you to consider for a few moments the aspect of New Zealand affairs as viewed at the time in the Home-country. The antagonism between the Government and the New Zealand Company was as great as it had ever been. The company complained of broken faith and disregarded pledges. The settlers, they said, were no better than exiles; millions of fertile acres stood waste, and lovely harbours bore the reflection of no sail; a magnificent country suitable in every way for the expansion of England’s greatness was utterly blighted by Home and colonial misrule. So far but little sound of the events I have just described had reached the English shores. The news of the Wairau massacre had, and so had Heke’s first exploit in 1844, and it was known that the relations between colonists and Natives were rapidly becoming ominous. Lord John Russell said

if war began between the two races England would hear news which would make humanity shudder.

So continuous was the outcry that in April, 1845, Lord Stanley, the Secretary for the Colonies, wrote a despatch to Governor Fitzroy intimating to him his recall. The grounds for this step were the neglect of his instructions, as evidenced by the financial course taken by him, his proceedings with regard to land, his opposition to the enrolment of a Militia, and his not having sufficient firmness and decision in his proceedings with the Natives. The outcome of this state of affairs was the celebrated debate on New Zealand in the House of Commons on the 17th, 18th, and 19th June, 1845, extending over the three days. The widest interest was taken in the question, which was, indeed, a party one, the voting for the Government being 223 against 173—a slender majority. The resolutions, which were eighteen in number, were introduced by Mr. Buller, the member for Liskeard, in a very powerful speech against the Government. Of Mr. Buller I have spoken in a previous lecture as one of the ablest champions of our colonization. Most of these resolutions related to the justly due and long-ignored claims of the company and of the settlers. During the debate considerable reference was made to Captain Grey, who had just been selected by Lord Stanley as Governor Fitzroy's successor.

Barely had the debate in Parliament closed when the alarming news of the fall of Kororareka arrived, and this gave increased weight to the force of that discussion. At last the piteous cry for help was heard, and was joined in by the strong voice of the English Press; and it was now evident from the orders given that the hands of the new Governor were indeed to be made strong.

And now let us return to the disturbed colony. Forty years ago Puck had still not put his girdle round the earth, and nearly a year was consumed in receiving and replying to communications from the other side of the globe; and thus Captain Fitzroy did not officially receive his mittimus until October, five months after its despatch. The news of this was received throughout the colony with delight, which we can scarcely conceive or understand, so different is the condition of things in the present day. Bonfires were lighted, in which the Governor's effigy was burnt; there were illuminations at Wellington; at Nelson there was a public dinner, with the customary speeches, and the newspapers wrote of the occurrence in a jubilant tone. Speculation as to the successor was of but short duration, as it was almost immediately reported that the mantle had fallen on Captain George Grey, the Governor of South Australia. It would be ungracious as well as untrue to say that the news of the recall gave universal satisfaction. Before Captain Fitzroy's departure a numerous signed address was presented to him by many who considered that he

was unfortunate, and had been undeservedly abused—was the victim of circumstances almost beyond control. He was a man of high honour and well-intentioned, but vacillating, self-opinionated, and deficient in judgment. A stormy sea surrounded him, and, almost denied assistance, he was not skilful enough to steer successfully through it.

Colonel Despard returned from Auckland to his inactive soldiers at Waimate about the beginning of September. Nothing of moment occurred to break the monotony of the encampment whilst these futile attempts at peacemaking were dragging their slow length along. At the end of the month a valuable accession was made to the number of Native allies when Nopera and Taonui, with their followers, joined. These chiefs presently aided at the siege of Ruapekapeka.

The Governor wrote frequent letters to Colonel Despard at this time, still enjoining inactivity, whilst he awaited the expected letters from Heke and Kawiti. Lying idly at anchor at Kerikeri were three ships of war—the “Osprey,” “Racehorse,” and “North Star”—besides the transports “Slains Castle,” “Regia,” and “British Sovereign,” which last had just arrived from Sydney with two hundred men of the 58th, and a large supply of heavy guns and ammunition. On the 17th October Governor Fitzroy wrote his last despatch to Colonel Despard, requesting him to remove all the troops from Waimate to Kororareka, there to re-erect the flagstaff, construct works of defence, to defer any advance against Kawiti, and to send the Volunteers back to Auckland. Their removal was accomplished by the 27th October, and the works were just commenced when suddenly word of the appointment of a new Governor arrived, which caused them to be postponed until further orders.

No greater compliment or mark of greater confidence could have been paid to Captain Grey by the Colonial Office than that of selecting him to fill the onerous post of Governor at this important crisis in New Zealand affairs. Though barely thirty-four years of age, he had already shown himself to be a man of mark, and to be possessed of great intelligence and force of character. In 1841 appeared his interesting work entitled the “Journals of Two Expeditions of Discovery in North-west and Western Australia during the years 1837, 1838, and 1839,” &c. In that year Captain Grey was appointed by Lord John Russell to the Governorship of South Australia, at a time when the affairs of that colony were in the last stage of bankruptcy, distress, stagnation, and hopelessness; and from this state it was mainly rescued by the exercise of his undoubted abilities. Previously he had submitted to Lord John Russell, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, an able “Report upon the Best Means of Promoting the Civilization of the Aboriginal Inhabitants of Australia.” So much was this approved of that



copies of it were sent to Sir George Gipps in New South Wales and to Captain Hobson in New Zealand. In it the principle is laid down that aborigines, on becoming British subjects, should be taught that British law is to supersede their own barbarous customs, which they should be no longer allowed to exercise even among themselves. Many excellent suggestions follow, but this is the keynote of the report. Such, then, was the man who now stepped upon the scene, and such were the credentials which in the opinion of the Colonial Office proclaimed him as one suited for the emergency.

On the 15th October the H.E.I.C.S. "Elphinstone" brought to Adelaide Captain Grey's appointment. By the same ship he departed from the shores of South Australia, arriving at Auckland on the 14th November, and assumed the reins of government four days later. He landed under salutes from the men-of-war in the harbour, and walked to the Government House accompanied by the principal officials, and also by Tamati Waka, who was dressed in naval uniform. The oaths of office were administered on the lawn in presence of the troops and people. There was but little demonstration, in consequence, no doubt, of delicate feeling towards Captain Fitzroy. Two or three succeeding days were spent in gaining information and in discussing questions with various chiefs, and on the 22nd the new Governor sailed for the Bay of Islands. The Natives there already knew of his arrival in the colony, and great was their curiosity and numerous their questions concerning him. They had been told that he was one who would soon teach them to know their proper place. One chief said, "This is the Governor, I suppose, who has been sent to punish us more severely, as Governor Fitzroy has been thought too merciful."

Arrived at Kororareka, it speedily appeared that Captain Grey would substitute energetic action for the listless inactivity which had so long prevailed, and the hearts of the men rose at the cheering prospect. As negotiations for peace had been so sedulously made by his predecessor, and as no satisfactory rejoinder had been made thereto, Captain Grey thought it right towards all parties to make one other effort in that direction. With this view he wrote firmly and peremptorily to both Heke and Kawiti, stating that if they did not within a very few days accept the terms offered by Captain Fitzroy further communication would be at an end. The Rev. Mr. Burrows was intrusted with the delicate task of indorsing the recommendation of this letter to Heke. The good offices and excellent judgment of this gentleman had on previous occasions been amply relied upon, and it was felt certain that failure now would not in the slightest be due to the want of effort on his part. Archdeacon Williams was to forward the letter to Kawiti.

Accordingly, in a day or two Mr. Burrows went over to Hikurangi to discuss matters with Heke, and to receive his reply, which was jointly composed by himself and his chiefs. To Mr. Burrows he exhibited much curiosity, asking what sort of a man the new Governor was; what was he going to do; could he get more soldiers, &c. He called the Treaty of Waitangi a rat-trap, and said, "Let the Governor and his soldiers go back to England, to the land God has given them, and leave New Zealand to us, to whom God has given it. No; we will not give up our lands. If the pakeha wants our country he will have to fight for it, for we will die upon our lands." The letter was read aloud to his warriors, who approved of it, shouting "*Ae, ae,*" to its various sentences. It was written in an insulting strain, flatly refusing any terms which included any forfeiture of land, and was signed "Hone Heke Hou." This word "hou," meaning "new," was intended as an offensive travesty on the Governor's signature of "Kawene Hou"—"the new Governor." Kawiti's reply was of the same character.

So ended all chance of peace, and orders were at once given to resume military operations. The Governor returned to Auckland on the 6th December, where his presence was demanded by the exigent circumstances of the colony and the necessity of making arrangements for supplies to the troops. Almost his first act was to introduce a measure for prohibiting the importation and sale of gunpowder, arms, and warlike stores as far as the Natives were concerned. This was a very bold step indeed—one from which his predecessor had shrunk, dreading a collision with mercantile interests and with the Natives, who loved the smell of gunpowder, and who under such a restriction might break out into rebellion more dangerous and widespread than ever. This trade was as profitable as it was extensive, and was carried on not merely by the Americans, but, shameful to relate, by our own countrymen, who supplied the Natives in exchange for kauri-gum, flax, and pigs. The Ordinance was enacted, despite the dangers with which it was supposed to be surrounded; and stringent indeed were the clauses.

And so, on the 8th of December, the weary soldiers began to make a move from Kororareka for Kawiti's great pa at Ruapekapeka. It had long been current that in the engineering of this stronghold the Natives had excelled all their previous efforts. As Okaihau had been specially manœuvred by Heke, Ohaeawae by Pene Tauī, so now Ruapekapeka was specially under the command of that fine old heathen warrior Kawiti, who, although seventy years old, still loved a good fight as dearly as he had loved human flesh when the eating of it many a year before was both customary and respectable. Hence he had spared no pains to make his citadel worthy of the foe who now proceeded to march upon it to the number of 1,600 strong, inclusive of 450 Native allies. His

party numbered about four hundred, and to him flocked adherents from all sides, bringing with them food and general supplies. Heke, who was still suffering from the consequences of his wound, was at Hikurangi, some miles away. He was now preparing to cross the country with his followers to join Kawiti.

The Kawakawa River afforded the best route for the troops, but, as the boat accommodation was unavoidably deficient for the conveyance of so large a body of men, ordnance, and ammunition, some time was consumed in to-and-fro passage to the vessels, which were anchored at the mouth of the river. Further relief was effected by marching detachments along a Native path by the left river-bank, which, according to past experience, proved to be up hill, down dale, and through swamps. The guns, unlimbered, were, of course, brought up in the boats—three 32-pounders, one 18-pounder, two 12-pounders, one 6-pounder, Coehorn mortars, and rocket-tubes; and this time an abundant supply of ammunition. Still, the number of horses, bullocks, and drays was very deficient, and the men were constantly assisting to drag the heavy guns up hill—sixty men, with blocks and pulleys, to a gun. At the head of the river was the pa of Pukututu, a friendly chief, and this proved a most convenient depot, to which was daily sent a supply of necessaries from the shipping below.

It would be but telling the same story with variations over again to describe the harass and difficulty of this march of fifteen miles. Suffice it to say that with all their difficulties, amongst which road-cutting through forests were not the least, it was not until the 31st December that the last camp was reached, and not for a week after that all the guns were up and in position.

On the 22nd Governor Grey arrived from Auckland, and remained with the expedition to the end of the campaign.

Macquarrie, one of the friendly chiefs, was instructed to intercept Heke if possible on his way to Ruapekapeka, as information had been received that he proposed joining Kawiti with his contingent whenever the British troops were well advanced. Macquarrie was so far successful in this as to prevent him from effecting a junction until the night before the bombardment, when Heke, with seventy men, managed to elude him. The rest of the Native allies went to the front and formed their camp about 800 yards from the enemy.

On New Year's Day, 1846, Colonel Despard had completed his weary march, and cut his way through the last portion of dense forest into a comparatively open space, covered mainly with fern, and about 350 yards from the pa, and here he decided to erect his breaching batteries.

The pa, which was now quite open to view, well deserved its name of Ruapekapeka, or "Bat's Nest." It was perched high upon a forest-covered hill, three sides of which were extremely steep and

descended into a ravine. It was evidently of great strength, and sloped down somewhat, thus overlooking the British camp. In this way the back of the pa was comparatively secure, and thus the Natives could with safety go in and out and cook their food in the forests behind.

Colonel Despard determined that, to prevent loss of life, waste of ammunition, and to render success certain, no real attack should be made until every preparation had been completed. With these views, no firing was allowed with the exception of that from the rockets and mortars, which every now and then threw a bombshell into the pa, for the purpose presumably of keeping the occupants in a state of alarm. They sheltered themselves, however, from them in their bomb-proof underground excavations, and they furthermore extracted goodly supplies of powder from the unexploded shells. Little occurred to break the even tenor of the days, with the exception of a sortie made one evening, which was cleverly repulsed by Tamati Waka and Mohi Tawhai, with a loss to the enemy of eight or ten.

By the 9th January, then, all was ready, and on the morning of the 10th the bombardment was commenced in real earnest. Every iron throat poured forth its fire simultaneously, and the very air bristled with missiles. The heavy guns played steadily upon the north face to breach it; upon the west the Coehorn mortars—a now disused piece of ordnance—kept casting in their shells; and over all constantly hurled the rockets. The friendly Natives intently watched the novel scene, and continually brought forward on their shoulders from the bullock-drays large bags of fresh ammunition. The soldiers were all drawn up ready to storm should occasion arise. In the centre floated the British ensign from a flagstaff, and close by stood the Governor and his staff. All this is most spiritedly represented by Sergeant Williams in his fourth and last picture, which is well worthy of your examination. In it—indeed, in them all—every individual is to be recognized by the beautiful drawing. Hour after hour was the firing kept up, until it became evident that the outer palisading was giving way in two places. Colonel Despard was now desirous of storming the pa. Old Mohi Tawhai then planted himself across the way with outstretched arms and legs, and said, “You shall not pass; how many more soldiers do you wish to kill?”—and so the intention was abandoned, and lives were undoubtedly saved.

Evening brought little cessation to the attack, it being determined to allow the enemy little opportunity of their old method of repairing damages by night. Several Natives were seen during the evening leaving the pa with bundles on their backs, and it was known afterwards that the wise Heke, discerning the turn of the tide, strongly advised his friend to retire whilst he safely might. “For,” said he, “the soldiers will have to pursue us into the woods,

where we can shoot them, or at least they will have to drag their heavy guns after them if they intend to attack us again." But Kawiti loved fighting. Little did he—or, indeed, anybody else—think that within a very few hours the last act of the most interesting drama would have been played. Sabbath observance was the rock on which he split.

The following day (the 11th) was Sunday, and, as was the custom in those times, both sides rested from their labours of fighting. The soldiers were on church parade, and the Natives had withdrawn outside by the back entrance I have spoken of to cook, rest, and worship. Unseen, Tamati Waka's brother, Wi Waka Turau, crept noiselessly up to the west side of the pa where the Coehorn had been playing, and found it empty, though really Kawiti and eleven of his warriors were asleep in the trenches. As quietly he returned, giving the information to his brother Tamati and to Captain Denny (of the 58th). It was agreed that he should creep through the trench in the west face of the pa, and if he found all right should give a signal by suddenly standing up in view covered with a white sheet. All this was done successfully, and a few seconds later Colonel Despard, Captain Denny, and 100 men rushed into the pa, and were received by a volley from Kawiti and his eleven men, who then ran out by the back entrance to Heke. Rapidly the marines and soldiers swarmed into the enemy's garrison, and easily retained possession, despite the efforts made to regain it. The Natives sheltered behind a breastwork of trees which they had felled on the eastern side of the pa, and from this defended themselves and shot any of the soldiers who had the boldness to attack them outside the pa. What a few minutes before had been impregnable to the besiegers was now impregnable to the besieged. The cuckoo had too surely stolen the nest. After three hours' fighting of a very desultory kind Heke and Kawiti retreated, after vainly attempting to entice their enemies to follow them into the forest, where, to use Heke's own words, they would have killed them as easily as wood-pigeons.

And so ended, with little more glory than it began, the great war in the north. Twelve were killed and thirty wounded of the British, and of the Natives twenty-three men killed. The pa was found to be of remarkable strength, though similar in construction to that of Ohaeawae, and was a marvellous piece of savage engineering. It was 120 yards by 70 yards, and much broken into flanks. This plan was drawn on the spot by Mr. Nopps, master of H.M.S. "Racehorse," assisted by Midshipman Groves, and seems perfect in the minutest details. A model of the pa was made by Lieutenant Balneavis, and sent to the great Exhibition of 1851, and a still larger one by Ensign Wynyard is now in the United Services' Museum in London.

On the 12th January the pa was burnt down, and the troops commenced their homeward march, dragging back their impedimenta by the old timber route. Two hundred men were left at Kororareka, the remainder embarking on the 18th, and arriving at Auckland on the 20th. The despatches spoke in high-flown language of the brilliant success in capturing a fortress of such extraordinary strength by assault. Well, there are victories and victories, and all is fair in war as in love.

As nothing succeeds like success, so nothing fails like failure. Immediately after their discomfiture Heke and Kawiti found that their disheartened adherents began to cease allegiance. They were left almost without food, for it had been left behind in the pa, and, said they, "Can shadows carry guns?" Many dispersed to various friends for shelter and food, but found that they were coldly received by them, and were plainly told that any assistance rendered under the circumstances would be viewed by the angry Governor as an espousal of their cause. Their bellies were, to use their own phrase, "full of battle." They had enjoyed the glories of a war with the pakeha; the summit of their ambition had been reached at last, only to sue for peace and pardon immediately afterwards. Old Kawiti did not find this so distasteful a thing to do as did the patriotic Heke, especially as Tamati Waka offered to act as mediator. Within a week he wrote this characteristic letter:—

"Friend, O my esteemed friend, the Governor, I salute you. Great is my regard for you. Friend Governor, I say let peace be made between you and I. I am filled of your riches (cannon-balls); therefore I say let you and I make peace. Will you not? Yes. This is the termination of my war against you. Friend Governor, I, Kawiti, and Hekitene do consent to this good message. . . . This is the end of mine to you. It is finished. To my esteemed friend, to the Governor.

"KAWITI."

Poor Heke yielded, too, but with a bad grace. He sent a message requesting the Governor to come to him and discuss the whole matter of the flagstaff, from which grew the evil of the world. After that the two should together re-erect it. But the Governor treated this overture with silent contempt, and it was not for some time after that the two met.

Captain Grey now proclaimed a free pardon to all who had been engaged in the rebellion upon their entire submission, and the blockade and martial law ended.

As before the falling of the curtain the actors group themselves in face of the audience and say a few words of farewell, so shall the principal personages of this story speak a word more to you. Captain Grey, as Sir George, is still with us, full of years and honour.

No man has been more intimately and lengthily associated with New Zealand history than himself; and I can only iterate the sincere regret I expressed in the first of this course of lectures, that he does not devote his taste and culture to the pursuit of those studies which have evidently been so congenial and which he has done so much to adorn, instead of participating in the vexatious and now debased quarrels of New Zealand politics. Tamati Waka Nene, for his faithful services, was allowed a pension of £100 a year, and when Captain Grey was made a K.C.B. became one of his two esquires. He died in 1871. Some years ago I visited his widow at the Bay of Islands—a blear-eyed, blind old woman, squatting Maori fashion over a fire in her little cottage. Poor Heke never entirely recovered from the effects of his wound. Like so many of his countrymen, he fell into a scrofulous, consumptive state of health, and died on the 6th August, 1850, not far from the scene of his old conflicts. He often referred to the dying-away of his race, saying, “If the Great Creator thus continues to press upon us, you will soon toll the bell but there will be none to answer it.” When dying he admonished the warriors who surrounded him “to sit at peace for ever, as war was a game at which all parties lost”; and told them not to infringe upon the rights of the pakehas. His body was secretly buried in a cave not far from the old mission-station at Waimate. Kawiti died in 1853, aged about seventy-eight. He became quite a respectable old man, and what is called a professing Christian a few months before his death. He was baptized by Archdeacon Williams in the presence of a crowd of his old comrades. He was dressed on this memorable occasion in a full suit of black cloth with frock coat. Shortly before he told an assembly at the Kawakawa that he was satisfied they had been wrong, and that wisdom was with the pakeha. Such are some of the wonderful effects of civilization. The time had come when Hongi Hika’s words, “Beware of men dressed in red coats, protect those in black,” had lost all their point and sting.

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## CHAPTER VII.\*

Settlement of Otago—Emigration a Panacea for Distress—George Rennie—Scheme of Settlement—Criticism—Views of Directors of New Zealand Company—No Encouragement from Government—The "Disruption"—Rev. Thomas Burns—"New Edinburgh," changed to "Dunedin"—Committee set up—Difference between Rennie and Burns—Further Troubles with the Government—Mr. Rennie deposed—Dr. Andrew Aldcorn.

AFTER six years of negotiation, struggle, misfortune, and hope deferred, the successful colonization of the Otago Settlement was accomplished. For in 1848, on the 23rd March and on the 15th April, the first settlers stepped from the pioneer vessels "John Wickliffe" and "Philip Laing" upon the silent shores of their desired haven. Of all the 278 souls who thus landed, but two of the number had borne the heat and burden of those six weary years—had unflinchingly fought through every obstacle in order to plant in the congenial soil of New Zealand a branch of their beloved Free Kirk of Scotland. These two heroes of colonization were Captain William Cargill and the Rev. Thomas Burns. Though neither of them was the author of the scheme, yet their connection with it was of the earliest and closest; and when the original promoter, in obedience to causes presently to be described, withdrew from it his support their adherence remained unshaken and received the reward of victory.

Should some of the incidents now be related breathe a spirit of narrowness, it must not be forgotten that the commencing scenes of the story are laid nearly fifty years ago—in the stirring times of that great conflict called the Disruption. Then men fought against oppression, and even persecution. Steeled by such fires, no wonder if afterwards they resented with jealous intolerance any infringement of what they considered to be their rights. Hence it is that, whilst the facts of history should be written as they run, it may not be possible to accord them a just interpretation until long afterwards. Close scrutiny does not give the best view of a landscape.

Much of the information to be presented to you this evening is quite new, and has been gathered from various sources—from the personal narrative of those able and willing to give it, to whom my sincere thanks are due, and from old documents, manuscripts, and papers in my possession. I sincerely hope that many of the details to be laid before you will not prove tedious. It would be matter for regret were they not, however dry, recorded in a consecutive manner.

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\* Lecture delivered before the Otago Institute, 9th August, 1887.



Due to the marvellous facilities of communication with the whole world, New Zealand is now no longer, except in name, the Ultima Thule of the southern sea. She is out in the broad sunshine. To record many of the passing incidents of the present day would be to chronicle trivialities, and accordingly some may think that many incidents of this recital might well be spared. Now sectarian squabbles begin to be viewed as worthless and contemptible, and quarrels with a Colonial Office are so rare, or non-existent, as to be unintelligible. But this was not always so. Forty-six years ago these had an importance which they could not now possess, and which led to serious results. A mist of ignorance and difficulty surrounded New Zealand and her affairs, and it cannot but be interesting to mark every effort of those labourers who sought to penetrate the one and smooth away the other. At least, if these fail to interest, the fault lies not in the matter told but the manner of telling.

You will remember that the earliest expeditions of the New Zealand Company whilst colonizing this country had something of the buccaneering as well as romantic character about them. Despite the opposition thrown in their way by the British Government, they purchased lands from the Natives, and founded the settlement of Wellington, followed soon afterwards by those of New Plymouth and Nelson. Under the Governorship of Captain Hobson New Zealand became a dependency of the Crown, and at the same time commenced the company's incessant troubles regarding their land titles. Indefatigable, they spared neither pains nor expense to press their claims upon the Government and their colonizing views upon the British public. Emigration societies were started in various large centres of population throughout the kingdom, but with these we have nothing now to do except as relates to Scotland. Emigration had long been considered by many thoughtful men as the true solution of the misery, poverty, and overcrowding of the poor, and towards this laudable form of relief public and private charity freely contributed. Hence, emigrant-vessels had for a long time been despatched to various British possessions, notably to Canada and Australia; and now New Zealand, offering her undoubtedly superior attractions, entered the field as a competitor.

It will be interesting to mark the efforts made by the company in Scotland, then, to direct some of the tide into their own channels, and which finally resulted in the special settlement of Otago. These were by no means so successful at first as in other parts of the United Kingdom. Excellent and ubiquitous colonist as the Scotchman undoubtedly is, he is credited with more prudence and caution than his brethren on the other side of the border, and such qualities would naturally induce him before trusting himself to the stream to linger on the bank and watch with what success his

friends floundered across the water. He might, and did, view with some mistrust the advances of an association admittedly founded rather upon commercial than philanthropic principles. Then, the trackless paths to North America and Australia at least led to well-known lands of promise; but where might those to New Zealand lead?—fierce cannibals, migratory whalers, and a handful of missionaries the sole occupants of its unknown wastes.

And so it came to pass that of seventy-six vessels despatched under the company's auspices between the years 1839 and the first half of 1847 but three sailed from Scottish ports. Of these the "Bengal Merchant" left the Clyde in October, 1839, with 161 passengers. Accompanying them was the Rev. John Macfarlane, of the Martyrs' Church, Paisley, who as the first Scotch clergyman long ministered in Wellington. This gentleman's stipend was paid out of a fund provided by the colonial committee of the Church. His first services were conducted in the open air, by the banks of the Hutt River.

Glasgow and Paisley were the chief centres of the emigration movement. Early in 1840 negotiations were begun between a number of gentlemen in Scotland and the company, whereby the latter was to cede a portion of its territory for the purpose of forming a Scotch colony. But these fell through owing to the uncertainty of the land title. As an outcome of this, an influential meeting of bankers, merchants, manufacturers, shipowners, and others was held in the Glasgow Assembly Rooms on the 15th May. The business of the meeting was to petition the Queen and Parliament to annex the Islands of New Zealand, to prevent aggression by the French, who proposed establishing there a convict colony, and to protect those fellow-countrymen who had already settled and who intended settling in the new country. Amongst the speakers were the Rev. Dr. McLeod and Mr. Sheriff (afterwards Sir Archibald) Alison, the historian. Undoubtedly this meeting was initiated by the company, who sought to strengthen their hands by drawing public attention to the general subject of New Zealand without special reference to their venture or their claims. Thus the speakers rather dwelt on the urgent necessity which existed for emigration, and for Government assistance thereto, either directly or through the medium of some colonizing body.

In Paisley, the home of the weavers, an emigration society which had existed for some time among themselves was converted into a special New Zealand one. They sought to raise funds by public appeal and by a compulsory contribution of one penny per member at each meeting. The Rev. Dr. Robert Burns took a warm interest in the society, and one of his eloquent addresses at one of its meetings was published in pamphlet form, widely distributed, and forms one of the earliest contributions to this department of New Zealand literature. The deplorable state of trade

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and condition of the poor in Paisley at this time—1840—gives a fair index of what was then but too prevalent, and which, indeed, demanded a potent remedy. In a population of 44,000, one-quarter, or 11,000, were actually out of work and starving. Others were working sixteen hours out of the twenty-four in the all-but-unsuccessful endeavour to keep body and soul together on a pittance of perhaps 7s. or 8s. a week. With what intense longing must such unhappy people have craved to leave behind them their native land and its miserable memories!

How tempted one is at this distance of nearly fifty years to diverge somewhat from the main line of the subject before us, and ask a few questions or enter into a few speculations! Has emigration proved itself the panacea it was once supposed to be? Has the experiment been even efficiently made during this long period, or has it not largely consisted of a shovelling-out of paupers and generally unfit persons whose shoulders refuse the burden of a day's work unless at a price which impoverishes him who offers it? That the cry for food and work should ever be heard in a glorious country like this, whose edges are but fringed with a scanty population, should indeed give rise to grave reflection. Is the fault in the measures or the men, or both? Who shall devise the scheme whereby the grievous overcrowding under which England groans shall find relief by peopling the empty wastes of her colonies, and with advantage to both?

To return. From these and kindred societies applications were made to Government begging for relief and for permission to partake of the benefits of that vast stream of emigration then flowing from the United Kingdom. In 1839, 1840, 1841, and 1842, the same as the first four years of the company's operations, more than 400,000 persons bade farewell to the home of their birth to seek fortune in other lands. Of this large number but 8,000 turned their faces New-Zealandwards, and of these about 500 numbered the Scottish contingent. Indeed, the Government had the greatest difficulty in filling the two vessels bound from Greenock to New Zealand, for at the last moment it was found that many applicants were unfit, and of those considered suitable many shrank from seizing the proffered opportunity and preferred to follow in the old beaten track to America. The voyage was long, the country unknown.

Such, shortly put, will show how unsuccessful were the attempts to induce Scotch emigration to New Zealand down to 1842. In that year the incidents about to be related took place, which gave fresh impulse to the languishing movement. The colony had then entered upon the third year of its existence under the Governorship of Captain Hobson, whose seat was at Auckland. The Company's three settlements of Wellington, New Plymouth, and Nelson had been successfully founded, and it became almost imperative

that they should extend their enterprise and found a fourth. Despite the formidable opposition of both Home and Colonial Governments, they had embarked upon a great scheme of colonization, in which large sums had been invested, and to withhold their hands now was indeed to make disastrous shipwreck to all. Almost at the outset of their career they had abandoned to the Government all professed right to the lands purchased from the Natives. This cession formed the basis of negotiations with Lord John Russell whereby it was agreed that purchasers from the company should receive their titles from the Government ; as matters stood, not a settler could call those acres his own for which he had paid and on which he dwelt. These land difficulties were yet to be productive of violent dispute and threatened ruin, but at the time now referred to they were considered to be virtually settled. At all events, the company shrewdly conjectured that the voice of their complaints was more likely to compel the attention of the Government's dull ear the more numerous and widespread its echoes.

At this time there were published in London two newspapers specially devoted to the consideration of colonial interests—the *Colonial Gazette* and the *New Zealand Journal*. In the columns of the former appeared an important correspondence which had passed between the directors of the New Zealand Company and a gentleman named George Rennie, who proposed the foundation of a further settlement in New Zealand on an entirely new and improved method. He speedily had the satisfaction of finding his suggestion widely discussed. As Mr Rennie was undoubtedly the originator of that which afterwards became known as the Otago scheme, some account of him must prove interesting, together with the exhibition of his portrait. He was the son of the well-known agriculturist of the same name, and was born at Phantassie, East Lothian. The eminent engineer John Rennie was his uncle. Like his father, he became a skilful agriculturist, but his special tastes lay in the domain of art. At an early age he proceeded to Rome, and there devoted himself to the study of sculpture. A composition of his in marble—"The Greek Archer"—now adorns the Athenæum Club in London. Returning to London, he devoted himself to raising the standard and study of art. Through his suggestion to Mr. W. Ewart, M.P., a Parliamentary Committee was in 1836 appointed to inquire into the state of the National Gallery, Royal Institution, and other kindred homes of art. As a result of their labours sprang the formation of those numerous schools of design which have done so much to develop British art and taste. Aided by his friend Mr. Joseph Hume, M.P., he obtained for the public free admission to various places of national interest, such as St. Paul's, the British Museum, and the National Gallery. His suggestions relative to several of the London parks

were also valuable; also one regarding the building of ships in watertight compartments, made to Sir William Symonds, surveyor of the Navy, and father of Captain John Jermyn Symonds, who has already been referred to in these lectures, and will be again when speaking of the purchase of the Otago Block. In 1841 he was returned to Parliament as Whig member for Ipswich, but lost his seat the ensuing year, when, as now stated, he appeared in his new rôle of colonizer and head of a colonizing expedition. And here it may be as well to state that he was not destined even to view this promised land, notwithstanding all his toilsome efforts, and although, curiously enough, his name appears in the *Government Gazette* of August, 1844, as a Magistrate of this territory. In 1847 he was appointed Governor of the Falkland Islands, with a salary of £800 a year. These islands, which are situated off the south-east coast of South America, were taken by the British in 1833 as a protection to the southern whale-fishery. Mr. Rennie died at London in 1860 after an illness of four years' duration, terminating in paralysis.

Such is a short sketch of this able and versatile man, whose labours and connection with this early settlement are so little known as practically to be buried in oblivion. His intimacy with Edward Gibbon Wakefield, that moving spirit, the *deus ex machina* of the New Zealand Company, doubtless explains his connection with the scheme whose special features we now proceed to note.

So far the mode in which the company planted these earliest settlements had not only been one of a very hasty kind, but one productive of uncertainty, inconvenience, and even serious discomforts to those who had emigrated under their auspices. Whatever the merits of the Wakefield theory of colonization, it is certain that the first attempts to carry them into practice were made as if by 'prentice hands; indeed, the most fixed and reliable feature of the arrangements seemed to be the price charged for the land—namely £1 per acre at Wellington and New Plymouth and £1 10s. at Nelson. The first settlers left their native shores with light hearts and blind faith, but without the remotest idea as to where they would be finally located. This information was not gained until their vessels had reached the place of rendezvous in Cook Strait, whence, in obedience to the instructions there awaiting them, they would again sail for the spot selected. And though this plan had about it an air of romance and holiday-making, it lacked the elements of comfort and preparation. Thus it happened that people dwelt for months under tents and in the fern awaiting the survey of the lands which they were to occupy.

Now, in his letter to the directors, Mr. Rennie, who wrote as the mouthpiece of a body of gentlemen desirous of founding a settlement somewhere on the east coast of the Middle Island, proposed to cure these and other defects, which had previously been such an

impediment to progress. Though this plan was afterwards considerably modified, it may prove interesting to give a sketch of its original form, especially as this was so marked a departure from that in vogue. A preliminary expedition was to be sent out consisting of surveyors, engineers, mechanics, and labourers. These were to lay out the town and connect it with a wharf or landing-place, where commodious sheds and accommodation were to be erected for the new-comers and their goods. A church and schoolhouse might perhaps be built. An extensive suburban farm was also to be laid out and well stocked with the best breed of sheep and cattle, procured from the adjoining Australian colony. When all was completed the settlers, consisting of a due proportion of capitalists and labourers, were to be despatched.

Thus from the first they would start as a civilized community, comparatively free from hardship and privation, and enabled without needless waste of time to enter on the business of making their desert blossom as the rose. The extent of land in this Utopia was 100,600 acres. The odd 600 acres was allotted to the town; 200 of them for streets, wharves, and public reserves, whilst the remaining 400, cut up into quarter-acre sections, were to be sold for £25 each. The 100,000 acres was dealt with as follows: To provide for the future crowded population of the city, and for those who preferred to dwell in the suburbs, 20,000 acres were laid off into 1,000 suburban sections of 20 acres each. The remaining 80,000 acres were to be cut up into 1,000 rural or small-farm sections of 80 acres each. So that each person owning what was afterwards known as an entire property would possess an estate of 80 acres rural land, 20 acres suburban, and quarter of an acre in the town, for which he would pay £125, equal to £1 5s. per acre. An easy calculation shows that the sum total raised by this sale would amount to £140,000. Of this the company would retain £40,000 for their own expenses in the original Native purchase and for commission, whilst the £100,000 would be devoted to preliminary outlay and to the immigration of labourers.

Though somewhat anticipating, and though at the risk of overloading this part of the subject with the dry details of acres and prices, I cannot abstain from placing in juxtaposition these proposals with some of the arrangements actually in operation in 1849. Then an entire property consisted of 60½ acres—quarter-acre town section, 10 acres suburban, and 50 acres rural land—the price of which was £120 10s., equal to £2 per acre. But of this sum £45 was allowed as a rebate applied to the purchaser's passage, thus, curiously enough, reducing the price to £1 5s., as with Mr. Rennie.

This letter evoked a great deal of criticism—chiefly adverse. It was contended that there was no necessity whatever for a new settlement: the earlier ones had but recently been formed, and were by no means populated. But a more weighty, if selfish, objec-

tion was raised on the score of the proposed reduction in the price of the land. Many of the original purchasers contended that a manifest injustice would be done them if the lands in the new settlement, carefully selected and partly improved, were sold at a lower price than they without such advantages had been called on to pay. One predicted result was the abandonment and ruin of the older settlements, and cessation in them of all speculation in property. The *Colonial Gazette* and *New Zealand Journal* indorsed these views, and a somewhat bitter controversy ensued, in which Mr. Rennie asserted that neither he nor his friends would think of emigrating unless some such provision as he had indicated were made.

But, after all, it was with the directors of the New Zealand Company that the main business of the correspondence lay. Their reply, dated the 12th August, 1842, gave a general approval to Mr. Rennie's scheme, but withheld an expression of opinion upon its details until the enterprise should be more matured—a matter of vital moment—and until the approbation and assistance of the Government could be secured by Mr. Rennie's own efforts and influence.

It is at this juncture that a gentleman appears upon the scene whose assistance to the projector was invaluable, who without doubt gave to the movement its distinctly special character of a class settlement, and who was destined later on to assume the leadership. It is needless to say that I refer to Captain William Cargill, who was at this time in his fifty-ninth year. Captain Cargill had retired from the army—the 74th Highlanders—twenty years before, and had devoted himself to secular pursuits, chiefly those of banking. In the earlier years of this century he had seen much service during the Peninsular War, where he had the misfortune to be severely wounded, receiving, however, the grateful solatium of the Peninsular medal, with seven clasps. His predilections had always tended greatly towards emigration, and twice had he seriously contemplated seeking a new home in Canada. No wonder, then, that the correspondence published in the *Colonial Gazette* should excite the old desires and induce him to seek an interview with Mr. Rennie on the subject. The result was that the two became closely associated in the common project, Mr. Rennie continuing to be the recognized leader, and chiefly conducting the communications with the Government and the company. Captain Cargill brought his influence to bear upon his friends in Scotland and in India.

At the end of September Mr. Rennie addressed another long letter to the directors, from which it appeared that he had received numerous applications from persons who were desirous of joining the undertaking—some as settlers, and others of obtaining situations in the preliminary expedition. He thought it inadvisable to press the scheme further upon the notice of the public until the attitude of the Government should be known.

But the interesting part of the letter contains suggestions as to a suitable locality for the settlement. You may remember that in a former lecture some account was given of the search made for a suitable site whereon to found the settlement of Nelson. With this view, Colonel Wakefield, the company's agent in New Zealand, despatched Captain Daniell and Mr. Duppa in the schooner "Bally" down the east coast of the Middle Island. Their report gave a most favourable account of the Kaikouras (or Lookers-on) district, and of Port Cooper, where there was abundant pasturage and excellent protection for shipping.

At this time about as much was known of the topography of the Middle Island as is now known of the interior of New Guinea. Judging from this report and from the imperfect map of the day—a specimen of which is here shown—Mr. Rennie suggested the selection of the Lookers-on neighbourhood. It appeared to him that overland communication with Nelson would be comparatively short and easy—a matter of much moment in the infant condition of the colony. There was also, if not the excellent harbour of Port Cooper, a good roadstead formed by a natural breakwater—at least, so it was said. This, then, was the first locality suggested for this settlement.

The next step was the delicate and difficult one of approaching the Government, and of gaining its sanction and assistance to the enterprise. The Colonial Office now no longer knew the friendly Lord John Russell. It was occupied by a formidable opponent—Lord Stanley, the Colonial Secretary—and by two still more formidable opponents—his permanent Under-Secretaries, Messrs. James Stephen and G. W. Hope. As previously stated, the directors had with much consideration generously remitted to Mr. Rennie the agreeable task of treating with these gentlemen. Their own relations with the Government were of the most strained and precarious kind, and they were thus fully conscious that a fresh importunity on their part would not only be considered aggressive, but might further jeopardize the favourable settlement of questions then pending.

A pretty full reference to these difficulties has been given in a former lecture, but towards a due understanding of much of the sequel it seems advisable to make some repetition here. The New Zealand Company had not been able to make good or legalize their claim to the lands, amounting to some millions of acres, which they professed to have purchased from the Natives. So far, in other words, they had failed to procure the Crown title. The Government contended that the company had in the first instance no right as British subjects to make such a purchase, which further was invalid inasmuch as no sufficient consideration had been given, and that the bargain had not been made with all the owners of the soil, many tenth and twentieth tribal cousins



yet remaining unpaid ; hence the Native title must be considered as unextinguished. On their part, the company urged that full explanation and a fair value had been given to those who, after most careful inquiry, appeared to be the legitimate owners ; and they showed how great was the hardship and injustice done to those who, emigrating in good faith under their auspices, found themselves unable to obtain a title to land upon which it appeared they were held as no better than intruders.

Eventually the Government consented that a grant of land should be made to the company, consisting of one acre for every 5s. proved to have been expended by them upon the purchase of land, surveys, roadmaking, the conveyance of emigrants, and other similar outlays, and that for the future any purchase of land was to be effected directly with the Government and not with the Natives. An accountant, Mr. Pennington, was accordingly appointed to make the necessary calculations. As the result of his award the company became entitled to nearly a million acres. This was conditional on the validity of the original purchase and the consequent extinction of the Maori title being proved. To investigate such claims effectually a special Commissioner, Mr. Spain, was sent out by the Government to Wellington, His investigation, naturally a protracted one, commenced in 1842—the year with which we are at present concerned—and it thus became apparent why the company, whilst quite willing to become agents for Mr. Rennie and his scheme, adroitly insisted that anything diplomatic should be transacted by himself.

About this time, too, a correspondence on certain side-issues was proceeding between the Colonial Office and the court of directors in a manner as studiously polite as it was bitterly acrimonious. Mr. Rennie accordingly forwarded to Lord Stanley (the Secretary for the Colonies) a copy of his correspondence with the company, and asked for favourable consideration of his scheme, and for an interview. It will excite no surprise to learn that the reply was unfavourable as well as curt. Lord Stanley considered that such a proposal should have proceeded from the New Zealand Company. At the same time he held out no encouragement to further settlement in the Middle Island.

The fact was that, apart from the feeling entertained towards the company, the Government viewed the colonies with something like abhorrence : they were troublesome, cumbrous, expensive outgrowths, and every obstacle was thrown in the way of fresh settlement. What a different aspect do they wear now ! Not merely are they bright gems in the Crown, but they are recognized as being important sources of Britain's wealth, greatness, and solid extension of empire, and they may even prove to be an important element in her future safety.

It would be tiresome to refer otherwise than in general terms to the fruitless negotiations that followed. Lord Stanley finally suggested that Mr. Rennie should lay his views before the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners and seek their co-operation. Upon this advice he acted, but with little better result. The Commissioners sought to impose conditions quite unacceptable to him. The financial arrangements proposed were embarrassing, and the settlement was to be located in the neighbourhood of Auckland. To these Mr. Rennie and his party would not consent. They believed that the attractions of a new site for a town and port were absolutely needful to draw the necessary number of people to make the venture successful, and the Middle Island, with its more suitable climate and grain-producing soil, was the one upon which their hearts were firmly fixed.

And so closes the first act of this interesting piece of history. Well might those who took part in it be weary and dispirited. In a short time, indeed, they ceased to struggle.

But dawn follows the darkest night. Early in May the directors announced that a very satisfactory arrangement had been concluded between the Government and themselves, whereby all doubts and questions affecting the company's title to land had been removed, and that they were again enabled to resume their suspended functions. This propitious announcement induced Mr. Rennie and Captain Cargill, on the 23rd May, 1843, again to address the company with a plan differing in some important particulars from the previous one. They considered that the former suggestions, entailing lengthy preliminary arrangements, were now no longer necessary, seeing that there was already a large staff of competent surveyors in the colony. Further, that under the concessions so recently granted it would be perfectly safe to entrust the selection of a site to the company's officer in New Zealand. They suggested that the new settlement, for which they proposed the name of New Edinburgh, should be a Scotch Presbyterian one, comprising provision for religious and educational purposes connected therewith, and that the whole of the emigration fund derived from the sale of the company's lands should be used in promoting the emigration of Scotch labourers only. Here they defended themselves on a charge of narrowness by contending that the company itself contemplated founding a Church of England settlement, and that, indeed, the best way of colonizing New Zealand was in this special manner, where respect would be had for class and prejudice.

Then followed propositions regarding the purely business arrangements, which it will be convenient to refer to more fully when treating of the company's prospectus, which appeared shortly afterwards.

The directors' reply was favourable, and expressed their willingness to assume the proposed trust functions after the details and negotiations had been carefully discussed.

Successful so far, the two turned their gaze in a very different direction. They sought to gather fresh impulse and aid from that widespread movement which, having agitated religious Scotland for ten years past, was now drawing to its close. During this long period a fierce battle had been fought, with varying success, as to whether the people should enjoy the privilege of filling the pulpits of their beloved kirk with ministers of their own choice, or whether an immemorial usage should still prevail of filling them by a patronage as regardless of the nominee's fitness as of the parishioners' prayer. Like an Ajax in the strife was the celebrated Dr. Chalmers, and, headed by him, marched out on the 18th May, 1843, nearly one-half of the Established Kirk of Scotland and four hundred of her ministers, who enrolled themselves as a Free Church.

One of the number who thus, for conscience' sake, resigned his living was the Rev. Thomas Burns, at this time in his forty-eighth year. This gentleman, who now appears upon the scene of our story, and who is to take a chief, if not the chiefest, part in it, was born at Mossgiel in 1796, three months after the death of his celebrated uncle, the Scottish bard. Destined for the Church, he was educated at Edinburgh University, and in 1825 was presented to the living of Ballantrae, which he held for five years. He was then appointed to a living at Monkton, in Ayr, worth £400 a year, which he held for a period of thirteen years—that is, until the time of the Disruption. Thenceforth the history of his deeds is bound up with that of this settlement, and will be unfolded with it. Suffice it now to add that he died in 1871, aged seventy-five. A matter for unceasing regret is that immediately after his death his papers were destroyed. By this calamity valuable information and important documents have been for ever lost. The Otago scheme owes much to his tenacity of purpose, courage, foresight, and wise counsel. Perhaps from diffidence, or from a belief that his sacred function precluded him from playing a conspicuous part in the movement with which he was so closely identified, he ever withdrew into the background, and avoided publicity. But none the less were his labours invaluable. As the sequel will show, he laboured quietly but incessantly, and sought to sustain the arms of those who had cause enough, and more, to waver in the protracted fight.

This great religious movement, then, had thus fulfilled its purpose, and towards it had long been turned the watchful eyes of those so interested in Mr. Rennie's resuscitated scheme, who saw in it what might prove to be a powerful lever. The hour and the men had come. Accordingly at Edinburgh, on the 7th June,

1843, at a meeting of the acting committee of the colonial scheme of the new-born Free Church of Scotland appears the following minute: "It was stated by Mr. Cargill that the New Zealand Company had come to the resolution of providing permanently for the support of churches and schools in all their new settlements, and, as they were about to form a Scottish colony in New Zealand, they had set apart the sum of £25,000 for the sustentation of the ministry, the erection of places of worship, and the erection and endowment of schools in a settlement about to be formed in New Zealand, all in connection with the Free Church of Scotland, and that it was the desire of the company that a minister and schoolmaster should be appointed in the meantime to accompany the first body of Scottish emigrants. The committee entered most cordially into the views of the company, and assured Mr. Cargill that they would use their best endeavour immediately to secure a suitable minister and teacher for New Zealand, and would, according to his suggestion, consider the best method of carrying out the munificent intentions of the company."

The outcome of this was that the Rev. Mr. Burns was formally offered the position of the first minister, which he accepted after fully communicating with the committee and Mr. Rennie. Failing his acceptance, it had been determined to apply to the Rev. Dr. McKay, of Dunoon. But the fact was that for some months previously there had been an informal and tacit understanding between Captain Cargill and Mr. Burns.

It will be observed that in this extract distinct reference is made to the promise of devoting a sum of £25,000 to Free Church purposes. Yet no such special agreement appeared in the prospectus issued shortly afterwards, nor, indeed, in Mr. Rennie's letter of the 23rd May to the directors. This serious difference was the fruitful source of much misgiving and soreness later on. But so far the gracious attitude of the company towards the colonial committee had the desired effect. Every prospect was bright, and the hearts of those so recently dispirited and unsuccessful now beat high in the assured hope that a few months more would convert the project into a remarkable success.

Captain Fitzroy, the newly appointed Governor, was about to sail for New Zealand, and with him Mr. Rennie held most satisfactory converse regarding colonization generally and the choice of land for the new settlement. With alacrity, the company commenced to discuss and arrange the terms of their new prospectus. The papers had paragraphs headed "Mr. Rennie's Project," "The Scotch Colony," and "New Edinburgh," which was now known to be the name selected for it.

There was some discussion in the papers regarding this clumsy name. It was found that already was there an unlucky "New Edinburgh" situated somewhere in the boggy Isthmus of

Darien. Some thought "New Reekie" quite as good, if not a better name; others suggested "Edina," "Ossian," "Mooretown," "Bruce," "Burns," "Duncantown," "Napiertown," "Holyroodtown," "Wallacetown"; though it long continued to bear the name "New Edinburgh," probably because the grateful sound was likely to attract a desired class, yet it was christened "Dunedin" so early as the 30th October, 1843. And as a little piece of antiquarian information is always interesting, here are the particulars: A prospectus fell into the hands of Mr. William Chambers, one of the editors of the well-known *Journal*. He thereupon wrote the following letter to the editor of the *New Zealand Journal*:—

"SIR,—If not finally resolved upon, I should strongly recommend a reconsideration of the name 'New Edinburgh,' and the adoption of another, infinitely superior and yet equally allied to old Edinburgh; I mean the assumption of the name 'Dunedin,' which is the ancient Celtic appellation of Edinburgh, and is now occasionally applied in poetic compositions and otherwise to the northern metropolis. I would, at all events, hope that names of places with the prefix 'new' should be sparingly had recourse to. The 'news' in North America are an utter abomination, which it has been lately proposed to sweep out of the country. It will be a matter for regret if the New Zealand Company help to carry the nuisance to the territories with which it is concerned.

"W. CHAMBERS."

In the opening stanzas of the "Lay of the Last Minstrel" occur the lines:—

When the streets of high Dunedin  
Saw lance gleam and falchions redden,  
And heard the slogan's deadly yell,  
Then the chief of Branksome fell.

From this digression we return to the prospectus or terms of purchase issued by the company on the 1st July, which contained almost without alteration the suggestions made by Messrs. Rennie and Cargill. The settlement was to consist of 120,550 acres, thus apportioned: 100,000 acres were for 2,000 rural lots or small farms of 50 acres each; 20,000 for 2,000 suburban lots of 10 acres each; and the 550 acres for the town were cut up into 2,200 quarter-acres, 200 of which were reserved for the future municipal corporation. There were thus 2,000 properties, as they were called, each comprising a quarter-acre in the town, a 10-acre block in the suburbs, and a 50-acre farm. Two hundred of these properties were reserved for the company, and the remaining 1800 were to be offered for sale at £120 each. This purchase-money, amounting to £216,000, was to be expended as follows: £10,000 as a school fund and for masters; £10,000 as an endowment for ministers; £5,000 as a church building fund; £26,000 for roads,

bridges, and other improvements; £30,000 for surveys and other expenses of founding the settlement; £81,000 for immigration; and £54,000, or one-quarter of the whole, to the company as the price of the land at 10s. per acre. £11,000 of the immigration fund was to be allowed towards the cabin passages of purchasers, their families and servants. It will be observed that this improved plan of Mr. Rennie's as compared with his former one increased the number of purchasers from 1,000 to 2,000, reduced the size of the properties from 100 $\frac{1}{4}$  acres to 60 $\frac{1}{4}$  acres, and raised the price from £1 5s. to £2 per acre.

An influential committee was formed in Edinburgh, with the Right Hon. James Forrest, Bart., Lord Provost, as chairman. The names of the other gentlemen forming it were: Colonel Robert Anderson, Winterton; James Aitchison, Alderston; Isaac Bayley, Esq.; Rev. Thomas Burns, Ayrshire; William Cargill, Esq.; Robert Cargill, Esq., W.S.; William Gibson-Craig, Esq., M.P.; P. S. Fraser, Esq.; John Leadbitter, Esq., Glasgow; Right Hon. Fox Maule, M.P.; Robert Scott Moncrieff, Esq., Dalkeith; Robert Paul, Esq.; Hugh Rose, Esq.; Andrew Rutherford, Esq., M.P.; George Rennie, Esq.; Dr. Smyttan; Patrick M. Stewart, Esq., M.P.; J. Gibson Thomson, Esq.; Rev. Dr. D. Welsh. In Edinburgh the company's office was at 21 South St. Andrew Street, where, indeed, whatever little business connected with the former negotiations had been transacted. Here Captain Cargill was nominally in charge, but as that gentleman's headquarters were in London it is probable that the local management devolved on Mr. Dowling, a stockbroker, and nephew of Mr. Rennie. After him Dowling Street is named—one of the two or three or our streets not called after those in Edinburgh.

Immediately following the appearance of the prospectus Mr. Rennie published a very able address to Scotch farmers. He pointed out how increasingly great and ruinous was the competition in farming, from which no profit could be derived; that at the end of the year, with all his pinching and saving, the position of the farmer was no better than that of his labourer. Then he spoke of the abundance of fertile land in the colonies to be purchased for little, and yielding plentiful harvests, for which close by were ready markets; and then of the inviting provisions of that settlement almost specially contrived to assist his brethren in their great straits, and whither they could carry with them their kirk and schools, their hamely Scotch tongue, and their ain ways, and make around them another Scotland. Such was the pith of the seductive address by which Mr. Rennie sought to charm his cautious countrymen.

To bring the scheme within the reach of almost the poorest, and to ensure the occupation of the land by close neighbours, and not by a scattered population, Captain Cargill suggested in a

letter to the *Colonial Gazette* that a few individuals should combine and purchase a number of the 50-acre farms—say, to the extent of 2,000 acres—which should be contiguous. Ten acres of each small farm should be sold to an emigrating agricultural family at £2 per acre, payable in four yearly instalments of £5. The remaining four-fifths of the land would thus assume an enhanced value to the proprietor, who might, if an absentee, derive an income by leasing or further sale as opportunity offered.

On his part Mr. Burns was indefatigable, notwithstanding that his clerical duties had by no means ceased at Monkton. He visited the farmers and any likely persons in his neighbourhood, expatiating on the advantages of the project, and seeking to induce them to cast in their lot with it. He had several interviews with Mr. Rennie, and between the two a serious difference of opinion arose regarding the endowments and the special class character of the undertaking—so serious that at one time it appeared not unlikely that Mr. Burns would sever his connection with it. A moderately full statement of these difficulties, perhaps dry in detail, has sufficient interest to ensure a place in this record. In the constitution of the Free Church, and in that division of it relating to colonial work, it is provided that all future ministers shall be in connection with the Free Church. The second meeting of the Free General Assembly was held at Glasgow in October, 1843, when the Rev. Mr. Sym, the secretary or convener of the colonial committee, reported as follows: "It affords your committee high satisfaction to state that an application has been made to them for a minister and schoolmaster for the projected colony of New Edinburgh. This colony is in some respects peculiar—a principal feature of the plan being that a certain part of the purchase-money (£25,000) is to be set apart for ecclesiastical and educational purposes to parties holding the principles of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Your committee embrace this opportunity of expressing the high approbation with which they regard the plan of special colonies, by means of which they trust that the provision made for educational and religious purposes will be rendered fully available, and those unseemly contentions prevented which too often divided the settlers in other colonies. Your committee would record their gratification that their countrymen, the Presbyterians of Scotland, have been selected as the class by whom the first experiment of the plan of a special colony is to be tried. They feel the deepest interest in this scheme, and the most anxious desire for its prospects; and when they were applied to for the first minister to New Edinburgh they conceived it to be their duty to seek out a man of well-ascertained ability and worth. They consider themselves particularly happy in having secured the services of the Rev. Thomas Burns, late of Monkton, for this important sphere. They entertain the most confident

persuasion that the emigrants will find in him an affectionate friend, a prudent counsellor, and a faithful and devoted pastor, and they cannot doubt that with the blessing of God on his labours New Edinburgh will speedily present such a sense of comfort and peace and prosperity as will satisfy all of the wisdom which the governors of the New Zealand Company have evinced in adopting the plan of special colonies."

It will be observed that the first of these extracts makes special allusion to the Free Church, whilst the second refers in more general terms to the Presbyterian Church. The difference between these terms was viewed as vital by Mr. Burns; by Mr. Rennie probably not of greater importance than that between tweedledum and tweedledee. The former—and he was supported by many of his brethren—contended that there was a *bona fide* understanding that not only were the ministers and schoolmasters of New Edinburgh to be selected from the Free Church, but also that the endowments were to be devoted to the religious and educational purposes of the Free Church alone. Mr. Rennie declared that he would not, and could not, consent to this view—would not, because it might injure the sales of the company's land by limiting them to a small section of purchasers; could not, because of the distinctly general terms, "principles of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland," which, in his opinion, had even a wider reference than to the Free or Established Church.

In vain was it argued that unless the allocation of these funds was distinctly defined there would be an unseemly scramble for them and a perennial fount of sectarian bitterness. But Mr. Rennie was impracticable; he had no sympathy with the Free Church movement; and, moreover, when the question was remitted to the directors they indorsed, as might have been expected, his opinion. Equally unsatisfactory were Mr. Rennie's views on the education question. He desired to dis sever secular from religious instruction entirely, considering that the latter should be confined to two days a week, or, at least, that when the pupils received their lessons in the Catechism and Scriptures they should all be marched to church for the purpose; that the schoolmaster should not necessarily be a Free Church Presbyterian—preferably, indeed, an Established Church man—and that he should take no part in the religious teaching, and that the schools should be under the supervision of a committee selected by the settlers after their arrival at New Edinburgh, who might be of any way of religious thinking.

Such was the thorn-bestrewn path which the unyielding Mr. Rennie would compel some of his friends to tread. It did, indeed, seem as though there were no rest for the sole of their feet, which having escaped from one hard road now turned down another. Apart from his utter want of sympathy with the Free Church movement, Mr. Rennie desired, as leader of the undertaking, to



make it a commercial success ; whilst Mr. Burns's determination was a Free Church colony, with church and school and constitution complete against all intruders. For the latter Mr. Burns ever resolutely fought. Though sorely tempted to sever all connections with a project which had so much that was unpalatable, nay, abhorrent, he finally determined not to abandon it, trusting to the chapter of accidents and to a persistent defence of his own views. In this he was ably assisted by Captain Cargill in London, whose views were similar, and with whom he maintained a constant correspondence. Without doubt these irreconcilable differences of opinion caused so wide a breach and such a state of feeling as to contribute largely to the action taken later on by the company when they found it politic to bid Mr. Rennie a polite adieu.

But in the meantime other matters proceeded not unfavourably, although slowly. The directors issued instructions in August, 1843, to Colonel Wakefield, their resident agent in New Zealand, to confer with Governor Fitzroy immediately upon his arrival, and to obtain from him the requisite permission to select a suitable site, and thereupon to commence the surveys. From additional information gained as to the eligibility of Port Cooper, that site was now commended to Colonel Wakefield's special examination in preference to the Kaikoura district. Two brothers, William and John Deans, squatting on what are now known as the Canterbury Plains, had written Home to their father at Riccarton, Kilmarnock, describing in glowing terms the magnificent well-watered plains on which they had pitched their tent, and expressing the hope that any new settlement might be founded near them. The Deans of Deans' Bush, Riccarton, near Christchurch, will at once be recognized from this description, and it was upon this recommendation of theirs that Port Cooper was now provisionally selected for New Edinburgh—the second selection made.

So closed 1843. Early in 1844 Mr. Rennie announced that about forty heads of families, in all numbering over two hundred people, had enrolled themselves to leave with the preliminary expedition, which was provisionally fixed to start in spring. Apparently the one thing wanting was intelligence from New Zealand stating the locality definitely selected by Colonel Wakefield for the emigrants. Alas! they were doomed to suffer a grievous and bitter disappointment. The news of the dreadful Wairau massacre had but recently reached England, causing consternation amongst all, especially amongst those in any way interested in New Zealand affairs. But it was not from this source that the fresh blow to the enterprise came. So far as that was concerned, the company and Mr. Rennie endeavoured to allay any apprehensions by showing that the affray was local, unpremeditated, and had occurred hundreds of miles away from where it was presumed the new settlement was to be placed.

Perhaps you may consider the details of these unforeseen difficulties dry and unpalatable. If so, let me deprecate your criticism by promising that presently "there's pippins and cheese to come."

The earliest history of this settlement is so bound up with that of the New Zealand Company and the struggles of the latter with the British Government that it is impossible to dissociate them. It will be remembered that the company's difficulties with the Colonial Office were smoothed over, and that they resumed their colonizing operations immediately on arriving at an amicable agreement with Lord Stanley. At this juncture Captain Fitzroy departed for his new sphere of duties as Governor of New Zealand, well acquainted, as he thought, with the terms of this favourable arrangement. On the very eve of his departure the apple of discord was thrown by somebody, shrewdly suspected to dwell in the unfavourable atmosphere of the Colonial Office. This individual suggested to Captain Fitzroy doubts as to the meaning of very important parts of this agreement. Thereupon Captain Fitzroy wrote to Lord Stanley requesting an interpretation of the supposed ambiguous passages, which related to the validity of the land titles. The reply placed a very different interpretation upon these passages from that which the company considered they bore—a construction, indeed, which placed the company as far off as ever in procuring satisfactory land titles for their clamorous purchasers. But this was not the extent of the evil. Of this correspondence they knew nothing until seven months after it had taken place, when to their chagrin and dismay they found that the carefully planned New Edinburgh bid fair to be dissolved like a baseless fabric.

Mr. Rennie was completing his arrangements in Scotland when the disastrous news reached him. The directors requested that he would at once suspend all operations. He immediately repaired to London, there to find the company's affairs in a disorganized state, the directors again involved in warfare, and declining to incur any further responsibility in inducing persons to proceed to New Zealand. In this dilemma Mr. Rennie had recourse to Lord Stanley, whom he implored not to compel abandonment of a maturely formed plan, which meant heavy losses to some and complete ruin to others. He instanced the case of the Rev. Mr. Burns, who had relinquished his living, and who, with his wife and five children, was waiting to embark; of farmers who had given up their lease, tradesmen their businesses, and others who had thrown up their situations without prospect of reinstating themselves.

A long correspondence ensued, alternately encouraging and dispiriting; but the assistance offered by Lord Stanley proved of too limited a kind to be of any real service. Mr. Rennie persistently adhered to the main features of his scheme, and would

consent to no variation which involved the loss of its character of a distinct Scotch settlement with special provisions. He sought to effect an arrangement whereby the company should act merely as agents in carrying out some of Lord Stanley's suggestions, and as a skilled colonizing body might improve and extend without interfering with their spirit. But His Lordship curtly declined any fresh transactions with the New Zealand Company, and Mr. Rennie, defeated, retired from the fight. One hope remained, and to that he firmly clung—that on his arrival in New Zealand Captain Fitzroy would do his utmost to redress those grievances under which the colonists groaned, and that despite the Delphic ambiguity of Lord Stanley's agreement—source of all disaster—he would interpret it straightforwardly and in accordance with the exigencies which surrounded him.

He now, in the beginning of May, addressed a long letter to his friends and intending fellow-colonists, detailing his weary and fruitless negotiations, deploring the ineffectual result, and, whilst not urging them to wait, expressing his own intention to do so. But month after month passed, bringing none of the longed-for news from New Zealand; nor was it until nearly the end of the year 1844 that the patience of those that waited was rewarded by learning that not Port Cooper but a district called "Otago," or "Otakou," had been selected for the settlement. These months of stagnation were not devoid of incident. It seemed as though almost all interest in the subject had ceased. Captain Cargill contemplated leaving for India, and Mr. Burns could not decide whether to hope on or to take a charge in the Free Church. The New Zealand Company, ever fertile in resource, having little now to lose and all to gain, brought their immense parliamentary influence to bear in obtaining a committee to investigate their own and New Zealand affairs generally. The report of that committee submitted to the House of Commons was, on the whole, favourable to their claims.

And now Mr. Rennie's star began to set. As nothing succeeds like success, so nothing is condemned like failure. The directors professed to consider that in his recent negotiations with Lord Stanley Mr. Rennie had displayed towards them a want of loyalty—a readiness, had opportunity served, of severing his connection, and escaping, as it were, from a sinking ship. Now, too, his former trespasses, like chickens, came home to roost. Again the directors heard, and this time listened to, the stories of his unyielding temper, of his refusal to concede, of his want of touch in so many points with his two chief associates. No longer was he estimated to be a fitting leader. Perhaps the directors began to see that, after all, their success lay in identification with the Free Church—that the special settlement must be still further specialized. And so Mr. Rennie was gradually deposed, and Captain Cargill reigned in his stead.

In taking farewell of one who has played so chief a part in this story, it must be admitted that by his ability and energy was laid the foundation-stone of this settlement, and the force of circumstances of which he was the victim alone forbade him from adding to the superstructure. Like Moses, he viewed the promised land, but might not enter it. He sought to carry out his views in no narrow spirit ; unfortunately, instead of conciliating the prejudices of others, he trod upon them with a prejudice greater still.

As actor follows actor upon the stage, so now must be introduced a gentleman destined to render very valuable assistance to the scheme, and whose name will always be associated with it. This is Dr. Andrew Aldcorn, of Oban, and with him this portion of our history will fitly close. Mr. Burns made his acquaintance, which ripened into a warm friendship, whilst the two were visiting the different sustentation associations of the Monkton Presbytery. Dr. Aldcorn, whose profession was that of medicine, was of independent means, and had latterly, at Dr. Chalmers's request, devoted himself to departmental work in the Free Church, of which he was an ardent supporter. He was a first-rate practical agriculturist, of keen enterprise, sound judgment, extensive information of the most varied kind, and one who afterwards proved himself to be an invaluable acquisition to the enterprise. He owned considerable property in that portion of New South Wales now known as Victoria, but at that time as Port Phillip, and it was doubtless this fact which induced him to take a special interest in the proposed new settlement.

Recent disclosures have shown that the condition of the poorer class of Highlanders has in no way been ameliorated of late years. Fifty years ago, as now, theirs was an unhappy and deplorable lot. The wealthy landholders viewed them as an encumbrance upon their estates, and by converting the crofters' small holdings into parts of a huge deer-park sought to relieve themselves of the apprehension of a heavy poor-rate. The extremity of these poor people afforded the opportunity of showing how their necessities might be relieved by judicious emigration. With characteristic humanity Dr. Aldcorn travelled amongst them, rendering every assistance and information in his power. The potent aid of Hugh Miller, editor of the *Witness*, was invoked with the same view, and the Duke of Sutherland was similarly approached. Some effort was made to induce the duke to become a large purchaser of the new lands, whereon he might place a number of his extra population desiring a return from their tenancy.

In this and other ways the movement, though it slumbered, was not allowed to die ; the great awakening was not yet. Could the earth have then been girdled in a few hours as it is to-day our poor friends would have been spared a world of anxiety and uncertainty ; for on wings swifter than the winds would have

sped to them the news that at the very moment when every avenue of hope seemed closed against them in Scotland a healthful inviting spot had been selected for them in Otago, whither they might repair without let or hindrance. When at length this news did reach, by the slow and circuitous route of fifty years ago, it was too late for them to avail themselves of it. As in the fable of the many-headed Hydra, no sooner was the path cleared of one set of obstacles than others sprang up to fill their place.

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## CHAPTER VIII.\*

Early Whaling-stations—Early Explorations : Cook, Herd, Smith, D'Urville—Dr. Shortland—Bishop Selwyn—Company given Right to purchase Land, and Mr. Symonds appointed Commissioner—Mr. Tuckett—The "Deborah" and its Passengers—Port Cooper (Lyttelton)—Moeraki—Overland to Waikouaiti—John Jones—Tuckett and Symonds quarrel—Otakou Harbour—The Taieri—The Molyneux—Mr. Wöhlers left at Ruapuke—The Bluff—Stewart Island—Voyage ended—More Quarrels—Colonel Wakefield arrives, and Deeds signed—Company forced to retrench.

WE now proceed to the highly interesting details connected with the selection and purchase of the lands for the Otago Settlement in 1844. At that time very little indeed was known of this, the Middle Island, or, as it was then also called, "New Munster." The map, as will be seen from those now exhibited, was virtually a *tabula rasa*, and differed but little from that admirable chart laid down by Captain Cook seventy years before. In his evidence in 1838 before the Lords' Committee, Mr. Montefiore, who spent a few months in New Zealand whilst establishing a mercantile business, expressed the opinion that the southern part of the South Island was very bleak and cold, and not fit for settling. This opinion continued to be held for years afterwards—until, indeed, it was dispelled by the observations of those travellers to which special reference is now to be made. At the northern extremity was the infant settlement of Nelson, but two years old. With this exception, the pioneer settlers in the Island engaged in agricultural pursuits might be counted on one's fingers—notably the Deans, near Port Cooper, and John Jones, at Waikouaiti. No one had penetrated a day's journey into the interior. A few points of the Island were occupied as whaling or sealing stations, the oldest being on the west and south coasts.

So early as the end of the last century, shortly after the foundation of the convict colony of New South Wales, the hardy sealers and whalers began to resort to these coasts, and by them were nearly all the names given to those various points and sounds which appear on the older maps. Probably the oldest of these—that is, within comparatively recent times—was the whaling-station in Preservation Inlet, founded in 1829, belonging to Captain Williams, an old Otago identity, better known as "Billy Williams," who died in Dunedin about sixteen years ago. Then there were stations at Aparima, or Jacob's River, near the present Riverton; Omaui, or New River, near Invercargill; Awarua, or the Bluff; the mouth of the Mataura, at the Toi-Tois; Waikawa, Catlin's River; the Matau, or Molyneux; the Tau-tuku; on the island of Moturata, at the Taieri Mouth; at the

\* Lecture delivered before the Otago Institute, 15th September, 1887.

Otago Heads; at Purakanui; and at Waikouaiti. Farther north we need not go. Most of these stations were founded in the early "thirties," and were scenes of busy activity and wild adventure. But at the time to which special reference is now made—1844—they had begun to fall into decay, and the whaling and sealing business was approaching its latter end owing to the wholesale slaughter, which had caused the whales to disappear from the coasts. The names of Jones, Palmer, Howell, and Williams still remain with us as representatives of their whaling progenitors. Two brothers from Sydney, Weller, owned the stations at Otago Heads, and also that at Moturata Island, off the Taieri Mouth, and their manager, Harwood, yet lives an old man near the Maori "kaik." Theirs was one of the largest and most lucrative, and during the stirring times of the "thirties" they employed from seventy to eighty Europeans. Besides these there were offshore parties on American and French vessels, which would frequently enter the harbour to refresh or refit—generally the former; so that even then Otago was by no means a silent solitude.

But men of this class contributed little or nothing to the topographical knowledge of New Zealand. Their horizon did not extend beyond the narrow limits of their daily life. Here and there further passing reference will be made to them.

The earliest of the recorded observations relating to this part of the New Zealand coast are those of the great Captain Cook, who first sailed down it in February and March, 1770. He named Capé Saunders, after Sir Charles Saunders; Saddle Hill, from its conspicuous resemblance; Molyneux Harbour, after the sailing-master of his vessel, the "Endeavour"; Beach Island, a small, long island lying off the mouth of Paterson's Inlet, at Stewart Island; the Traps, from having been nearly entrapped thereupon; Solander's Island, from Dr. Solander; South Cape, Dusky Bay, and then up the west coast.

In a former lecture I referred to the first attempt made to found a settlement in New Zealand. This was in 1826, when Captain James Herd, who commanded the "Rosanna," the vessel of the expedition, made several observations, now of great interest if not of great value, in his course round New Zealand. He visited Stewart Island first, proceeded up the east coast of this Island, entered Queen Charlotte Sound and Port Nicholson, sailed up the east coast of the North Island, rounded the North Cape, and entered the Hokianga River, where his voyage terminated so far as New Zealand was concerned. For at that moment the ferocious chief Hongi and his warriors were concluding their cannibalistic repasts to the accompaniment of war-cries and war-dances. The fame of these doings induced Captain Herd to relinquish his idea of colonizing New Zealand, and to sail for Sydney instead. His observations on Otago Harbour have a

peculiar interest, made as they were sixty-two years ago, and will be noted with curiosity by those competent to estimate and compare them with the precise and accurate ones of later date. The notes in his journal are: "Lat. 45 46.28 S., long. 170 36.45 W. Port Otago is an inlet or arm of the sea, running up about nine miles S.S.W., making a peninsula of the land on which is Cape Saunders, bearing from the said cape N. by W. by compass, about two leagues distant. This is a well-sheltered harbour with a bar across the entrance, having  $3\frac{1}{2}$  fathoms over it at low water, and from 7 to 9 fathoms inside. The course in is S. by E., keeping the larboard or east shore on board until a mile and a half within the Heads, when a vessel will be completely landlocked. As the bar is within the heads, there is never any sea on it. Variation 17 deg. 5 min. E. High water full and change 20 minutes past 3 p.m. The tide rises about 9 ft. In latitude 45 deg. 24 min. 26 sec., and long. 170 deg. 50 min. lies a reef nearly level with the water, and about three miles from the shore, on which we had nearly struck."

In 1840 the celebrated Dumont D'Urville, commander of the French discovery-ship the "Astrolabe," spent four months on the coast of this Island. During this period he entered Otago Harbour, of which he took soundings and bearings. Many names on the map are associated with his discoveries, such as D'Urville's Island, the French Pass, the Croixelles, and Astrolabe Roads. New Zealand has ever had a mournful interest for the French since the massacre of Marion and his sailors in 1772.

In 1840, owing to the sudden and severe illness of Governor Hobson, the duty devolved upon Major Bunbury of procuring to the Treaty of Waitangi the signatures of most of those chiefs who resided on the east and west coasts of the North Island and farther south. Whilst on this mission, in H.M.S. "Herald," he anchored off the Otago Heads for a few hours on the 13th June. The day being far advanced, and as it was also the winter season, he did not enter the harbour with his vessel, but contented himself with procuring the signatures of the two chiefs Karetai and Korako. Taiaroa, another Otago chief, was at this time at Moeraki. He also visited Stewart and Ruapuke Islands. His general impression of the Middle Island was a very favourable one. Notwithstanding the bleak and savage appearance of its snow-clad mountains, he was struck with the comparative mildness of its climate and apparent fertility of soil, and considered that its suitability for agriculture and settlement was very great.

The next intelligent visitor to Otago was Captain William Mein Smith, R.A., the company's principal surveyor, who had been requested by Colonel Wakefield to visit and report upon the harbours on the east coast of the Middle Island, with a view to settlement. On this duty he was engaged nearly three months—



September, October, and November of 1842. His preference is accorded to Akaroa, which, apart from its accessible harbour, he thought presented the best site for a town, being in the neighbourhood of extensive tracts of land adapted for grazing and agriculture. In Otago he spent five days during the early part of October, and his impressions of it were not very favourable. That part of the Peninsula opposite the islands, and near what is now known as Broad Bay, was the spot which, in his opinion, was most suitable for a township, intercourse with the opposite (or west) side to be carried on by boats. Apparently that part of the harbour on which Dunedin is now situated found little favour with him—perhaps because it was eight or nine miles from the anchorage. The hills there were much higher, and densely wooded, although there were glimpses of several valleys, some apparently containing 400 or 500 acres, which might prove useful to the farmer, though it would be difficult, he thought, to connect them by roads running round the harbour. At this time the white population had dwindled down to twenty men—there were no white women—and the Natives did not number more than a hundred. This perfunctory examination was made by boat. It should, however, be added that the report of the exploration submitted to Colonel Wakefield by Captain Smith was written from memory; for, unfortunately, on the return journey to Wellington, whilst proceeding up the Akaroa Harbour, a violent squall capsized the little cutter, which was not much larger than a whaleboat, thereby causing the loss of all his papers and sketches. From Otago he proceeded southwards, cursorily examining the Bluff and the New River.

But by far the most interesting of these early explorations, and the next in point of order, is that contained in Dr. Shortland's excellent journal. Dr. Shortland, who was Sub-Protector of the Aborigines, visited Otago in September, 1843, whilst journeying south from Akaroa to inquire conjointly with Colonel Godfrey into certain land claims. It is, of course, impossible within these limits to make more than the barest reference to his journal. It will be interesting to follow his footsteps for a short time whilst traversing paths now well known to us, but then surrounded by difficulty and adventure. Sailing up the harbour, he ran his little boat ashore at what is now known as Anderson's Bay, and crossed over the low neck of land leading from Begg's Quarry to the Ocean Beach. He refers to the dazzling whiteness of its sand, along which he and his companions proceeded until they reached the Forbury Head, covered with trackless bush, and now known as St. Clair. Here they lost their way, and it was a considerable time before they surmounted the hill and regained the beach beyond, where the Kaikorai Stream debouches. Crossing this, they pushed on to the Kuri, where they spent the night; and a

comfortless one it was—their clothes were saturated with rain and fine sand, and their sole shelter a little hut or breakwind constructed of koraris, or flax-stalks. At daylight next morning they started for the mouth of the Taieri River, three miles distant from the night's camping-place. This spot is now a place of constant holiday resort during the summer months by means of Amos McKegg's little steam-launch, which plies from Henley down the winding reaches of the lovely river. Arrived here, they found the few huts deserted, the Natives having gone on a mutton-birding expedition. Weller's whaling-station, on the Island of Moturata, close by, was almost abandoned. There was therefore no alternative, short of returning, but to make for the Maori "kaik" seven or eight miles up the river, the ruins of which are still to be seen on the excursion just mentioned. Accordingly a raft, constructed with bundles of the korari sticks, and called *mokihi* by the Natives, was launched with the next flood tide, and upon it one of the party, alive to all the expedients of New Zealand travel, intrusted himself, and started for the "kaik." The next day the adventurous voyager safely returned, bringing with him two boats manned by Natives, who were delighted to see the party whose gift of tobacco was to replenish their own long-expended store. Tobacco in those days was the great medium of exchange, and was eagerly looked for by the Natives. At the "kaik" they remained two days, supplementing their old fare of salt beef and biscuit with the delicious addition of fern-root and wild-turnip tops. The true story of the Maori Leap, the scene of which is close by, and is pointed out to all who pass it, shall be told later on. His business concluded, and learning that the old Maori tracks leading to the southward had long been disused and were overgrown, Dr. Shortland now prepared to return, but not by his former route. The chief Te Raki took him and his companions some miles up the Taieri River to its junction with the Owhiro Creek—better known at this day by its more ineuphonious appellation of Scroggs's Creek—up which they proceeded as far as the depth of water would allow. Then they landed where the Owhiro Railway-station is now placed, and walked along the base of the hills—Saddle Hill amongst them—thus skirting, of course, the Taieri Plains.

Of these plains, now known as of the richest and most fertile description, Dr. Shortland evidently entertained a very poor opinion. The ground, he said, was clothed with fern and dry wiry grass growing in tufts, and, owing to this poorness of vegetation and the absence of wood, he concluded that, whilst the wide open space might serve for the feeding of sheep, it was unfit for cultivation. Then they ascended the hills close by, where the first sudden and magnificent view of the plains is procured from the main road looking south, and continued on the top of what are

now known as the Chain Hills. When near the present township of Abbotsford they saw the beautiful Kaikorai Valley and the site of Green Island, and descried that part of the Green Island Bush where they had previously lost their way. Descending, they crossed the narrow valley considerably north and west of the Industrial School, climbed the steep pinch on whose summit is Mornington, soon overlooking the magnificent but silent beauty of that waste whose name was Oteputi, but is now Dunedin. Here the soil was good, tall fern and vigorous tutu growing upon it abundantly, whilst wild pigs scampered out of every piece of under-wood. The party found their boat and equipments precisely as they had been left, and then proceeded down the harbour on their journey. One night, belated, Dr. Shortland took up his quarters in a cask, probably an old whale-oil barrel which had been washed ashore from some whaling-station, and doubtless in this apartment he enjoyed more peaceful slumbers than under the miserable shelter of the korari breakwind at Kuri Bush. He visited also the pretty bay of Purakanui, where was a small settlement of thirty-two Natives and one white man, a retired whaler. "Purakanui" means a great heap, for here lay a great heap of slain after a fierce intertribal battle many generations ago.

As compared with former experiences he now dwelt in luxury at the little cottage of the whaler, who shot wild pigeons for him with small stones in lieu of shot, and for a bed gave him the fragrant springy twigs of the manuka scrub. The early mornings were filled with the exquisite music of myriads of bell-birds who thronged the dense forests through which the northern railway now winds its way after escaping from the Deborah Bay Tunnel. The voyage to Waikouaiti was made in an open whaleboat, as was usual in those days when traversing the coast. This was the only really settled place in the whole district, and consequently deserves the full reference which it shall receive later on. He pursued on foot his way northward to Akaroa, on Banks Peninsula, then the principal whaling and most populated district of the Middle Island, with the exception, of course, of Nelson. On the latter part of this journey Dr. Shortland gained from an intelligent Native named Huruhuru the first specific and reliable information regarding the interior of the Island, and of the lakes which had always vaguely figured in the earliest maps under the title of "Water of Green Talc, Greenstone Lake, Te Wai Pounamu." An exact though greatly enlarged reproduction of this map as drawn by Huruhuru is here exhibited. And this must suffice.

The fact is, so interesting and diverse are the ramifications connected with our subject, that one is tempted to stray at every point, finding most fruitful fields. Perhaps at a future time I may give a lecture on the early maps of New Zealand and their gradual filling in.

The next and last intelligent and illustrious visitor was Bishop Selwyn, who on his visitation tour spent one day—the 24th January, 1844—within Otakou Harbour. He proceeded, however, no further than the small settlement within the Heads, and spent the day in visiting the few inhabitants, Native and European, distributing books amongst them, and baptizing the children. His second and interesting visit was paid in 1848, two months after the arrival of the pioneer vessels, and will again be referred to.

Such is a very cursory account of the little that was known of this part of New Zealand down to the end of 1843. From this it will be gathered that, whilst its interior was almost utterly unknown, its coast-line was familiar to the limited class of hardy whalers divided into little communities at the points referred to, and who carried in their heads an intimate knowledge of every snug nook where they might run for shelter whilst engaged in their dangerous pursuit. But this knowledge was confined to themselves, was not communicated to the outer world; and, moreover, the whaling and sealing industry had commenced its period of decadence. Hence the search for a new settlement was virtually the exploration of a *terra incognita*, and to this we now turn.

The directors of the New Zealand Company then, considering that all their difficulties with the Colonial Office were adjusted, wrote in August, 1843, to Colonel William Wakefield, their principal agent in Wellington, requesting that immediately after Captain Fitzroy's arrival in the colony he would confer with him, and obtain the requisite permission to select the new lands.

Captain Fitzroy arrived during the latter part of December to find the colony in the deplorable and paralysed state to which former reference has been made. No funds, no business; the Wairau massacre just perpetrated, and a war impending. Under these circumstances, he was placed in a considerable dilemma with regard to Colonel Wakefield's application, which was preferred without any delay. However, there were the facts: that specific instructions had been sent out, and that very shortly a body of emigrants would follow them, for whom provision must be made. It was therefore with considerable judgment that the Governor, having neither money in his chest nor articles of barter wherewith to purchase the necessary lands from the Natives, waived the Crown's right of pre-emption, and granted permission to Colonel Wakefield himself to effect the purchase of 150,000 acres under the superintendence of a Government officer. The officer selected thus to see the bargain fulfilled in a valid and equitable manner was Mr. John Jermyn Symonds, Assistant Police Magistrate at Wellington, who had formerly been a Sub-Protector of Aborigines, and who understood the Native language well. Mr. Symonds was instructed not to allow any survey to be proceeded with until perfectly satisfied that the land had been duly alienated.

An infringement of this regulation led to a very notable quarrel between himself and the chief surveyor early in the expedition.

But by far the most important post in the expedition was that occupied by this surveyor, who, on the part of the company, was to select the lands for settlement, and to effect with the Natives their purchase. For the performance of these duties Colonel Wakefield selected Mr. Frederick Tuckett, a gentleman whose connection with the early history of New Zealand colonization was by no means limited to the discharge of his duties as a surveyor. He was a man of very marked and determined character, and a member of the Society of Friends, of stalwart frame, and an excellent pedestrian. He took great interest in matters connected with the Aborigines' Protection Society, and in questions relating to emigration. In April, 1841, he sailed in the "Will Watch" as principal surveyor and engineer of the preliminary expedition to found the second (Nelson) settlement in New Zealand. Under his superintendence the town and suburban lands of Nelson were surveyed, but of the site selected for them by Captain Wakefield he always disapproved. The justice of his opinion has long since been confirmed, and doubtless the strong way in which he held this led to his especial care in selecting Otago for New Edinburgh. So dissatisfied was he with much of the policy and many of the proceedings of the company that he was on the very eve of severing his connection with them and of returning to England when he received Colonel Wakefield's offer.

There is so much of interest in the incidents about to follow, and so much news to tell, that I shall ask you to permit me here to digress, and anticipate a little. Despite unceasing inquiries made for years past concerning Mr. Tuckett's journal of this expedition, I could learn nothing of it whatever; and although references to it and short extracts from it appear in the pages of the old *Otago Journal* and in one of the New Zealand Company's reports, no one had seen or knew anything about it. Important as the journal evidently was, the conclusion seemed inevitable that if it ever existed it must have been in manuscript form, and have been destroyed. Imagine, then, my delight when a few months ago, through the kindness of Miss McGlashan, a copy came into my hands. As is often the case with much-coveted articles, where possession does not equal anticipation, the much-prized journal proved on perusal by no means to fulfil the great expectations formed of its contents. Of almost more importance is a very long letter written by Mr. Tuckett, immediately after selecting the site for the settlement, to his friend Dr. Hodgkinson. In this letter, dated Otakou, Port of New Edinburgh, 16th August, 1844, Mr. Tuckett gives not merely an interesting account of his expedition, but enters into many details which he would be likely to avoid in preparing a journal for the public eye.

When these lectures are amplified and published, the full text of this communication must appear.\* At present it will suffice to make copious extracts from it. Accompanying it was a highly tattered but none the less valuable explanatory map, drawn, doubtless, by Mr. Tuckett himself. An exact replica of this, minus its rags and the half-effaced names, is here exhibited. Dr. Hodgkinson, who resides at Invercargill, and who is well known as one of New Zealand's few trustworthy and straightforward politicians, first visited New Zealand in 1842, and then made Mr. Tuckett's friendship. Learning of the interest taken by me in all things relating to our very early history, Dr. Hodgkinson forwarded these interesting documents. Then, again, in the most unexpected manner, and whilst, indeed, preparing this lecture, I procured information which led me to hear of and at once to communicate with a gentleman who is a relation and executor of Mr. Tuckett, and who possesses his papers. If these can be procured, a valuable addition will be made to our old archives. In the most obliging manner, the Hon. Mr. Barnicoat, of Nelson, who accompanied Mr. Tuckett in this exploration, has placed his private journal at my disposal. Its value and interest are considerable, containing, as it does, a great deal of reference to matters directly connected with the exploration, and which are not elsewhere referred to. With Mr. Barnicoat's permission, this will also be published. I have also corresponded with the late Rev. Mr. Wöhlens, of Ruapeke, who communicated some interesting particulars, and also with Captain Wing. The fullest journal, however, of all is that of the late Dr. (afterwards Sir David) Monro, of Nelson, who was another co-voyager. This was published in the *Nelson Examiner* of 1844, and copied into the *New Zealand Journal* of 1845. I deem it important to record these sources of information.

Mr. Tuckett, wise from experience, at first declined Colonel Wakefield's offer to act as agent and principal surveyor of the New Edinburgh Settlement, which it was understood would be located at Port Cooper. He agreed to accept it on the sole condition of having liberty to examine the country from Banks Peninsula to Milford Haven, and of being unfettered in his final choice. These stipulations were assented to, and Mr. Tuckett thereupon chartered the brigantine "Deborah," of 121 tons, Captain Wing, then lying at Nelson. This was one of the numerous vessels trading between the various coastal ports, Sydney, and Van Dieman's Land. Captain Thomas Wing, her master, has for the last twenty-five to thirty years been officially connected with the Port of Onehunga as pilot or harbourmaster.

The little vessel sailed from Nelson on the 31st March, 1844, with a cargo of stores for New Edinburgh, amongst which were

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\* Published in 1898.

bricks and timber wherewith Mr. Tuckett purposed building a house for himself at the new settlement. The passengers were Mr. Tuckett and his two assistant surveyors, Messrs. Barnicoat and Davison, with five men as boatmen and assistants; Dr. Monro, who accompanied from the spirit of adventure; the Rev. Charles Creed, a Wesleyan missionary, who, with his wife and child, was proceeding to Waikouaiti, there to succeed the Rev. Mr. Watkin; the Rev. J. F. H. Wöhlens, of the German Missionary Society, who had recently arrived at Nelson in the "St. Pauli," and who was now searching for a fitting scene for his future missionary labours amongst the Maoris. This gentleman, as you doubtless know, selected the Island of Ruapuke, where he laboured for forty-three years. He contributed several interesting papers to the Transactions of the New Zealand Institute on subjects connected with the Maoris. He died last year. Messrs. Wilkinson and Withers were the other members of the party. These gentlemen, like Dr. Monro, merely accompanied the expedition with a view of seeing as much as possible of New Zealand, and gratifying their love of travel in an agreeable manner.

Mr. J. J. Symonds, the officer representing the Government, embarked at Wellington, and again the "Deborah" sailed south, entering Port Cooper—or "Port Lyttelton," as it is now called—on the 5th April. Here Mr. Tuckett remained a week, visiting with his companions the various bays, and travelling a few miles into the interior, as far as the Deans', who were the sole dwellers upon the great plains. The week was full of such adventures and hair-breadth escapes as fall to the lot of most pioneers—capsizes into the rivers, soakings whilst struggling up to the middle through the morasse; and nights spent in such forlorn plight without food or shelter. Messrs. Creed and Wöhlens, who started on a little excursion of their own over the hills to Port Levi, were all but lost. In a dense fog they missed their way, and for three days wandered about amongst rocks, bush, and ravines, without any food excepting two small birds they were fortunate enough to catch.

One day the two celebrated South Island chiefs came aboard—Tuhawaiki and Tairaoa—and caused much amusement by their assumption of European manners. Both were dressed in sailor costume; in addition, Tuhawaiki wore a huge overcoat, into the pockets of which he continually plunged his hands in most approved style. "Come, captain, give us something to eat. Come, captain, give us a bottle of wine. We'll pay for it, you know," were almost their first words of introduction to Captain Wing. For years they had had business dealings with the whalers, and were well acquainted with the intricacies of bills and money matters generally. Tuhawaiki was a most intelligent and agreeable Native, and possessed considerable influence far and near with his countrymen. His signature appears first on the deed of purchase of the

Otakou Block, and to his influence the amicable and speedy character of the arrangements was principally due. He little deserved and was, indeed, ashamed of the sobriquet applied to him by the whalers—"Bloody Jack"—which was derived from the fact that as a bold warrior he had been in the constant habit of drilling his followers at the time when the fierce Rauparaha made his bloody raids upon the inhabitants of this Island. As regards Taiaroa, whose headquarters were at Taiaroa Head, his grandson worthily perpetuates old instincts by engaging at this present moment in the comparatively peaceful if bloody strife of football.

It was Mr. Tuckett's intention to proceed by foot from Port Cooper to Otago, crossing to the west side of the plains, then south to the Waitaki, and then following its course to the sea. Unfortunately, his arrangements with the Maori guides fell through at the last moment, and he was compelled to proceed by sea. He had, however, concluded that Port Cooper was not eligible for the settlement. In his opinion, the harbour was not sufficiently sheltered; the plains were not readily accessible from it; and, whilst there was undoubtedly good land upon them, there was much indication of undrainable raupo swamp, especially in the central portion of the plains. Such was the verdict—true then, perhaps, under the existent condition of things, now reversed by practical experience.

On sailed, but not sped, the "Deborah," for owing to light and contrary winds and thick weather she did not make Moeraki until the 18th—actually a week after leaving Port Cooper. Here Mr. Tuckett landed with one man to walk overland to Waikouaiti, whilst the rest of the party were to sail for that place. Of Moeraki he thought highly, and had its bay been accessible to emigrant-ships a better site for a settlement could hardly have been desired. The land was level, rich, well-watered, and succeeded by downs. Three days' walking brought him to Waikouaiti, where the "Deborah" was lying anchored at the spot shown in this sketch after Mr. Barnicoat, and close to Mr. Jones's celebrated little schooner the "Scotia." In this journey Mr. Tuckett found that bed of coal now worked at Shag Point, and crossed the fertile valley of the Waiomtu, now known as the Shag Valley, which afforded the best pasture land he had seen in New Zealand.

Then followed the misnamed Pleasant River, which all who know it must admit should rather be called the Unpleasant River, with its muddy and foetid bed. Here the valley was avoided, the hills ascended, and Waikouaiti reached by way of Tumai and Matanaka, upon which was Mr. Jones's farm. The sketches now exhibited are enlarged from Dr. Shortland's and Mr. Barnicoat's journals, and represent Waikouaiti Bay and the adjoining settlement in 1843 and 1844. In a turbary deposit by the river's mouth is marked the spot where the moa-bones were discovered



which were sent Home to Professor Owen. These he figured and described in his splendid monograph on the extinct wingless birds of New Zealand.

Waikouaiti was one of the early whaling-stations in this Island. In 1837 it was owned by Messrs. Wright and Long, merchants, of Sydney, who failed during a period of great commercial depression there. From them it was purchased in 1838 by the late Mr. John Jones, a man of great shrewdness, determination, and otherwise strongly marked character. In 1839 he purchased some thousands of acres from the Natives. In 1840 he sent down from Sydney several men, with their wives and families, to engage in farming and other pursuits. At his instance the Wesleyan Society, in the same year, appointed the Rev. Mr. Watkin as the first missionary in this part of New Zealand to look after the spiritual needs of the young community. The Rev. Charles Creed was now, as above stated, about to relieve Mr. Watkin. Thus, due to Mr. Jones's energy, Waikouaiti was one of the most—perhaps the most—thriving and populous districts in New Zealand. The European population numbered about one hundred, the Natives somewhat more: all occupied either independently or on behalf of Mr. Jones in farming, whaling, or sealing. The farm was situated on that eminence still known as Matanaka—so called after the fry of a small fish found in the water at the bottom of the hill. It contained about 600 acres enclosed, of which 100 were in crop of various kinds. There were 100 horses, 200 head of cattle, and 2,000 sheep; also the appurtenances of barn, outhouses, threshing and winnowing machine worked by horses. One or two of the old buildings stand to this day. Who now traversing the peaceful beach, resort for health and pleasure, would conceive that forty-five years ago it presented an aspect so different. Dilapidated, rickety little huts dotted about, huge whale-bones strewn everywhere, savage pigs and dogs feasting on the refuse which tainted the air with sickening greasy smell, whilst clouds of gulls and shags associated in the repast; busy groups of men cutting out and trying out the blubber of some recent prize; and boats drawn up on the beach ready to be launched at a moment's notice after fresh quarry.

To Tamati Parata, the chief at Puketeraki, I am indebted for much information regarding Native names in this district. He considers that Waikouaiti, properly "Waikowai-iti," means "the end" (*ko*) "of the little water or stream" (*wai iti*) "running into the water or sea" (*wai*). Though interesting, the attempt to assign a meaning to Maori names is often profitless or fruitless, as frequently Maori nomenclature depends on the most trivial incidents, no longer discoverable. For instance, "Tumai" is so named from the fact that on a memorable expedition a chief called to his followers to stop there, *tumai* signifying "Stop there." Notwithstanding this, I shall attempt to explain the meaning of most

proper names we meet with, merely premising that my information has been derived from intelligent sources—Tamati Parata and the late Messrs. C. O. Davis and I. N. Watt.

A very interesting account of this locality—though, it is necessary to add, one containing many inaccuracies—entitled “A Preliminary Page in the History of Otago,” was written about four years ago by Mr. Thomson, son of a former valued member of this Institute. Here occurred the misunderstanding or quarrel between Mr. Tuckett and Mr. Symonds which bid fair to jeopardize the arrangements, and did, indeed, seriously interfere with them. Very hot words were exchanged between the principals, and others became embroiled also. The quarrel was never healed so long as the two were officially connected, and as its results appeared twice during the negotiations a short account of it will be of interest. Mr. Tuckett directed his assistants, Messrs. Barnicoat and Davison, to commence surveying the Waikouaiti Bay. Leave to do this was procured from Mr. Jones and also from the Natives, but Mr. Symonds entirely dissented, on the ground of his imperative instructions that no instruments were to be landed nor any survey commenced until purchase from the Natives had been effected, and said that he would return to Wellington if Mr. Tuckett persisted. Mr. Tuckett did persist, whereupon Mr. Symonds sailed for Wellington in the “Scotia,” and laid his complaint before Major Richmond, the Superintendent of the Southern Division of New Zealand. As Mr. Symonds’s qualifications were too valuable to be dispensed with, it was decided that he should return to Otakou, this time accompanied by Mr. Daniel Wakefield, a barrister, and brother of Colonel Wakefield, who should act as peacemaker. But matters fared no better—indeed, rather worse; the quarrel took a new direction, and the stilted correspondence at last became quite unparliamentary. In one letter Mr. Tuckett concludes thus: “In the interim I beg to assure you that I regard him as little as Mordecai did Haman.” Mr. Wakefield, finding that he was of no use as a mediator, and might probably find himself one in a triangular duel, returned to Wellington with his friend. It was determined that on the third occasion Colonel Wakefield himself should go to Otakou with Mr. Symonds; this was effected, and the unseemly strife which had done so much to enliven the quiet solitudes of Otago came to an end. The *New Zealand Gazette* newspaper was very severe in its strictures on Mr. Tuckett, and considered that he was impracticable and overbearing, though admittedly an excellent pedestrian, and good at making out a survey contract—in short, merely a robust, methodical person. It is but fair to add that on no occasion did Mr. Tuckett direct any survey to be made, however trifling, without first obtaining full consent from the Natives, and he doubtless viewed Mr. Symonds’s action as a piece of obstruction and impracticable red-tapeism.

Mr. Tuckett now, on the 23rd April, despatched the "Deborah" across from Waikouaiti to Otago, preferring to proceed overland to judge of the practicability of forming an inland road to that harbour. His journey occupied two days, and was a most toilsome one, especially towards the latter part, when the forest became almost impenetrable from the dense undergrowth and numerous steep gullies intersecting in every direction. But, these difficulties surmounted, Mr. Tuckett found himself, on descending, opposite the little vessel anchored quietly in that inlet a mile below Port Chalmers to which she has given the name of "Deborah Bay." Those on board had been charmed with the magnificent sheet of land-locked water surrounded by the densely wooded hills. Having no Mr. Symonds to interfere, the survey of the harbour was at once proceeded with. The head of the river, as the whalers called it, and where Dunedin now stands, was visited in a boat, and gave almost unqualified satisfaction to Mr. Tuckett as a site for a town. The objections to it were that it had not deep water near, and that the harbour was too far away. However, it evidently deeply impressed Mr. Tuckett, for in one of his letters to me Mr. Wöhlers says, "We went in a boat through a passage by Port Chalmers up the inlet to where Dunedin now is. All the country there was an uninhabited wilderness. We landed at a low flat place; somewhere to our right (our faces landward), I believe, there was a creek. We went to the left upon higher ground. The vegetation here looked barren. Mr. Tuckett walked further over the hills to have a good look over the country, and when he came back he was much pleased with the beautiful valleys he had seen. He also thought that the place where we had remained would suit the site of the chief town. However, he would not fix his choice until he had seen the country so far as Foveaux Strait."

Without doubt this means that the two landed at that accessible spot used for years afterwards by the Maoris as a landing-place, and close by the back of the Colonial Bank. Old settlers will well remember that here a small creek—the Kaituna, which means "eel food"—emptied itself after gently meandering down High and across Princes Streets. They then ascended to the higher ground, where Princes, Manse, and Stafford Streets now meet, and which was then considerably higher than at present. Five-and-twenty or thirty years ago the Town Council greatly reduced this rise. It is very certain, too, that the summit of Bell Hill, now cast into the sea, would be another vantage-point for the explorer. From it would be seen all the flax-covered level north of the Octagon, and the various descending spurs, clothed in all the glory of that evergreen which still charms the eye and contributes to Dunedin so much of its rare beauty. The sketch now exhibited is not a mere fancy one, but an attempt founded on true

data, to show Oteputi as it existed when its name was about to fade into that of New Edinburgh, and when its sole occupants were wekas, pukekos, quails, moreporks, and wild pigs.

Their stay in the harbour was not devoid of its little incidents. The Maoris were very friendly, and readily assented to the harbour survey, though they could not understand asking leave to drag a chain along the beach. They bartered fish and potatoes for a few steel pens, ink, and paper, and exhibited with much pride their copy-books, filled with very neat writing. Then one evening they enjoyed a very primitive concert on board the "St. Croix," a Danish whaler. Her crew was made up of all nationalities—Danes, Germans, Swedes, Americans, English, and French; and of all trades—shoemakers, tailors, coopers, and others. The boatswain and cooper were called into the cuddy, the latter with a fiddle under his arm, and captain, mate, boatswain, and cooper sang their English, German, and French songs until midnight.

Mr. Tuckett now determined to proceed overland as far as the Molyneux, and gave orders for the "Deborah" to meet him there. Dr. Monro accompanied him on this toilsome journey, and three Maoris as guides and carriers made up the party. After a miserable night, with wretched shelter, spent somewhere in Princes Street, they started on the brilliant frosty morning of the 30th April. From careful collation of the journals and the track marked on Tuckett's map, it would be seen that their course was somewhat in the same direction as that of the present Half-way Bush Road, and then onward until the elevation immediately above the North Taieri was struck. A precipitous descent towards the east side of the plains was now made, and then their troubles began. It became evident that the Maoris were little better than blind guides. "That," said they, pointing to the distant Taieri River, "is our highway, and we know of no other." When this highway was reached—or, rather, the Owhiro Creek, leading into it—they were disappointed in not meeting with an expected canoe. So on they struggled and plunged over the roughest ground and through the tussock swamps, often up to the middle in water.

The first night was passed in the shelter of a small bush, whose last few trees yet remain. The march was continued close by the river's bank until further progress was blocked by the river itself, where it suddenly turns down its narrow gorge to the sea. There was no possibility of crossing it, so the steep hills to the left were scaled under every difficulty, and in the teeth of cutting showers of sleet. The miserable Maoris were ready to cry; they sat down and tore up their shirts to make a protection for their legs from the sharp grass and thorns. Late in the afternoon they reached the mouth of the Taieri River, where they enjoyed the comfortable rest and shelter afforded by a cavern. Assisted by the whalers on the adjacent Island of Moturata, they crossed the river, and

then walked by the beach to the Matau, or Molyneux. Three days were occupied in traversing this distance of thirty miles. Here an interesting discovery was made—that of a black cliff, now known as the Kaitangata coal-seam. Crossing the Matau in a Maori boat, they found the faithful “Deborah” awaiting them.

Of this district Mr. Tuckett writes in the letter above referred to in terms of the highest praise. He says: “Arriving at the Matau—a river which an American would not despise, its water so deep that its current, which is strong and swift, is hardly perceptible—I estimated the mountain range, at the most, to be about fifty miles distant, and the whole intermediate tract of country appeared to be a fine grazing district, and suitable for tillage—rich and warm enough for maize—and the gently waving land inland an excellent wheat soil, &c. The district as a whole is inferior to that north of Otakou in respect of the quantity and convenient dispersion of timber. The abundance of coal compensates in some degree for this defect; and in other respects, particularly the extent of good level land and the fertility of the hills to their summit, the facilities of inland navigation, and other internal communication, it is unequalled. The Matau district alone would afford all the land required for the settlement, and there I would have established it could I have entered the Matau with the schooner. But without the aid of steam-power neither this nor the other principal rivers of the east coast can be entered. Here there is rather more than 12 ft. at low water on the bar. No vessel can remain in the bay with an easterly wind. With the aid of a steam-tug I consider it perfectly eligible for vessels drawing 15 ft. of water. The south-east headland of Molyneux Bay—commonly called the ‘Nuggets,’ by the Maoris ‘Tokata’—is about sixty miles north of the Bluff Harbour, Foveaux Strait. Running along shore in my whaleboat, I visited most accessible points; but there is no intermediate district of a sufficient extent for a large settlement excepting on the Mautaurua or Toi-Toi Rivers, about twelve miles south of a little harbour for shipping called ‘Waika,’ and eighteen miles north of the Bluff. I visited in succession the Bluff, the Oreti (or New River), the Aparima (or Jacob’s River), and the Pleasant River or Creek, Stewart Island, and then returned to Molyneux Bay, determined, subject to a confirmation of my previous judgment by a fresh examination of the country and the interior thence to Otakou, to select that district, and Otakou as its harbour and port. I reluctantly abandoned the exploration of the west coast, convinced by the unanimous representations of the sealers, who alone frequent that coast, that there was only one tract of available land, about forty miles north of Milford Haven. The probability of its being more eligible for the settlement was slight, and, considering the importance of acquiring

the land for the settlement and commencing the surveys without further loss of time, I felt best satisfied even not to accomplish what I had proposed."

This long extract from a very long letter shows what care and judgment Mr. Tuckett exercised in his selection, and how nearly New Edinburgh had been fixed in the Molyneux district. It also gives a succinct account of Mr. Tuckett's further footsteps.

Mr. Barnicoat, in his private journal, gives an interesting account of his sojourn at the Molyneux Bay whilst awaiting his chief. At this time there were two Europeans residing there—Messrs. Willsher and Russell—the name of the former being yet embalmed in Willsher Bay.

During the great land-sharking period, just about or prior to the time when the British Government took formal possession of New Zealand, Mr. John Jones, of Sydney, effected a purchase, such as it was, from the Natives in this district of a block of land 20 miles square, and sent down Willsher as his agent in 1842. At one time there had been a whaling-station here, belonging to the late Edward Palmer, and quite a large Native population of over 2,000. These, however, had dwindled down to a very few in number, wretched, ill fed, and ill clothed. A terrible mortality occurred amongst them from an epidemic of measles, which was brought by a Native in one of the whaling-vessels from Sydney in 1835. Measly Beach, near the mouth of the Tokomairiro River, derives its savoury name from this incident. The afflicted Natives, of course ignorant as to the nature of their disease, sought to relieve the fever accompanying it by exposure to the cold air, or by sitting up to the neck in water. No wonder, then, that of three large war-canoes on that river there was but crew enough left to man one. Such is the statement of Mr. Palmer.

In the earlier part of this lecture I referred to the legend connected with that lofty overhanging rock which projects into the Taieri River, and is known to all who pass it as the Maori Leap. The statement is that a Maori warrior, hard pressed by his enemies, plunged from it into the deep waters beneath, and so escaped his sure fate by swimming across the broad current to the other side. But this is incorrect, and it is worth while rescuing from oblivion the real though sorrowful legend, and investing therewith the lovely Taieri with its rightful claim to classicality. The song was a great favourite with the Natives all up and down the coast, and Mr. Barnicoat heard them chaunt it in their monotonous dirge-like way whilst sitting round the fires by the mouth of the great Matau, whose waters, in their unvarying cadence, formed a most fitting accompaniment. As with her fair sister, so with this Maori maiden—the course of true love never did run smooth. In secret she had given her heart to a young man of her own choice, whilst her parents urged her to marry one whom she abhorred. In vain did she

plead with them; her prayers and tears were of no avail, and Fate was inexorable. Death's friendly hand pointed out her only avenue of escape, and that she elected to follow, by springing from this lofty rock into the dark waters below, and so ending her miserable life. To her sister she communicated her secret, and sought her assistance. The two started together on their mournful journey, the sister alone returning. When asked what had become of the missing one, she replied by plaintively singing a few lines composed by her sister a few days before, and which in simple words recited the sad story. Again pressed, she again answered in the same way. Search was then made, and love's sacrifice discovered.

The rest of Mr. Tuckett's journey south was performed chiefly overland, partly by whaleboat, and, when necessity arose, by the "Deborah," which followed him down the coast like a trusty dog at its master's heels. With the adjacent country he was highly pleased, though there were no indications that his first choice would be superseded.

Owing to the bad weather, the "Deborah" sailed from off the Maitai to Ruapuke Island. Here Mr. Wöhlers decided to fix his abode and commence his missionary labours. He had learnt that in no part of southern New Zealand was there so large a Native population within so small a compass as here. The delight of the Natives was intense on hearing that Mr. Wöhlers had come to reside amongst them, probably for the remainder of his lifetime. They dragged the whaleboat up on the beach, crowded round him, every one vociferously talking, shaking hands, and nose-rubbing. His baggage, himself, and the whole party were marched off by the crowd to the residence of the principal chief, to whom Mr. Wöhlers presented his letter of introduction from some brother missionary. This was read aloud to the clustering crowd, amidst great rejoicing. In the afternoon the rest of the party returned to the "Deborah," now bound for the Bluff and the New River, leaving behind them their fellow-voyager in the midst of his already firm though new-found friends. He died last year, after forty-two years of labour and success in the little island where so long ago he landed in the prime of manhood. Of his works I need not here speak. For many years he corresponded with Mr. Tuckett, with whom he formed a lasting friendship on board the little schooner.

The travellers now entered that large estuary named the Waihopai, at whose upper part is situated the town of Invercargill, and into which debouch the Waihopai and the Oreti, or New River. Whilst anchored here, Mr. Tuckett visited the Bluff and the Aparima, or Jacob's River, so called after an old Native named Jacob who lived at its mouth. Here the very pretty little town of Riverton is situated. With the latter district he was highly pleased, its well-known succession of gentle slopes with open land or bush

stretching far into the interior proving a most agreeable picture. He did not, however, consider the land so good as much that he had seen nearer Otago, and the climate appeared to be much more severe. Captain Stevens, one of our last surviving old whalers, and a resident at Riverton, says that he well remembers accompanying Mr. Tuckett a few miles inland, who was armed with a spade, with which at intervals he examined the character of the soil. It is certain that the whole of this district, with the Bluff as its harbour, offered such attractive claims as to give Mr. Tuckett again some difficulty in deciding as to where his ultimate choice for the settlement would lie.

Three days were spent at Stewart Island, the farthestmost point of the exploration. Here was the comparatively large population of about seventy white people, with the same number of Natives, inhabiting comfortable cottages, tilling the soil, and having the air of a well-to-do people

And now, on the 1st June, the return journey commenced, and the "Deborah" turned her bows to the northward, making a splendid run of ten knots an hour to the Molyneux, where she anchored. From this point Mr. Tuckett, who was desirous of becoming better acquainted with the interior of the country, decided to make his way to Otago by leaving the coast-line and striking inland. Two Native guides were hired, and by their intelligence did much to beguile the toilsome way. The baggage was sent up the river by boat, and on Sunday afternoon, the 2nd June, the party started. It consisted of Messrs. Tuckett, Barnicoat, Wilkinson, and Dr. Monro, besides the guides. By night they had walked twelve miles, camping near the Puerua. The next day they made Iwikatea, where is now Balclutha, and where the magnificent Matau divides into its two branches of Matau and Koau, which, again joining, enclose the fruitful island of Inch-Clutha, then called after its owner, "Bloody Jack's Island." The fertile appearance of this neighbourhood struck all. The river crossed, a wearisome march began. The guides, as aforetime, did not know, or had forgotten, the way, and the unfortunate travellers plodded on for mile after mile through that weary swamp by the side of the Kaitangata and Rangitoto Lakes. They were up to the knees in ice-cold water and when a halt was called could only get a few flax-stalks wherewith to make a fire. In the names of these lakes is commemorated a fierce tribal fight and its sequence: the "bloody day" was spent by the side of Rangitoto; the cannibal feast which followed, the "man food," was enjoyed by Kaitangata. The night was miserably spent, with no other shelter than that afforded by a little valley. The only comforts of this miserable night were boiled ducks and billy-boiled tea, unless one might add that the soaking clothes and boots were thoroughly dried, if not by fire at least by frost.



The route now pursued was over the Tokomairiro Plains to the Waihola Lake, and thence to the banks of the Taieri, almost opposite the spot where a month before Mr. Tuckett and Dr. Monro, on the downward journey, found their progress stopped by the river. Down the Taieri they descended in a canoe, and from its mouth walked along the beach, crossing, of course, the Otakia Stream, near Brighton, and the Kaikorai, in the Green Island district. Fortunate the journey was so near its end, for they were in sad plight, footsore and destitute of provisions. The Natives, however, ever fertile in expedients, caught a rat, cut some blubber from a stranded whale, added a few pieces of a cuttlefish which had been left on the beach by the tide; these well mixed with a few potatoes, some wild native cabbage, and above all the *optimum condimentum*, made a most sumptuous repast. As the receipt is probably new, and is certainly unique, I think it well to give it in full for the benefit of any novelty-seeking epicure. One Native piously said grace over it; the other fervently added "Amen."

According to instructions, the whaleboat met the wearied travellers at the head of the Otago Harbour, and in safety carried them down to the "Deborah's" side. So, on the 11th June, ended this memorable expedition—ten days from the Molyneux, and more than ten weeks from its start. And with this ending was the real beginning of New Edinburgh. Hitherto it had existed but in name; now it had a local habitation also. To-day the story of a trip from Nelson to the Bluff would excite little interest. Fifty years ago it was the absorbing history of a toilsome exploration through wild solitudes untrodden before by the foot of civilized man.

It was upon this expedition that the first information was given by the Natives of the existence in the interior of certain animals, concluded from the description to be beavers. Rakiraki, one of the guides, circumstantially describes them as building whares like his countrymen, and as making a screaming noise, and also that some of their houses were floating ones. Their habitat is on the east side of Lake Wanaka, as indicated in this map enlarged from Mr. Barnicoat, who also gives in his journal this description. It is needless to say that no such animal has ever been found in New Zealand; and yet it seems probable there must be some foundation for Rakiraki's positive statement.

And now the returned travellers saw some signs of bustle and activity. During their absence Mr. Symonds had returned from Wellington, and with him Mr. Daniel Wakefield, who, as previously said, came to act as peacemaker or intermediary between the belligerent parties. Several Natives had also arrived from various quarters, for, in the wonderful way in which news spreads amongst them like wildfire, it was known far and wide that the pakehas wished to purchase a large block of land in the district. The

“ Deborah ” lay quietly at anchor a short distance from the shore. On the beach were two whares and two tents, and a rude temporary jetty had been erected for landing the vessel's cargo. The bricks and timber for the erection of Mr. Tuckett's little house were lying close by. All this was to be seen on the narrow head of Koputai, or Port Chalmers, on the spot now occupied by the foot of George Street and the road leading to the dry dock. “ Koputai ” means the high or full tide.

In a day or two the schooner “ Carbon ” arrived from Wellington with Messrs. Nicholson and Allom, surveying cadets, and seven men on board. Colonel Wakefield had despatched her, being desirous that there should be no delay in the surveys. She had been actually thirty days on her passage down. The ground was white with snow, and the cold was severely felt in the draughty tents.

Sketches or plans of the district between Otakou and the Molyneux on a scale of two miles to the inch were made. These were to be used by the Natives in recognizing the various boundaries, and naming the several owners within them. Mr. Symonds proposed that the extent of land to be purchased should be pointed out to the Natives on the ground, and considered it indispensable that Mr. Tuckett should himself accompany them to prevent the possibility of any future misunderstanding. And then commenced the second quarrel, which terminated in Mr. Symonds again leaving for Wellington with his friend Mr. Daniel Wakefield; for Mr. Tuckett held that as chief agent his presence at Koputai was important, and that Mr. Barnicoat was in every respect as equally competent to traverse the block with the Natives as himself. This seriously impeded negotiations—indeed, temporarily suspended them—to the loudly expressed dissatisfaction of the Natives, who were daily coming in in fresh numbers. Altogether there were eighteen boats drawn up on the beach, and not less than 150 Natives, who, according to their custom, being *mihanere*, or Christianized, assembled twice a day for religious service. Some were wild-looking fellows, decked with albatross down and feathers stuck in their nostrils. The difficulty was to get them to name a price for the land—a subject which afforded them a source of many a voluble and clamorous discussion. Taiaroa said he would take £1,200 for his share, another asked £2,000 for his, and Tuhawaiki modestly mentioned a million. Finally Mr. Tuckett succeeded in getting Tuhawaiki, Karetai, and Taiaroa to sign a memorandum binding them to sell the whole country from Otago to the Molyneux, with the exception of certain reserves for themselves, and as shown in this map of his, for the sum of £2,400. This was signed on the 20th June, and Mr. Tuckett engaged that payment was to be made a month from that date, and, further, that if the money were not then forthcoming he would move from the ground. He concluded

that this period was ample to bring all negotiations to a final issue, and accordingly waited until some further Government official should be sent down from Wellington with whom he could more amicably act. He was thus left almost alone on the beach of Koputai. His recent companions returned to Wellington in the "Deborah," and the Natives, knowing that their presence would not be required for a month, departed in boat-loads to visit their friends at various points of the coast.

After a six-days passage, inclusive of a detention at Waikouaiti for the purpose of taking in whale-oil, the "Deborah" reached Wellington on the 29th June. Mr. Symonds again laid his complaints before the Government, and after some correspondence between them Colonel Wakefield decided to go down himself to Otago.

He was accompanied by Mr. Spain, the Commissioner appointed to inquire into the land claims, and Mr. George Clarke, the Sub-Protector of Aborigines. Mr. Symonds, whose services and knowledge were indispensable, again formed one of the party. The "Deborah" was chartered at £90 a month, and sailed on the 7th July, arriving at her destination on the 15th, after a stormy passage. Colonel Wakefield was greatly pleased with the appearance of the harbour and surrounding country, and considered that Mr. Tuckett had made a most excellent selection. Accompanied by six Natives, he proceeded to inspect the boundaries of the land, with which he became increasingly satisfied. They proceeded no farther than a lofty hill in the neighbourhood of the Waihola Lake, from the top of which the Molyneux district could be descried. The perambulation occupied a week, and on the 26th July the party returned to Koputai.

Messrs. Symonds and Clarke at once prepared the deed of conveyance. By this time the Natives had arrived in full force; and a remarkable sight it must have been to see them, 150 in number, men, women, and children, mustered on the present site of Port Chalmers for the purpose of alienating their lands to the pakeha for ever. The whole matter was carefully explained, and sufficient time allowed them for their usual *korero*. They consented to the terms, and on the 31st July the deed was read to them. Mr. Clarke saying they had now only to receive the payment to complete the transaction for which they had assembled; that they were about to part with the land, with all growing on it or under it; that it would be gone from them and their children for ever; that they must respect the white man's land, and that the white man would not touch the land reserved for them. A little speech-making followed, and then Tuhawaiki first signed the deed, followed by Karetai, Taiaroa, and twenty-two others of the Ngatitahu Tribe of New Zealand. It was witnessed by Messrs. Symonds, Tuckett, Clarke, and Scott. This Otago Block contains 400,000 acres, and

extends from Taiaroa Head down the coast to Tokata Point, or the Nuggets ; then inland in north-westerly and northerly direction, having for its boundaries the crest of the Kaihiku Range, of the Maungaatua, of the Waikari, or Flagstaff, and, lastly, of the Mihiwaka Range, dropping down to the sea-level again at Heyward's Point, at the mouth of the harbour, and opposite Taiaroa Head. The sum paid for this was £2,400, equal to about three-halfpence an acre. The northern portion, extending from the Otago Heads to the Taieri, belonged to Tuhawaiki, Taiaroa, and Karetai ; the portion from the Taieri to the Molyneux, to Tuhawaiki and the members of his tribe.

The final act was that of payment, and this was accomplished in the most orderly and satisfactory manner. This time no blankets, pipes, or tomahawks formed any part of the *quid pro quo* ; it consisted of bank-notes, gold, and silver only. For his share, as the largest proprietor, Tuhawaiki received £900, together with £300 for division amongst his Taieri and Molyneux friends. Taiaroa and Karetai received £300 each, and the remaining £600 was divided amongst the other Otago Natives. An eye-witness tells me that Colonel Wakefield penetrated the bustling crowd in every direction, freely distributing half-crowns and shillings and even sixpences amongst the women and children. All were perfectly satisfied and in high good humour.

Any little difference or misunderstanding was ably adjusted by that clever Maori, Tuhawaiki. My informant says that the portion of this chief was devoted to the purchase and fitting-out of a little vessel with which to extend the trade which he already carried on. Bold and skilful sailor as he was, he lost his life soon afterwards whilst piloting his boat through a tempestuous sea. He was standing at the steer-oar when a tremendous wave struck it so as to knock him overboard, and no effort availed to save him from his watery grave. So perished John Tuhawaiki, or " Bloody Jack," esteemed and liked by both pakeha and Maori for his intelligence, courage, and justice. I wish it were possible to say that the remainder of the purchase-money was expended in a similar judicious manner.

Then the *lapu* was removed by carrying away the bones of a chief interred there and burning down his whare ; the Union Jack was unfurled ; and thus at Koputai was the Otago Block made over to those who now dwell therein. The Natives turned their boats homewards, Colonel Wakefield and his party returned to Wellington, and again was Mr. Tuckett left almost alone to prepare his plan of future operations, and to await the arrival of the staff who should commence the survey.

After the completion of the survey of these 400,000 acres Colonel Wakefield undertook to select from them his 150,000 acres, being the quantity whose pre-emption by the Crown had been waived

in favour of the company by Captain Fitzroy. Mr. Symonds had sanctioned the extension of the limits to the larger quantity in the first instance in order that the most available land might be included and that there might be no difficulty about boundaries. When this selection had been made the Crown grant was to be issued, and there was an understanding that if Colonel Wakefield desired still more land he was to have it. This was the origin of the depasturage licenses.

At Wellington and Nelson rumours were in the air that the company's credit had gone, that its funds were exhausted, and that a full stop would be put to all its operations in the colony. But it was evident that Colonel Wakefield, the company's agent, knew nothing of these, for on his arrival at Nelson he stated that the Otago survey contracts were to be entered upon immediately. Accordingly Mr. Barnicoat and Mr. Bridge engaged ten men, at wages of £1 5s. per week each, with rations, took provisions for twenty weeks, and chartered the little schooner "Carbon," of 20 tons, to take them to Otago. They started on the 25th August in this abominable little boat, which was blown backwards and forwards, into and out of Cook Strait, seeking shelter here and shelter there, until on the 4th September, ten days after starting, the buffeted passengers found themselves no nearer Otago than Port Nicholson. Here they determined to go ashore, learn the news, and then proceed. A fortunate resolve for them, as now they learnt that vague rumours had developed into undoubted facts. An English vessel, the "Raymond," had just arrived, confirming the worst suspicions. Colonel Wakefield's despatches enjoined him to discharge all workmen, to reduce expenditure to the utmost, and to enter into no fresh obligations—notably those of New Edinburgh. Word of this was at once sent to Nelson, and arrived just in time to prevent the sailing of the "Deborah" for Otago, loaded with goods and provisions and a large survey staff. And as the gloomy pall of a cruel disappointment had descended upon the anxious expectants on the other side of the globe, extinguishing their cherished hopes, so here did it abruptly terminate those labours begun and continued with so much activity and success.

## CHAPTER IX.\*

Severe Trials for the Colonists—Period of Stagnation—The Pioneers of 1845—First Birth in Dunedin—A Free Church Scheme decided on—Public Meeting at Glasgow—Formation of Lay Association—Debate in Parliament—Victory of Company—They make Terms—A Pamphlet—Mr. Burns forced to accept Clerical Duty—Resumption of Surveys—Mr. C. H. Kettle—The Settlement surveyed—Dunedin described—Nomenclature—Surveys completed and Settlers awaited.

As is well known, the early history of this country is inseparably bound up with that of the New Zealand Company, whose short existence of ten or twelve years was one of almost incessant conflict with the Colonial Office. With varying success were its battles fought. Like the widening circles of a pebble thrown into a pool did the reverses of the company affect with far-spread embrace all who were connected with it, and so it happened that these calamitous despatches from England caused great distress throughout the sparse population of New Zealand. It seemed that Fortune had for ever averted her face. In Nelson alone three hundred men, mostly fathers of families, were by this crisis thrown out of work. Meetings were held and subscriptions raised for the destitute, who in numerous instances were absolutely without food. Those best off—landowners, merchants, and the few farmers—offered employment at 10s. per week, as much as circumstances would then allow. Yet very few were found to accept the offer, though temporary and charitably meant. As in later days, most of the unemployed appealed for work to the Government, or, rather, the Governor, whose arrival on a visit was daily expected. For this they preferred to wait, trusting that some public works would be installed for their special benefit. Two men who had stolen and killed a cow for food were sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. Many, saying that New Zealand was ruined and bankrupt, shook its dirt from their feet and fled to other fields.

All this took place forty-three years ago, and though a digression not only gives a little glimpse of past history, but exhibits points in common with our present, yet such was, and is, the elasticity and attractiveness of the colony that before two or three years had elapsed a steady flow of capital and population again set in towards its shores. Since those days its forward progress, though too often interrupted, has been undoubted, and, though the colony has had periods of recession, there were at all times displayed by the settlers the qualities of faith, courage, self-reliance, economy, and the determination to place the sacred trust of government in the hands of able and conscientious men.

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Mr. Tuckett's nephew and executor, whom I have been so fortunate as to discover and correspond with, has in the most obliging manner forwarded me a valuable collection of his uncle's old maps, tracings, letters, &c., dating from 1841 to 1847, and forming quite a mine of old New Zealand information. In addition to the information primarily given of Mr. Tuckett, I have but to add that after his return to England in 1847 he resided in London, where he took a lively interest in many philanthropic and religious objects, especially in matters connected with the aborigines. To the last he retained a keen solicitude for the things pertaining to New Zealand, where he had spent the most stirring years of his life. He died in April, 1876, in his seventieth year, after a few days' illness resulting from a neglected cold.

And now to return to Mr. Davison, who found himself in December, 1844, left alone on the solitary beach of Koputai with no other occupation than to take charge of the New Zealand Company's stores and patiently to await that disentanglement of affairs which should bring fresh activity. He dwelt in the meagre little cottage built of the bricks brought down by Mr. Tuckett in the "Deborah" from Nelson. This was situated close by the water's edge, and almost on the site of the present Telegraph Office. Adjoining was another small hut, wherein were kept his stores, surveying instruments, and other requisites. With the exception of the whalers' cottages at the Heads and at other stations, these were the first erections in the Otago Block. But Mr. Davison was not long destined to lead a hermit's life, nor, Crusoe-like, to remain monarch of all he surveyed. The fame of the new settlement, *in nubibus* it is true, but whose foundations were to be laid with so much more care than had ever before been displayed, had reached the disconsolate settlers elsewhere, who, like Mr. Micawber, had long waited for something to turn up. On the 30th December the schooner "Ann and Sarah," Captain Sinclair, dropped anchor at Koputai after a three-weeks passage from Nelson by way of Wellington. On board were two families connected by marriage who hoped that by being early on the spot they might anticipate that flood that should lead them on to fortune. They were Mr. James Anderson, his son John and John's wife, and Alexander McKay and his wife. To them must be accorded the honour of being the first *bona fide* pioneers of the new settlement, for their descendants and connections on the Taieri Plains and elsewhere form a goodly throng.

Finding upon their arrival that the tide was not in flood, and that there was no prospect of immediate employment, yet having youth and strength and faith in the future, our pioneers determined to remain and encounter the certain hardships of the new condition. Alexander McKay decided to stay at Koputai in readiness to do business whenever the first vessels arrived, and it was he who opened

the first publichouse, dignified by the name of the "Port Chalmers Hotel." The Andersons circumnavigated the harbour, or the river as it was then called, and finally decided to pitch their tent in that pretty little inlet known after them as "Anderson's Bay." Here was a strip of clear land running from bay to ocean, with plenty of good bush in the vicinity. Upon this they hoped in the dim future to run a few sheep, and perhaps cattle. They built a house of rough-hewn wood and rushes upon a rising piece of ground overlooking the bay. For food they had plenty of wild pork, and potatoes and vegetables of their own growing; besides, they had brought from Nelson half a ton of flour. There was abundance of quail, which young Mrs. Anderson, who soon learnt to shoulder a gun, quickly brought to earth in true sportsmanlike fashion. Her sister down the river, not quite so advanced, was content to carry the game-bag for her husband and Mr. Davison when they chose to go a-pigeon-shooting. Time hung heavily on their hands, almost their sole occupation being gardening, fishing, and boating-trips. On these they frequently visited future Dunedin, then covered with scrub and generally uninviting, but alive with wild pigs and quail. Here dwelt two runaway sailors in a little hut by the side of Kaituna Creek, who lived on wild pork, and did business in it with the whalers at the Heads. These runaway sailors were their only friends, and with them they exchanged many a visit. But one day one of these poor fellows died, presumably from a surfeit of wild pork taken without bread, and then the spirits of the remaining three, never very bright, became deplorably wretched and depressed, and the future seemed immeasurably removed.

So passed a weary time of fourteen long months, when one bright summer morning in February of 1846 they saw with amazement and delight a fully manned whaleboat pulling swiftly up the silent harbour. In it was Mr. Kettle and a party of his surveying staff viewing for the first time the scene of their future labours.

Here may as well be completed this short chapter of our pioneers' story. John Anderson got immediate employment amongst the surveyors, and after erecting a small house, long afterwards occupied by Mr. Pelichet, brought his wife over to Dunedin. Here was born, on the 10th December, 1846, their son, the first child born in Dunedin. Old Mr. Anderson closed his eyes in his son's house in August, 1848, six months after the arrival of the first settlers. He sleeps in the old cemetery which will always overlook Anderson's Bay. But even a few months earlier than these came three or four others who sought to improve their fortunes in the new settlement. Mr. and Mrs. Lewthwaite, from Taranaki, came early in 1844, and to them also was born a son, the first at Koputai. With them came one Scott and three or four others; of these I can learn but little, and so merely record



the fact. Such is a short sketch of that period of stagnation intervening between Mr. Tuckett's selection of the block and the commencement of the survey upon it.

Let us now return to the Home-country, and see how that unhappy period was spent by those more deeply interested in the scheme. Despite the difficulties which gathered so thickly around, Messrs. Cargill and Burns clung, with all the tenacity of their countrymen, to the hope of its final success. As heretofore, the former remained in London, ever on the alert for any new phase, in constant communication with the directors, and correspondence with his friend, from whose letters he derived the stimulus of sympathy and support. Mr. Burns still resided at Monkton, and, though frequently pressed, persistently refused to accept any clerical appointment in the Free Church. Here he was indefatigable in bringing New Zealand under the notice of all with whom he came in contact, and in endeavouring to interest them in the scheme. And so the two, with Dr. Aldcorn, laboured on. Their courage was maintained by knowing that the directors were preparing a plan whereby to extricate themselves from the thousand troubles in which they were plunged. This was to take the shape of a powerful appeal to Parliament, and as their number included many members of Parliament and men of influence it seemed probable that the effort would be successful and that once more the clogged machinery would begin to move. But as matters then stood they were unable to fulfil any of their obligations and engagements. Hence the course suggested and determined upon was, if possible, to form a committee in Scotland, who should adopt and extend the scheme and again secure the company's co-operation in case of gaining the expected victory. To this task, one of no easy accomplishment, Mr. Burns and Dr. Aldcorn bent themselves with unflagging energy. Many circumstances militated against their success. The recent efforts at colonization were sneered at as failures, and the very word was held in derision. *The Times*—"The Thunderer"—had more than one damaging article on emigration companies, which had been reprinted in the Scotch papers. The news from New Zealand of Native outbreaks was discouraging; one widely circulated paragraph stated that some Akaroa settlers, belated on a hunting expedition, fell in with a party of Natives, by whom they were hospitably invited to dine. Amongst the viands were several human heads, recognized as those of the victims massacred at the Wairau. And then the unfriendly relations between the Government and the company were well known to be on the eve of developing into actual conflict. The method adopted by Dr. Aldcorn and Mr. Burns, though slow and inefficient, was the only one possible. It was to visit the ministers of various congregations far and near, explain to them the merits of the scheme, secure their support, and through them open communication with

their elders, deacons, and other likely persons. Consider the immense labour involved in all this. Incredible though it may seem, these gentlemen travelled throughout the length and breadth of Scotland from Kircudbright to Sutherland, from Aberdeen to Inverness. Many well-known clergymen gave the scheme their warm support and invited its exponents to propound it to their congregations. Amongst them may be mentioned Dr. McFarlane, Messrs. Candlish, Buchanan, Henderson, Paterson, Sym, Begg, and others but little less known. They were captivated with the project. Some viewed it as a great lay mission which might extend itself from New Zealand to the countless isles of the Pacific and thence to India and China: but afterwards Dr. Begg, little given to romancing, thought that the wealthy members of the Free Church should purchase the whole 150,000 acres of Otago Block at the company's valuation of £2 an acre, or should at least secure 20,000 acres forthwith, with right of purchase over the remainder within twenty-five years. This proposition was warmly seconded by so well-known a business man as Mr. William Johnston, of the firm of W. and A. K. Johnston, the eminent map-makers and engravers. The suggestions offered were various, but upon one point all were agreed, and this it would seem lent the scheme its special charm—that the movement should be a strictly Free Church one. Members of other Presbyterian sects who might perchance apply for enrolment should be refused. The accusation of narrowness, exclusiveness, or sectarian bigotry could be sufficiently replied to by saying, "We are not exclusive; we are only special: we only wish to secure for our little community the very delightful privilege of internal harmony and Christian unity as far as we can. We by no means wish to exclude you from the same privileges we are in quest of. Go ye and do as we are doing; form for yourselves a United Secession, or an Establishment, or any other form of independent class settlement. In such capacity we will hail you as neighbours, and will sympathize with and aid you as far as we can."

Many semi-private meetings were held in both Edinburgh and Glasgow, attended by an increasing number of clergy and laity. By these gentlemen the scheme was brought under the notice of the Free Church Colonial Committee, who were greatly impressed with it, and who promised favourably to report upon it at the General Assembly to be held at Edinburgh on the 29th May, 1845. Whilst thus according their countenance and warm support, the ministers nevertheless invariably refused to take part in any commercial details of the enterprise. They viewed it wholly from its religious and social aspect, as an opportunity of planting at the other end of the world a vigorous offshoot of their beloved Free Church, and considered that all business matters should be negotiated by business men. In this lay the germ of that valuable

body known as the Lay Association, so mainly instrumental in promoting the early settlement of Otago. An attempt was accordingly made to place the business in the hands of some broker skilled in companies, shares, and advertisements. But this was unsuccessful, and the best course then seemed to be to try and form a body or committee from among those laymen who had shown special interest in the movement. This task chiefly devolved upon Mr. Burns, who, despite its uncongenial character, devoted himself to it in such an incessant, unwearied way as to lay himself under no small degree of obloquy amongst his friends, who censured him for overstepping clerical duty, and accused him of having a selfish interest in the cause he so persistently advocated. These unjust impressions he was compelled to bear, bitterly feeling that if he withheld his hand all interest would cease.

Gradually this labour began to bring forth fruit, and on Friday, the 16th May, 1845, the first public meeting of laymen was held, at the Eagle Tavern, in Glasgow, "for the purpose," as was stated in the advertisement, "of considering the scheme of a Scotch settlement at Otago, New Zealand, in connection with the Free Church." The attendance was not overflowing, eleven persons only being present. These were Henry Dunlop, Esq., of Craighton; John Bain, Esq., of Morriston; William Campbell, Esq., of Tillichewan; John Blackie, Esq., J. G. Blackie, Esq., William Buchanan, Esq., and Allan Buchanan, Esq., merchants, of Glasgow; Matthew Whytlaw, Esq., Rothesay; Rev. Thomas Burns, of Monkton; Dr. Andrew Aldcorn, of Oban; and Captain Cargill, who had purposely come from London. Mr. Dunlop was called to the chair, and after briefly stating the object of the meeting called upon the Rev. Mr. Burns to speak. Mr. Burns narrated the history and present aspect of the enterprise. He was followed by Captain Cargill and Dr. Aldcorn, who gave further information, and offered various suggestions. Mr. Whytlaw, who had recently returned from a residence at the Bay of Islands, gave a very glowing account of the country and of its unrivalled excellence. A general conversation then ensued, in which it was suggested by Mr. Campbell, of Tillichewan, that as a means of at once and easily starting the enterprise 20,000 acres should be disposed of in various portions in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and other principal towns in Scotland. It was then resolved—First: That this meeting should form itself into an association, with such other members of the Free Church of Scotland as shall unite with them, for promoting the necessary sales of land and of otherwise carrying into execution the Scotch settlement of Otago (New Edinburgh) upon the principles stated in Mr. Cargill's letter to the Rev. Thomas Burns, of date 20th March, 1845. Second: That this meeting considers the facilities offered by the New Zealand Company for the formation of class settlements to be a great public boon, and calculated to give a

new and elevated tone to British colonization; and if only responded to by the Churches at Home that it must have the effect of carrying the best specimens of religion and civilization into the dark places of the earth, and of combining the benefits sought for by emigration with the diffusion of light and beneficence to universal many. Third: That the association will therefore use every effort amongst those of their own denomination who are desirous to emigrate for conveying the best of their people to the Free Church settlement of Otago. Fourth: That Dr. Aldcorn, of Oban, be requested to act as secretary to the association. Fifth: That these resolutions be communicated to the Colonial Committee of the Free Church, in order to the scheme being brought under the notice of the General Assembly. Sixth: That the secretary be requested to take all proper measures for circulating information through the members of Assembly when retiring to their several presbyteries and congregations throughout the country, and that thereafter an early meeting of the association be called either in Edinburgh or Glasgow with a view to further measures. Seventh: That the thanks of the association be expressed to Mr. Cargill for his persevering labours in this interesting cause, and his support of the excellent minister the Rev. Thomas Burns, of Monkton, who has been appointed by the company; and that an early opportunity be taken to convey to the company their confidence and satisfaction as regards the position of Mr. Cargill, and which he is so well calculated to occupy.

No excuse is necessary for recording these particulars so minutely. They record the first official appearance and deeds of that body whose labours will be ever associated with the early history of the southern part of New Zealand, and whose recommendations were justly valued and adopted by the British Government whilst framing for the colonies that Constitution Act which they are now supposed to enjoy.

About the end of 1853, after eight years' existence, this valuable association brought its functions to a close. With the successful floating of the Otago Settlement and a watchful solicitude for its first few years of existence its purpose was accomplished. Gradually the number of members swelled from the first modest eleven to fifty, and included men of the highest social rank in Scotland. It is a source of regret that the minute-books and records, which must have contained much interesting historical detail, have never been found. During a visit to the Home-country I instituted an unsuccessful search for them, and numerous inquiries have been made since. It does not seem probable that much business was transacted at the earlier meetings of the association; indeed, it could not well have been otherwise, seeing that the differences between the Government and the company were unsettled, and so long as this was the case the association was power-

less and little more than a name; nor, for the same reason, was the approval of the General Assembly of more value. This was granted on the 3rd June, when that body was sitting in solemn conclave. For the second time it approved of the report of the Colonial Committee, and desired to countenance and encourage the association in its efforts to establish the Scotch colony on a special religious and educational basis.

Still, all felt that no real progress could be made until the result of the coming struggle was known. Mr. Burns seems to have been very disconsolate concerning this result. His family was large, his income diminishing; for two years, and since the Disruption, he had held aloof from any clerical charge, to the annoyance of many of his best friends, and he now began to feel that the only relief for his overstrained anxiety was to go to some distant colony or to accept a congregation at home. But relief was nearer than he imagined, and brought fresh life and impulse to the cause, which hitherto had dragged along most wearily. For after many smart skirmishes in Parliament between the Government and the powerful adherents of the company the disputants came to open rupture. The debate was a very memorable one indeed, occupying the House for three whole nights and all but resulting in the defeat of Sir Robert Peel's Government, through the tactics of the Colonial Secretary, Lord Stanley. Many of the great politicians and speakers of the day took part in it—Sir Robert Peel, Lord John Russell, Sir James Graham, and Earl Grey, then Lord Howick. But the "Rupert of debate" was Mr. Charles Buller, member for Liskeard. He threw down the gauntlet in a speech masterly and full of fire. The state of New Zealand and the case of the New Zealand Company was eloquently put before the House, to whom he laid bare the long course of misrule, opposition, and obstinacy exhibited by the Colonial Office in their dealings with the colony. By it the unfortunate settlers had been rendered prostrate and helpless—nay, their very lives endangered—by a threatened Native outbreak. As it progressed the complainants' case gathered fresh strength, and towards its close, as though still further to intensify the position, the alarming news reached England of the destruction of Kororareka by Hone Heke. Ministers, conscious that censure was imminent and their position perilous, skilfully converted the question before the House into one of party rather than one to be decided upon its merits. Sir Robert Peel was conciliatory, and promised concessions on behalf of his colleague Lord Derby, who from his seat amongst the Peers was precluded from taking part in the debate. It soon became evident that the contending parties would effect a compromise, and it was therefore no great wonder that when the House divided the Government should win, though, under the circumstances, by a narrow majority of fifty-one. The voting was 223 against 172. Virtually

this was a victory for the company, who lost no time in strengthening the position thus gained.

Invited by the Government to specify their requirements, they proceeded on the basis that all their misfortunes, losses, and broken engagements had been caused by the persistent opposition of the Colonial Office. They therefore requested, in the first place, a loan of £150,000 for seven years, which was to be repaid by yearly instalments out of the proceeds of their land sales. This, of course, involved permission to resume these land sales. The loan was to be guaranteed upon the value of the lands which they had already sold, to which they had always laid claim and which were now to be secured them beyond any further dispute. With this sum they proposed to pay off all outstanding claims, to reorganize an efficient surveying staff so as to carry out their arrangements regarding the Otago Settlement and the one projected at the Wairarapa for the Church of England, and generally to place their establishments in a state of efficiency. Lord Derby opened his eyes a little widely at certain of the requests, notably that for the loan. But conditions were now reversed. The company were polite yet insistent, so Lord Derby, with well-assumed good grace, yielded an almost entire acquiescence. The loan, however, was reduced to £100,000. Respecting the Otago Settlement, Lord Derby promised to instruct the Governor without delay to make to the company an unconditional grant of the 400,000 acres contained in the block, the company engaging to select the 150,000 acres proposed, or any further quantity required, and to reconvey the remainder to the Crown. These negotiations were completed in September, 1845, and once again did all concerned breathe freely, and with renewed vigour resume their suspended work.

It was decided that some sort of pamphlet should be prepared bearing on the project, and circulated far and near. At this time an able article, and one which attracted great attention, appeared in the first number of the *British Quarterly Review*. It was from the pen of the celebrated Dr. Vaughan, and was devoted to the Pilgrim Fathers. A parallelism appeared to exist between their own movement and that great one of two centuries before, and a well-written appeal on this foundation seemed most likely to effect the purpose. With this view application was made to Hugh Miller, of world-wide fame, the geologist, and editor of the *Witness*, to undertake the literary task. But notwithstanding that considerable influence was brought to bear he refused. He had a bias against emigration, or at least against the mode in which it was conducted. The aid of other *littérateurs* was sought, but with like result. Finally the duty was remitted to Dr. Aldcorn, who performed it with ability and judgment. This interesting pamphlet was published at the *Scottish Guardian* office in December of 1845, and contained fifty-two pages, with two maps, one of these being

a reduction of Mr. Tuckett's original. It forms the first of a long series of publications relating to Otago, and shows the immense advantages that would accrue to any person investing money in the undertaking, especially if they could be induced to emigrate to that most inviting part of New Zealand.

Armed with many hundreds of these pamphlets, Messrs. Aldcorn and Burns, like friars of old, resumed their journeyings into the highways and byways of Scotland, distributing as they went along, and seeking to draw men after them. In this way they travelled hundreds of miles, receiving as they went cordial assistance from the presbyteries. But, pipe as they might, the people would not dance, and after six months of this disheartening work, the two were obliged to confess that they had laboured in vain. Still, the bread had been cast upon the waters.

Unable to do or to endure more, for his finances were well-nigh exhausted, Mr. Burns now decided to seek occupation in the Church, and he was with little delay inducted to the charge of a congregation at Portobello, a few miles from Edinburgh. He entered upon his new duties in July, 1846, with, we may be sure, many a feeling of regret and chagrin. When reviewing to a friend the curious history of the Otago scheme during the preceding three years he may very well be excused for saying that Satan and his servants seemed to have caused its failure. In nowise did Mr. Burns cease to cherish and fortify his coadjutors. As heretofore, he kept up with them a constant correspondence, and held himself prepared at any time to relinquish his new sphere of labour.

It may seem to us curious that so little success should have attended the arduous efforts of these labourers when the difficulties previously besetting the path had been swept away. But at this time a persistent fatality seemed to brood over everything connected with New Zealand. No sooner did the sky clear up in one quarter than it became overcast in another. Every vessel brought news of Hone Heke's war, and of the likelihood that the whole colony would become involved in the quarrel. And so New Zealand fell into still deeper disfavour as a field for emigration, and Mr. Burns's candid friends lost no opportunity of cynically congratulating him on a fortunate escape from a quixotic enterprise. Captain Cargill remained at his post in London with wonderful tenacity, patiently waiting for favourable news, in constant communication with the directors and with his friends in Scotland, watching any new developments—always hoping.

Having thus brought these matters down to the latter half of 1845, let us leave our friends, return to New Zealand, and there treat of that very interesting part of our subject connected with the survey of the Otago Block.

Almost the first movement in the resumption of operations by the company consequent upon Lord Derby's concessions was in

this direction. With it is associated the name of the late Mr. Charles Henry Kettle. This gentleman had the charge and control of the first survey in Dunedin. He was one of the earliest of the company's settlers in Wellington, and one of that small band of explorers who penetrated into the unknown country lying beyond the outposts of that district, itself but just rescued from the primeval forest. Mr. Kettle was born in 1820, at Sandwich, near Dover, in Kent. For four years and a half he held the post of assistant teacher, chiefly mathematical, at the Queen's Grammar School in Faversham, under Mr. John Dean. In September, 1839, he sailed for New Zealand in the barque "Oriental," the first emigrant-vessel despatched by the company, arriving at Port Nicholson in January, 1840. Upon their arrival three of his fellow-passengers—Messrs. Petre, Molesworth, and Hopper—entered into partnership under the title of "Messrs. Hopper and Co." They seem to have dealt in everything, from blankets to pickles, and to have conducted a millwright's and engineering business as well as their store next the Native pa, Britannia, by the Hutt River. To this enterprising firm Mr. Kettle became clerk, and in this capacity commenced his colonial career. It is, too, probable that the first two named gentlemen knew little of mercantile business, for the firm came to an untimely end upon the unfortunate death of Mr. Hopper, the principal partner. Thus cast upon his resources, Mr. Kettle succeeded in procuring employment under the company's chief surveyor, Captain William Mein Smith, his mathematical knowledge serving him in good stead and enabling him soon to gain a practical knowledge of surveying. His position of an assistant surveyor he retained for two years. During this time he assisted in the survey of Port Nicholson Harbour, Porirua Harbour, the Upper Hutt, and most of the rivers and bars in the neighbourhood. In the early part of 1842, accompanied by Mr. Alfred Wills, who was afterwards engaged with him at Otago, and a few men to carry provisions and baggage, he explored a considerable portion of the Rimutaka, Ruamahanga, Wairarapa, and Manawatu districts, which for the first time were thus trodden by a European foot. The party returned after great privations with scarcely a rag to their back and no food in their pouches, but in splendid health, and with a glowing description of the magnificent well-watered plains so suitable for extended settlements. A most interesting account of this expedition appeared in that earliest of all New Zealand papers, the *New Zealand Gazette*.

Survey operations having almost ceased, and gloomy stagnation beginning to descend upon the colony's young life, Mr. Kettle determined to return to the fatherland, and accordingly, in March, 1843, sailed for England *via* Valparaiso, in the well-known old brig "Brougham," arriving in August after a five-months passage. He brought home valuable letters of introduction to the company



from Colonel Wakefield, the agent, and from his quondam chief, Captain Smith, who strongly recommended him for future employment in any of the company's future prospective settlements. At first there seemed to be some probability of re-engagement in this way, for at this time Mr. Rennie was initiating his New Edinburgh schemes, and with this gentleman Mr. Kettle paid a visit to Edinburgh, gaining a knowledge of localities and street nomenclature afterwards reproduced in our modern Athens of the south. In 1844 he gave very important evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the state of New Zealand. But, as we have seen, adverse circumstances befell the company, and Mr. Kettle was obliged to look for occupation elsewhere. He was an unsuccessful candidate for the post of mathematical master to the Royal Naval School at Deptford. This was early in 1845. As we have also seen, it was in this year that the fortunes of the company revived, and one of the first advantages taken of their concessions was to prosecute the New Edinburgh survey. Now came Mr. Kettle's opportunity. He was engaged for a term of three years to act as assistant surveyor and civil engineer to the company at a salary of £400 a year, with 5s. a day allowance, nearly equivalent to £500 a year, this arrangement to commence from the date of his arrival in Wellington and of his receiving there the specific instructions of the agent, Colonel Wakefield. No time was lost. The deed of agreement was signed on the 11th September, and on the same day the barque "Mary Catherine," Captain Howlett, with Mr. Kettle and his bride on board, sailed from London docks, arriving in Wellington, *via* Nelson, on the 2nd February. "*Via* Nelson," for in those days, and for years after, so few and far between were the visits of Home vessels as to make it expedient that they should call at all ports in succession. And so it often happened that emigrants consumed in travelling along the coast of New Zealand to their point of destination as many weeks, or even months, as had been previously occupied in the voyage from England.

As there was no opportunity of transshipping to Otago, the "Mary Catherine" was chartered for that port at the large sum of £150, and after a four-days passage she reached her destination on the 23rd February. Entering the Heads an accident befell her which might have proved serious. The wind suddenly falling, the ebb tide carried her towards the sandspit, causing her to bump and take the ground. Hawsers and kedge anchors were put out, and with the flood tide she floated off uninjured into deep water. The following morning Mr. Davison went on board and welcomed his new chief. By the evening the whole party and their baggage were landed. On the 3rd of March, 1847, the comparative darkness of Mr. and Mrs. Kettle's solitude was lightened up by the advent of a little daughter, the second child born in Dunedin, and the first girl.

At the close of the company's career in 1851 Mr. Kettle received the appointment of Government Surveyor and Registrar of Deeds. These posts he held for three years, when he engaged in pastoral pursuits in the Kaihiku district. In 1860 he returned to Dunedin, and was elected to the House of Representatives as member for Bruce. He took a warm interest in many social and religious matters, especially in Sunday schools. Of the Young Men's Christian Association he was both president and a founder.

Due to the sudden influx of a large population at the time of the great goldfields outbreak, and to the absence of sufficient sanitary provision, that dreaded visitant, typhoid fever, made its appearance. Amongst its numerous victims was Mr. Kettle, who died at Littlebourne on the 5th June, 1862, at the early age of forty-two, full of honour, but not, unfortunately, of years.

And now for a short account of the surveys. Before proceeding to Otago and during his fortnight's stay in Wellington Mr. Kettle initiated his plans. An advertisement appeared in the *New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian* stating that tenders were required from surveyors for the survey of over 100,000 acres of land, chiefly wooded, at New Edinburgh, at prices per acre, per 10-acre sections, and per 50-acre sections. Particulars were to be ascertained from the chief surveyor at Otakou, to whom tenders were to be delivered by the 30th March. At the same time he engaged labourers for the staff, twenty-five in number. These agreed to work for a term of three months certain from date of arrival at 14s. a week wages and weekly rations, which were 10 lb. of pork, 10 lb. of flour, 1½ lb. sugar, and ¼ lb. of tea. All these labourers and several surveyors sailed down to Otago in the "Mary Catherine." As will be readily imagined, the accommodation at Otago was of the scantiest. The cottage erected by Mr. Tuckett contained three small rooms built side by side; the end ones were occupied by Mr. Kettle and his wife and by Mr. Park and his wife. Mr. Park was the only other married surveyor. The central one was afterwards used for meals, but at first these were prepared at Alexander McKay's whare. The surveyors, all young men, slept where and as best they could, principally on the floor of the building in which the stores were kept or in tents; and, as it was summer weather, there was no great hardship in this. With the New Zealand Company the survey department was naturally one of the first importance; situations in it were eagerly sought after, and were chiefly filled by the directors from amongst their friends' sons—gentlemanly young fellows with a liking for adventure. They were called by the odd name of "improvers," and discharged their duties under the control and direction of the chief or assistant surveyors.

Upon his arrival at Koputai Mr. Kettle proceeded at once with his multifarious labours. The survey of the port town was first

commenced, and soundings of the harbour taken, with a view to buoying it for navigation. Mr. Davison had occupied the time during his long and compulsory residence at Koputai by making a very accurate survey of the harbour coast-line. Matters being thus put in train, Mr. Kettle started on a journey through the interior not only to form an opinion as to the best mode of survey, but for the purpose of partitioning it into suitable blocks for the contracts, and of selecting sites for future towns and villages. This journey, which was performed on foot, and which extended to the Nuggets, a few miles south of the mouth of the Molyneux, occupied him the surprisingly short time of but ten days. The route taken was much the same as that of Mr. Tuckett, being on the east side of the Taieri Plain, by the side of the Waihola Lake, through the Tokomairiro district, on to Kaitangata and the Molyneux. Immediately upon Mr. Kettle's return specifications were drawn up for letting the various survey contracts. These were five in number, exclusive of town surveys. The specifications of the various contracts were, of course, drawn by Mr. Kettle after returning from his tour. They were tendered for and accepted by the 30th April. The price asked varied according to the nature of the land to be surveyed, whether clear and open, or hilly and wooded. Thus for 50-acre sections the price ranged from 8d. to 1s. 9d. per acre, and extra cutting ranged from 3d. per chain linear in open country to 1s. 6d. through bush. Mr. Scroggs did much of the work on the Taieri Plains, and his name is still associated in that district with Scroggs's Hill and Scroggs's Creek, this latter small tributary of the Taieri River bearing the Native name of the Owhiro. Mr. Abbott took charge of the Kaikorai district, from the mouth of that river: his name appears in Abbott's Hill and Abbottsford. These two were in partnership. To Mr. Drake's lot fell the Waihola, Waipori, north side of the Taieri, to the sea-coast, and Tokomairiro. Messrs. Wylie and Jollie, in partnership, had perhaps the largest contract, in the extensive Molyneux district—along the coast-line to the Nuggets, up the Clutha River, Inch-Clutha, Kaihiku, Puerua, Waiwera, and Ohaira. Captain Thomas and his partner, Harrison, were also engaged in the same districts surveying up the river, then north by Kaitangata towards Tokomairiro. Mr. Charlton had Anderson's Bay, Kaikai Point, East Sawyer's Bay, and Cape Saunders. Mr. Pelichet came to Otago in November, 1847—some-what late. He acted principally as Mr. Kettle's assistant. By him were laid out the sections of the Upper Harbour on both east and west sides. Mr. Davison, whilst on the expedition with Mr. Tuckett in 1844, took rough surveys of Waikouaiti, the Otago Heads and Harbour, the Molyneux and New Rivers. After Mr. Kettle's arrival he seems to have been engaged in general duties, inspecting, drawing in the office, and doing local surveys—the line from Koputai to Dunedin, for instance, Portobello, Tomahawk

Valley, and the coast between these points where lie Wickliffe Bay and Hooper's Inlet.

From these various headquarters of the survey—called stations—a letter would every now and then arrive at Otakou addressed to Mr. Kettle stating that the writer had completed so-many hundred or thousand acres of his contract and would be obliged by a very early inspection. "For," he would add, "I have an important bill to meet at Wellington, and must have the money." So down to the spot would proceed either Mr. Kettle or one of his friends—Park or Davison—do the needful inspection, and relieve the young cadet's anxiety for that time and until his next bill was coming due.

The provisions for the distant stations at the Taieri or the Molyneux were conveyed by whaleboat as far up these rivers as practicable, and were then "humped," as it was called, over the remaining land portion of the journey. Not unfrequently it happened that the sea was rough or the wind dead ahead for days together, so that the expected supplies never arrived, and the party was almost reduced to starvation. In such cases there was nothing for it but to break up camp and walk to Otakou. But this outdoor life was very pleasant and healthful, and, besides, was well paid at the rates before mentioned. Poor Mr. Scroggs and his companions had probably the worst of it, surveying as they did for hours together up to the middle in the Taieri swamps.

The Town of Dunedin was laid out by Mr. Park, and its topographical features rendered this no easy task. All must allow that it has been accomplished successfully and to good advantage. When Mr. Park first planted his theodolite on those wild hills we may be sure that the best mode of taming and making them subservient to the foot of man was a subject of anxious discussion between himself and his chief. Let us in imagination go back forty-two years to that bright February morning when for the first time the splash of the surveyors' oars broke the primeval stillness of this harbour. How perfectly lovely must the scenery have appeared before the sloping hillsides had been robbed of the evergreen forests in which they were dressed from summit to waterside! As the boat speeds round the various points flocks of seagulls or cormorants rise startled at the unwonted intrusion. At length a quick bend rapidly discloses a panoramic view of the desired haven. To the left is a long range of sandhills but just shutting out a glimpse of the ocean beyond. Directly in front and towards which they tend is the high range of the Waikari, descending by many a spur and with many an intervening gully to the upper waters of the harbour. As nearer still they approach it is seen that extensive mudflats or an indented low-lying shore, but steep, debar their landing except in one place, where the little Kaituna Creek finds its outlet. Here they step ashore amidst

high flax and fern and swampy ground. But 200 or 300 yards beyond them begins the irregular fringe of native bush, principally broadleaf, *Fuchsia*, *Pittosporum*, and tangled supplejack; beyond this again rise the lofty pines and other forest giants. They find themselves in a sort of low lap or hollow, through which the creek meanders, and formed on the right by a steepish ascent perhaps 150 ft. in height, and in front and on the left by a gentler ascent. The right one climbed, a magnificent view unfolds itself. Trending north and north-east a widespread level lies below them, covered with flax and cabbage-trees, toetoe grass, and Maori-heads, and intersected with sinuous sluggish watercourses. Into this flat descends a great semicircle of forest-clad spurs, all sloping from the high summit of the Waikari or the triple-crowned Kapukataumahaka. From amongst the most distant of these emerges a pretty winding river—the Matau Kareao—glittering amidst the trees which fringe its margins. Away to the south are the blue sea, the sandhills, another extensive swamp whose stretch is only limited by other great spurs, and that little bay where dwelt the sole occupants of these waters, who saw on that bright morning with wonder and delight the long-looked-for surveyors' boat. The whole scene is one of solemn grandeur and silent beauty. Of these it is now to be despoiled, and its place usurped by the noise and smoke of human habitations. For many years after settlement the little creek ran its course unmolested. This was down Maclaggan Street; it then bent towards the Arcade, ran down the back of Rattray Street, and emerged, where now stands the Grand Hotel, into Princes Street, which it crossed, and opened into the harbour by Water Street. Its name was Kaituna, for it abounded in eels.

It will here be convenient to give some account of the nomenclature of the Dunedin streets and other places. And first as regards the word "Otago," now appropriated to the whole of this block, but strictly applied by the Maoris to that small portion of it now known as Taiaroa Head, whereon the lighthouse is built. Strictly speaking, it should be "Otakou," meaning "red earth"—ochre—wherewith the Maoris painted their canoes, and which is found in this neighbourhood; at least, such is the opinion of that well-known scholar Mr. C. O. Davis. The whalers, however, with their entire disregard for the niceties of Native pronunciation, preferred the "g" to the "k" sound, and in this way was it pronounced, so far as I have been able to trace, for the last sixty years. In Maori "g" is always associated with "n" in the nasal "ng," as in "ngaio." As the language was studied, a little refinement restored the primitive and correct name of "Otako" or "Otakou," which appears on the first plan of the New Zealand Company, dated 1847. As inconvenience followed the promiscuous use of the three appellations, the directors ordered a return to the old one

of "Otago"—another instance of custom overriding etymology. Portobello owes its name to one Christie, a Scotchman, a draper from Sydney, who in 1840 came down and settled there, giving to it the name of his birthplace. Previously it was called by the whalers "Limeburner's Bay," for there they burnt shells into lime for whitewashing their cottages. About 1825 a boat's crew under one Kelly, a well-known Hobart Town pilot, was engaged in taking off potatoes to their vessel. Kelly quarrelled with the chief Boginna—probably Pokeno would be correct—whereupon the Natives fell upon the crew, who, impeded by their heavy loads were all tomahawked. Then followed a fierce retaliation at the hands of their comrades, who had witnessed the occurrence from the vessel's deck. These blood-stained sands are now known as "Murdering Beach." Sawyer's Bay—and there were two of them, east and west—was named by the early whalers, who there procured their best timber for building huts or boats. Deborah Bay was so named from the fact that in 1844 the "Deborah," with Mr. Tuckett on board, anchored there. Below is Hamilton's Bay, named by Mr. Kettle after the Rev. J. Vesey Hamilton, a clergyman in Kent whose ministrations he attended as a youth. Mr. Hamilton's son afterwards came to New Zealand, and was Private Secretary to Governor Fitzroy. He died a few years ago in Canterbury. Still below is Dowling Bay, after Mr. Kettle's Edinburgh friend, a nephew of Mr. George Rennie. It was at first intended to christen the port town "New Leith," or "New Musselburgh," but better taste prevailed when the scheme was taken up in final earnest by the Lay Association, and after the great leader of the secession it was named "Port Chalmers." Its survey was completed by the middle of May, 1846, with as much skill as the irregular features of the land would allow. The first emigrant-vessels have their names embalmed in the streets—Wickliffe, Laing, Victory, Bernicia, Mary, Ajax, and Mr. Jones's little schooner "Scotia." Harington Street is after the secretary of the New Zealand Company. This gentleman is also commemorated in Harington Point, near the Heads. Currie, after one of the directors, who took considerable interest in the Otago scheme; Burns, after the minister; George and Grey, after the Governor, Sir George Grey. The association rightly attaching considerable importance to the farthest districts in the block, which contained splendid agricultural and pastoral land, with a large navigable river, gave it a name which they hoped would in the future prove attractive to Scotchmen. The Natives called the river "Matau" or "Waimatau"; Captain Cook called it "Molyneux," after his sailing-master, and now the association decided to call it the "Clutha," Gaelic for Glasgow's great river the Clyde. And when the town sprang up it was to be Balclutha, meaning the town on the Clutha. Inch-Clutha, that fertile island em-

braced by the Koau and Matau branches of the Molyneux, means the "Island of Clutha." Its Native name was Tauhinu; the whalers called it "Bloody Jack's Island," after the gentleman who was born there, Tuawhaiki, and who claimed it. But the principal part of this section of our subject is connected with Dunedin and its vicinity. Dunedin is the Gaelic word for Edinburgh. In laying out this, its southern namesake, Mr. Kettle was instructed to reproduce as far as lay within the surveyor's province the features of its northern sister. Hence, with very few exceptions indeed, the names of our streets are the same as those of Edinburgh or Leith. Of the twenty-one which form the exceptions, twelve are after persons. These are Cargill, Jones, Macandrew, Vogel, Filleul, and Lee—very early settlers, the latter appearing again in Lee Stream; Dowling, Smith, Russell—friends of Mr. Kettle. Under Mr. Smith both he and Mr. Park served at Wellington in 1840 as surveyors, and Mr. Russell was his companion whilst exploring the Wairarapa and Ruamahanga. Grant, after an old settler who lived on the site; Rattray, after Miss Rattray, relative of Fergusson and Pillans, of Inch-Clutha. Graham was named after Malcolm Graham, who had property in the neighbourhood. Of the remaining nine, most are self-explanatory or recent, or both—Belt, Bond, Gaol, Jetty, Police, Harbour Place, Serpentine Avenue, Vire, and Liverpool.

The surveys of the town were completed by the end of December, 1846. The highest point of the Waikari Range formed one of the earliest trig. stations, and since then has been known as "Flag-staff." To it, however, was originally given the name of "Mount Kettle," whilst the adjoining range of the Kapukataumahaka was called by the more pronounceable one of "Mount Cargill." Matau-Kareao was the Native name of the Water of Leith, its meaning relates to the abundance of supplejacks—kareao—which in those days interlaced so thickly on its banks; Water of Leith, of course, is Edinburgh's little river. Pelichet Bay derives its name from the surveyor to whom reference has already been made, and who lived in the only house in that locality, situated a little to the right of Hanover Street, and below the railway-crossing. It was afterwards occupied by Mr. Strode, the Magistrate, and later by Archdeacon Fenton, the first Anglican clergyman in Dunedin. Half-way Bush is an old name, and relates to its being at half the distance between the town and the head of the Taieri Plains, near the Silver Stream. When by the advance of settlement the wild pigs were driven inland the Half-way Bush formed a fine hunting-ground for them, and many a savoury supply of wild pork was brought thence. Though connected with days comparatively quite modern, I may as well here tell how Invercargill got its name. "Inver" means "a promontory or inlet on which a town is built." It was given in 1856 by Governor Gore Brown, who was a great name-giver. This was on the occasion of his first visit to Dunedin.

He was invited to a grand banquet at the old Royal Hotel, situated on the site of the Bank of New Zealand, and in his after-dinner speech he desired that the new town at the Bluff should be called after his friend Captain Cargill. He drew a pretty picture of what the two towns might be like in fifty years, and went so far as to suggest that perhaps stage-coaches might be running to and fro between them.

I fear these details may appear dry and tiresome, but it has always appeared to me a duty to rescue any unconsidered trifles from that rapid obliteration which is too often their fate in the ever-shifting scenes of a young colony. Besides, people are curious and like to know these things.

About the end of 1846, after a nine-months residence there, Mr. Kettle left Port Chalmers to take up his permanent abode at Dunedin. The wooden portion of his house, which had served him during this time as a kitchen, he, snail-like, towed behind him up the river, and had it erected on the spot depicted in this picture. Here it and its additions remained until crushed out by the great brick growth of the present Post Office buildings.

By the middle of 1847 the staff of surveyors had completed their labours throughout the block, and most of them returned to their homes in the more civilized parts of New Zealand. Everything was ready for the advent of the pioneers, but still they came not.

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## CHAPTER X.\*

Change of Government in England—Earl Grey gives Valuable Concessions—Renewed Activity—Division of Labour—"Terms of Purchase"—Meeting at Glasgow—Committees formed—Mr. John McGlashan—Dr. Aldcorn—The *Otago Journal*—Inquiry for Ships—The Ballot—The "John Wickliffe" and "Philip Laing"—Mr. Burns a Passenger—The Arrival—Captain Cargill's Address—Commodities and Wages—Choosing Sections—Church Property—The Dwellings—Arrival of State Officials—The *Otago News*.

IN the last chapter our chronicles were brought down, so far as Otago was concerned, to the earlier half of 1847. At that time the surveys were complete, the surveyors had returned to their distant homes, and Mr. Kettle rested with folded hands patiently awaiting the arrival of the pioneers, and wondering what new misfortunes could possibly have befallen them. But the occurrences in the Home-country were not chronicled to so late a date. Could Mr. Kettle have gained any knowledge of them his wonder would have ceased; but the facilities of our day were not his, and he was content to wait for half a year or more the slow solution of this and many another puzzle.

You will recollect that the great parliamentary debate in June of 1845 on the state of New Zealand was followed by the promise of all sorts of valuable concessions to the company. On that memorable occasion Ministers confessed their faults, excused their shortcomings, admitted that many of the charges against the Colonial Office had been well laid at its door, and promised amendment. It was agreed that without delay New Zealand should be admitted to all the advantages of representative government, and should no longer lie helpless under the rule of men who seemed to know little of its requirements, and to care less. And so with fresh life, hope, and vigour, the company again resumed their colonizing operations, the firstfruits being, as we have seen, the fulfilment of the Otago surveys. Alas! these were almost the sole fruits of so much promise. A year passed, and the directors found themselves the victims of unredeemed pledges, of promises kept to the ear but broken to the hope. "Put not your trust in princes and rulers" found in them another example. It was true that they had received and were expending a portion of the principal loan of £100,000, but this they complained was rather being frittered away than judiciously expended so long as the other portion of the compact remained unfulfilled.

In December of 1845, Mr. Gladstone, who was then a young man of thirty-six, took office in Sir Robert Peel's Government as Secretary for the Colonies, thus replacing Lord Stanley. To him

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\* Lecture delivered before the Otago Institute, 9th October, 1888.

forthwith the directors proceeded and continued their correspondence on pressing questions. Without doubt Mr. Gladstone was earnestly desirous of introducing measures that could ameliorate the conditions of New Zealand, and especially one conferring some form of self-government. With this desire he sought the views of Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield, who discussed the whole question in a lengthy and able letter. Mr. Wakefield contended that to the existent form of colonial government all disasters were attributable, and that so long as it continued, so long would disaster follow in its wake. He insisted that colonization and government should not be, as they were, antagonists, but handmaidens working in unison for the good of a youthful colony. He explained that the extensive experiences of the company had abundantly shown how all efforts of theirs must be futile whilst the settlers had no voice in the management of their own affairs. But here the matter virtually ended. Despite continuous efforts, nothing eventuated. It is true that at this time New Zealand affairs continued to be in a disorganized—nay, perilous—state, and there appeared to be every prospect of Hone Heke's war being followed by further Native outbreaks throughout the settlements. Under these circumstances, Mr. Gladstone professed himself unable to bring down any suitable and comprehensive measures until order was restored and until he could fully communicate with Captain Grey, the new Governor.

Time forbids us to enter into these interesting details and the history of the New Zealand Company at this time, except so far as they are viewed as hindrances to the fulfilment of the Otago scheme. The directors of the company professed their belief that beyond these apparent causes of delay they were again thwarted by the old opposition tactics of the Colonial Office. And so, wearied out by the protracted and painful struggle, they called a meeting of the shareholders at the end of May, 1846, at which they expressed their willingness and desire to give up the unequal fight, and to hand over to the Government all further management of their affairs. But the shareholders would not listen to this proposition. They sympathized with the directors in their troubles, expressed their entire confidence in them, and requested that they would a little longer carry on the warfare. A special circumstance of great moment no doubt determined this attitude; for in well-informed political circles it was considered that Sir Robert Peel's Government, which had existed for five years, was to suffer defeat in the great Corn Law debate then impending. Those interested in New Zealand affairs thought it probable that the successors to office would be more favourably disposed to the company. The result justified their anticipations, for on the 29th June Sir Robert Peel resigned, having obtained the repeal of the Corn Laws and the gratitude of a nation from that memorable day, but at the cost of losing the support of his Conservative friends, and consequently

of office. Lord John Russell now formed his new Ministry, Earl Grey accepting the post of Colonial Secretary.

It soon became evident that the action of the shareholders at their recent meeting was well justified. In place of covert opponents they now found warm friends. Without delay they addressed Earl Grey, and plainly stated that without countenance and substantial assistance they must bring their colonizing career to an abrupt close. They urged the absolute necessity of granting the colony some form of self-government, without which it was not possible to make further progress. The usual prolonged correspondence ensued, ending this time in a way highly satisfactory to the company. Earl Grey deplored the possibility of its dissolution, and viewed its continuance as being an instrument of great public good. Going further, he admitted that a claim had been established against his Government. An arrangement, taking effect from the 6th April, 1847, was made for three years. By this considerable powers were granted to the company with regard to the future disposal of lands, and a further sum of £136,000 was advanced for the purpose of enabling them to discharge existing liabilities and to resume colonization. It was stipulated that if at the end of this period of three years the company proved unable to continue operations the Government should step in, take all assets, and perform certain specified duties. Needless to say that the directors accepted this liberal proposal without a day's delay. Under it they struggled on—and it was never anything more than a struggle—for the stipulated time. Then they yielded up the ghost, surrendering their charter on the 6th April, 1850, after a most eventful and stormy existence of ten years, regretted, it is to be feared, by but few of those who had rested under the shadow of their wing.

With the way thus prepared, we proceed to the special subject we have in hand, no longer troubled with side-issues relating to the Government or the company. In good faith this time all obstacles have been overcome; the machinery is in uninterrupted motion, every one interested is astir, and a few months at most should and will see the pioneers entering into their possession. With the knowledge derived from past hard experience, the company departed from their former plans of colonization, and no longer attempted to conduct them single-handed. This time they called to their aid the Lay Association, of whose formation an account was given in the last lecture. Like a regiment long drawn up but inactive in a field of battle, this was now called to the front. The division of labour and the arrangements made between these two allies were as follows: From their business knowledge and conversance with all the details of colonization the company assumed the duties of purchasing and surveying the land, chartering vessels for the conveyance of emigrants, maintaining emigrants during the voyage, carrying out to the

settlement the stores necessary for their use, and erecting buildings, making roads, bridges, and any other public needful requirements. To the Lay Association was allotted the task of carrying out the scheme on their own Free Church principles. They were to promote the settlement; with them rested the selection of the free or assisted emigrants, and they were to decide as to the eligibility of persons desirous of becoming land-purchasers. In a word, both the source and the stream of emigration originated with them as from a fountain-head. This will give a general idea of the division of labour. The further special features of this settlement beyond its Free Church character relate to the manner in which the land was divided and sold, and to the apportionment of the money derived from such sale. The settlement comprised 144,600 acres, divided into 2,400 properties, as they were called. These properties were considered, both as regards acreage and the price charged, as being within the means of persons possessing little capital. Each consisted of  $60\frac{1}{4}$  acres: the quarter-acre was an allotment in the town, 10 acres constituted a suburban section outside the town limit, and the remaining 50 acres—large enough for a small farm—was situated at a considerably farther distance, quite out in the country. We may instance as suburban sections those in the North-east Valley, those on both sides of the harbour, and the localities where are now our outlying townships of Anderson's Bay, Roslyn, Kensington, and St Kilda, &c. The farms lay in the Taieri, Tokomairiro, and Molyneux districts. The price of each property was fixed at £120 10s., being exactly £2 an acre. This £2 was to be appropriated in the following way: 15s. for emigration and the supply of labour; 10s. for the civil uses of the company, such as surveys, making and maintaining roads and bridges, and other improvements; 5s. for religious and educational uses, to be administered by trustees; and the remaining 10s. to the company as reimbursement for their capital expended in various ways, and for the risk to which they were exposed. It may prove interesting to put this simple calculation in another way. Supposing, as indeed was expected, all these properties had sold, the magnificent sum of £289,200 would have been realized—£103,450 devoted to emigration, £72,300 for founding and maintaining the settlement, £36,150 for churches and schools, and £72,300 for the company. Unfortunately, such lofty expectations as these, like those of Alnaschar, were never realized. They were similar to the gold-mining ventures of recent years, where in the prospectus a sure and certain fortune is shown to await the lucky shareholder, who, however, too soon finds that he "never is but is always to be blest." So was it with the association. When six years later they ceased from their labours they found that their high ambition and golden dreams had but resulted in the settling of a struggling and not altogether contented community, only too

happy when occasion served to say or sing Mr. Walter Mantell's cynical clever doggerel, which may be termed "The Lay of the Disappointed":—

Roads and bridges and schools and churches  
 Were among the original terms of purchase.  
 Churches and schools and roads and bridges  
 Were promised as our most esteemed privileges.  
 But bridges and schools and churches and roads  
 Are sought for in vain near the settlers' abodes.  
 While those who *expect* churches, bridges, and schools,  
 Also roads, may be called very silly fools.

But this is anticipating. To the association—a body of philanthropic, energetic, unpaid men—let every praise be given; they dared, indeed, but could not command success. Of the 2,400 properties, 2,000 were allocated for sale to private individuals, 100 were to be purchased by the local municipal government, 100 by the trustees for religious and educational endowments, and 200 by the New Zealand Company. It was agreed that the company should allow the association a term of five years wherein to dispose of the 2,000 properties, and if at the end of this period any portion remained unsold the company should have the option of entering into possession and disposing of it in any way they chose. If, however, the association had succeeded in selling the lands they were entitled to apply for and deal with any portion of the remainder of the 400,000 acres within the Otago Block for the purpose of still further developing the settlement. These and other arrangements made between the company and the association were afterwards known as the "terms of purchase," and were entered into on the 14th May, 1847. Towards their fulfilment both parties lent their best energies. Arrangements for the despatch of the pioneer vessels were to be made immediately upon the sale of the first four hundred properties. Inspired by the promoters, most of the Scotch newspapers drew attention to the scheme in special articles. Captain Cargill had ever nursed his hankering to have it compared or likened to the great movement of the Pilgrim Fathers, and this he now proceeded to carry into effect by issuing a lengthy manifesto or letter to Dr. D. R. Aldcorn, the secretary, which was extensively circulated. A considerable part of this was composed by Mr. Burns. In it the advantages of the enterprise were pointed out, especially those relating to its educational and religious features. On the 10th August a public meeting was held in the Trades Hall, Glasgow, presided over by the Right Hon. Fox Maule, afterwards Lord Panmure. The attendance, if not large, was at least respectable, and the proceedings were fully reported in the *Scottish Guardian*, a paper having the largest circulation in Scotland. The advertisement of this meeting is of interest as showing pretty exactly the views of those who called it. It says, "Important information will be communicated and mea-

tures adopted for giving immediate effect to the enterprise. Members of the Free Church and all others who are interested for themselves or friends are invited to attend, the object being to introduce the system of colonization indicated by the recent measures of Her Majesty's Government; and whereby, in place of the random emigration that has prevailed, the people are to be accompanied with their valued institutions, and to present in each case a complete section of the Home society, with its social comforts and economic combinations of capital and labour. Those who can subscribe to, or participate in, the religious and educational institution of Otago will be received into its community with welcome, and those who may prefer to have a colony of their own will have an opportunity of informing themselves how that object may be attained. the means for doing so being equally open to all." The meeting was a very lengthy one and the speeches were of just such a character as we may conceive suitable to the occasion. An "Address to the People of Scotland" had been prepared, and this was submitted to the meeting, and it was resolved that it should be printed and circulated far and wide. This address, after giving a short account of the project and of the advantages and resources of New Zealand, earnestly appealed to all to come forward and avail themselves of the singular benefits laid before them. It was also resolved that, with the view of a summer voyage in the Southern Hemisphere, the month of October be named for the sailing of the first party. Another resolution appointed two committees of the association, each containing seven members, one at Edinburgh, the other at Glasgow—three forming a quorum. They had full powers to carry out the objects of the association, to call meetings of the association and of depositors, and to appoint members to act for the association in their several districts. The Edinburgh committee consisted of Sir James Forrest, Bart., afterwards selected chairman; Mr. Sheriff Spiers; Mr. Sheriff Monteith; Lieut.-Colonel George Cadell; Robert Cargill, Esq., W.S.; William Johnston, Esq.; and John McGlashan, Esq., secretary. The Glasgow committee consisted of Henry Dunlop, Esq., chairman; William Campbell; John Bain; William Brown, P.B.; Mure Macredie; William McFie, Esq.; and Dr. Aldcorn, secretary.

It will be observed that on this occasion and for the first time, appears the name of Mr. John McGlashan—a name which fully as much as any other will always be identified with the first settlement and earliest growth of this part of New Zealand. Mr. John McGlashan was born at Edinburgh in 1802, and was educated at the High School and University of that city. In 1824 he was admitted to practise as a solicitor of the Supreme Court of Scotland. He wrote several works on Scottish law, one of which was highly valued by his brethren, and passed through three editions. In 1847 he was appointed secretary to the Otago Association, a posi-

tion which he held for five years. It was during this time that he did signal service whilst the Bill granting a Constitution to New Zealand was under the consideration of the British Government. He was in daily communication with the Colonial Office and with members of Parliament who took special interest in the passing of the Bill. His suggestions and proposed alterations were considered so valuable as to ensure their almost entire adoption, and he received from the Colonial Office an official acknowledgment of the services he thus rendered. The duties of secretary to the Otago Association he discharged with incessant devotion and zeal. Whilst searching into the early history of Otago few things have struck me more forcibly than the evidences of Mr. McGlashan's untiring and valuable work; from his labours he never seemed to cease. Though others initiated and launched the scheme, it was to him mainly that its skilful after-guidance and progress were due. To the association his judgment and advice must have been invaluable; yet his name is barely known beyond the rapidly thinning circle of old identities, and to them his work is still less known. In 1853, when the functions of the association ceased, he emigrated with his family to that settlement which for so many years had received the advantages of his affection and energy. Here he was received with an ovation, all uniting to do him honour at a public banquet given at the old Royal Hotel, on the site of the present Bank of New Zealand. For many years Mr. McGlashan continued to hold in his new home positions of honour and trust as a member of the Provincial Government—Provincial Treasurer and Solicitor, and other minor offices. His latter years were sadly embittered by an attempt made to connect him with the mysterious disappearance of a large sum of public money. It is unnecessary to make further reference to the painful circumstances connected with this accusation, and which at the time created the greatest excitement, beyond saying that a recent re-examination of the matter does but confirm the opinion then and since held that no stain or suspicion rests on Mr. McGlashan's high character. He died on the 1st November, 1864, from concussion of the brain, caused by accidentally falling from his horse.

Dr. Aldcorn soon withdrew from the secretaryship which he had so long held, glad, no doubt, to yield its bare honours to his newly appointed coadjutor, whose duties had been almost honorary, and performed as a labour of love. For some time his health and eyesight had been failing—indeed, finally he became quite blind—and he was conscious that the new condition of affairs would make more demand upon him than he could meet with advantage and credit. As an old apostle of emigration, he became infected with the doctrines he had so long taught, and emigrated to Victoria, or "Port Phillip" as it was then called, where as an absentee proprietor he had for many years held a portion of land.

Mr. McGlashan now commenced his duties with great vigour. As showing how extensive were the efforts used to give publicity to the scheme, it may be mentioned that within little more than a year of commencing operations twelve thousand copies of the address at the Glasgow meeting were distributed, also ten thousand numbers of the *Otago Journal*. Hundreds of circulars were sent to bankers; one thousand advertisements to newspapers, others to magazines, reviews, and other publications; notices to every Scotch paper; innumerable printed slips were posted to likely persons, thousands of handbills were scattered about, and meetings were held in various parts of Scotland. As regards the *Otago Journal*, it may here be remarked that this interesting publication was the organ of the association, and that Mr. McGlashan was its editor. Eight numbers were issued, at 2d. a number, the first in January, 1848, the last in August, 1852. It contained a great deal of information valuable to the intending settler, and gave copious extracts from letters and other intelligence from those who had already emigrated.

On the 22nd September the company advertised that they would receive tenders for the hire of two ships of not less than 450 nor more than 650 tons, one to sail from London and one from Glasgow about the 30th October. They further gave notice that applications for the purchase of land would be received on the 12th October, and that the first ballot for order of choice would take place on the 27th, at the New Zealand House in London. As a matter of fact, however, this did not take place until the 10th November.

Mr. Burns, at length feeling certain that nothing short of a cataclysm could now interfere between him and his long-cherished desires, applied to the Edinburgh Presbytery to be released from his charge at Portobello. There was little difficulty in procuring this, which was granted to him in very graceful and flattering terms. Both in London and in Scotland there were numerous applications for passages in the new vessels.

At the ballot held on the 10th November it proved that 104 properties had been purchased; sixty-nine of these had been sold to private individuals, nine to the Church Trust, nine to the local Municipality, or Corporation as it is now termed, and seventeen to the New Zealand Company. The object of the ballot was, as you already understand, to determine the order in which these purchasers might select their properties. Of course, this selection was not made until after the arrival of the vessels at Otago, and to this point we shall return later on.

The vessels upon which rested the honour of conveying the first party were the ship "John Wickliffe" and the barque "Philip Laing." The "John Wickliffe" was built in 1841, and was classed A1 at Lloyd's. She was 662 tons measurement, and was owned



by Mr. John Sands, of Greenock, to whom a sum of 2,000 guineas was paid as hire for the voyage. The "Philip Laing," of 547 tons, belonged to Messrs. Laing and Ridley, of Liverpool, who received a little over £1,800. According to the stipulations of the charter-party, the vessels were to be at their respective ports of departure—London and Greenock—by the latter end of October, there to take in their cargo and passengers. They were advertised to sail on the 20th and 25th November, though adverse circumstances occurred to prevent their sailing on these due dates. The terms for passage in the chief cabin varied from 35 to 60 guineas per adult, according to accommodation. Two persons sharing the same cabin in the "John Wickliffe" paid the former sum each. Forecabin passengers paid 20 guineas; steerage passengers 16 guineas. The "John Wickliffe" carried a cargo of most heterogeneous articles, worth £1,500, but well suited to the requirements of a body of colonists about to commence housekeeping in a strange land. Thousand of bricks and slates, three frame houses, tons of coal, all the appurtenances belonging to the mechanical trades—those of blacksmiths, wheelwrights, plumbers, painters; wheelbarrows, spades and pickaxes, stationery, rifles, muskets, swords, bayonets, and a large stock of ammunition. There were many tons of provisions of all kinds for use after arrival. A sum of £500 was placed on board—£100 in sovereigns, £350 in silver, and £50 in fourpenny-pieces.

The "John Wickliffe" may be considered the premier vessel of the expedition, in so far as she carried Captain Cargill, the leader, and also the valuable cargo which formed the wealth of the young settlement. The captain was Bartholomew Daly, an Irishman and a first-rate sailor, long engaged in the East India trade. The chief mate was James Harris; the second mate, Edward Rennell. The surgeon superintendent was Dr. Henry Manning, of London, who after his arrival continued to reside in Otago until his death, which occurred in 1886 at Warepa, near Balclutha. There were ninety-seven emigrants on board. The "Philip Laing," however, carried the great bulk of the emigrants, of whom there were 247. She was commanded by Captain A. J. Ellis, who afterwards married Clementina, the eldest daughter of the Rev. Mr. Burns, on the 14th June, and who died in 1887 at Invercargill. The first mate was Kenyon; the second, McGill; and there was a crew of twenty-six. Dr. Robert Ramsay was surgeon superintendent. In this vessel sailed Mr. Burns, with his family. He was requested to act as agent and representative of the company on board the ship, and to exercise the same powers on landing in the settlement, should that prove to be prior to the arrival of Captain Cargill.

After various delays everything was ready for sea. On the 23rd November Captain Cargill received his formal appointment,

and power of attorney as the company's resident agent in the new settlement. His salary was fixed at £500 per annum, and he was to have a free passage for himself and his family. The "John Wickliffe" sailed from Gravesend on the 24th, but disasters of a new kind forthwith sprang up. Heavy weather commenced to rage round the British coast immediately after the start, and for three weeks the vessel was buffeted about the English Channel. Twice was she driven back by adverse winds to seek shelter under the lee of the Isle of Wight. On the 8th December she anchored off Portsmouth, there to effect very necessary repairs. The fore part of the ship leaked considerably, necessitating constant pumping, and the passengers were consequently in a state of fear, as well as great discomfort. No sooner had matters been rectified and preparations for sea again made before a new and wholly unlooked-for misfortune happened. At this distance of time, and as the comfortable recipients of all the good things that have fallen to our heritage, we can afford to look only upon the comical aspect of the affair. But to Captain Cargill it must have seemed certain, as indeed his friend Mr. Burns had long before surmised, that the devil himself exercised a baneful influence on the scheme, which he was yet determined to thwart. Just as the vessel was about to start, who should step on board but a personage as unwelcome as unexpected—no less than a bailiff from the Queen's Bench at Westminster. He walked up to Captain Cargill, tapped him on the shoulder in the well-known way, and arrested him in the Queen's name for a debt of £140. This was at the suit of a London builder to whom an order had been given for a wooden frame house for Dr. Burns's use. At that moment the house was on board, but owing to some blunder at the company's office payment had not been provided for: hence the *contretemps*. A whole day was wasted in unsuccessful negotiations, and finally Captain Cargill got rid of his unwelcome visitor by paying the claim out of his own pocket. On the following morning, the 14th December, the "John Wickliffe" got finally and fairly away, though still pursued by boisterous weather and head seas. Two days afterwards, at 4 o'clock in the morning, she narrowly escaped collision with a large homeward-bound barque, the two vessels being within but a few yards of each other. Almost the whole of the live-stock was drowned, including a useful cow carried for the use of the cabin passengers. This was one of the cows referred to in the advertisements of that day, which stated that a cow and an experienced surgeon were carried. The plight of the pioneers must have been miserable enough, as owing to the heavy labouring of the vessel the seams opened, allowing the water to enter and saturate the bedding. Besides this, there was a succession of rain, hail, and sleet, and a thermometer never lower than 38° and never very much higher. And so commenced

a voyage undertaken, to use the euphuistic sentence in one of the Glasgow resolutions, "to secure the settlers a summer voyage in southern latitudes." Fine weather came at last, and with it all troubles and discomforts were forgotten. Madeira was passed close to, and the lovely Palma, one of the Canary Isles, with its orange-groves; and the peak of Tenerife was sighted eighty miles away. The Equator was crossed on the 15th January—thirty-two days out. The captain, naturally desirous of making a good run and of emulating some of the quick passages then made to Australia, on the high-circle sailing principle, determined to go as far south as  $60^{\circ}$ . Several icebergs, however, which he met on the way induced him to reconsider this decision, and he finally commenced his easting in  $51^{\circ}$  south. Some days of foggy drizzling weather, with perhaps the action of currents not then well known in those comparatively untraversed seas, led to a miscalculation of position. From this ignorance they received one evening a sudden enlightenment by hearing the sound of distant breakers, betokening the near presence of land. Immediately the ship was put on another tack, and shortly afterwards the fog lifting disclosed the black and frowning precipices of Desolation or Kerguelen's Island, lying in the direct line of their headlong course. This was the last mischance of this really eventful voyage. On the 22nd March, 1848, ninety-three days from land to land and ninety-nine from port to port, the "John Wickliffe" dropped her anchor inside Taiaroa Head, and to this point we shall presently return. There were twenty-four persons in the cabin—"saloon," as we should now call it—thirteen adults and eleven children. Of the latter, perhaps eight now survive, though they are now no longer children. Foremost, of course, came Captain and Mrs. Cargill and their five children; then the Rev. T. D. and Mrs. Nicholson and three children; Mr. David Garrick, a lawyer, his wife and three children, and Miss Alexander, their governess; Mr. W. H. Cutten, who afterwards married Miss Cargill; and Mr. Julius Jeffreys, long a well-known settler in Dunedin, and the one who at the ballot had won the right to exercise the first selection for land in the Otago Block. The remaining four cabin passengers were destined for other parts of New Zealand. In the forecabin and steerage there were seventy-three passengers, of whom it is unnecessary now to speak, beyond saying that a few are with us to this day, whilst the majority are represented by their descendants. The religious services on board were conducted by the Rev. Mr. Nicholson, a minister of the Free Church of Scotland, consigned by a Home presbytery to Nelson, there to form or take charge of a congregation. To this gentleman was born a son within a month of the vessel's arrival at Port Chalmers. Doubtless fired by the pleasant remembrances of the voyage, Mr. Nicholson conferred

upon his infant son the conspicuous name of "John Wickliffe Bartholomew Daly," by which he will be readily identified if met with.

Let us now speak of the "Philip Laing"—the representative ship, which carried the great bulk of the emigrants—247 in number. She sailed from Greenock on the 27th November, but owing to the same violent gales to which the "John Wickliffe" was exposed she did not take her final departure until the 20th December, when all sail was set from Milford Haven, her harbour of refuge. Of course, a keen interest was taken in this, the representative vessel of the scheme. I have in other writings commented on the not unusual custom in those early days of New Zealand emigration of speeding the departing emigrant-vessel by means of a breakfast, ball, *fête*, or religious service of some kind. The last of these commemorations was on the occasion of the departure of the four vessels which carried out the Canterbury Pilgrims, when there was a large public breakfast, followed in the evening by a ball. In no such frivolities did the emigrants on board the "Philip Laing" indulge. On Saturday, the 20th of November, at midday, a large party assembled on the vessel, then nearly ready for sea. A portion of the 72nd Psalm was read; this was followed by singing and prayer; and then the Rev. Dr. McFarlane delivered a suitable address. The hymn sung was the one hundredth in the Presbyterian collection, and composed by Dr. Doddridge—"O God of Bethel, by Whose hand Thy children all were led." Forty years later the same hymn was sung whilst the remains of Captain Ellis, the old commander of the "Philip Laing," were being lowered to their last resting-place. Mr. McGlashan, the secretary, then spoke to the emigrants, detailing the arrangements which had been made to secure their comfort on the voyage. There were twelve passengers in the cabin—the Rev. Mr. Burns, his wife, son, and five daughters; Mr. and Mrs. Carnegie, of Edinburgh; Mr. Donaldson; and Mr. Blackie, the schoolmaster. The remainder of the passengers were steerage, and of the whole number of 247 on board ninety-three were children under fourteen years of age. The regulations were what in these more liberal times would be considered irksome, and calculated to incite rebellion. At 6.30 the people rose, and by 7.30 were all on deck. There was no breakfast until the berths had been scrubbed out and cleansed. Twice a day, at 10.30 and 7.30, there was religious service, with an additional service on Sunday. At 11 school commenced, and again at 4. This was conducted by Mr. Blackie, assisted by a few of the better-educated passengers. Dinner was served at 2; tea at 5.30. The discipline was rigorous, and carried out in true martinet style. Mr. Adam relates that one guilty youth, after receiving a sharp reprimand for some offence, was condemned

to have his head shaved, a sentence commuted at the earnest request of his parents to that of having his hair cropped close. No land was sighted during the voyage, which after the first bitter experience was, on the whole, an agreeable one. Otago Harbour was entered on Saturday, the 15th April, after a passage of 117 days from Milford Haven, or, from the first start from Greenock, of 140 days, and twenty-four days after the arrival of the "John Wickliffe."

And now to return to the arrival of the latter vessel. Land was made off Stewart Island, and from this to Taiaroa Head the vessel's course was close to shore. When off the Molyneux Harbour two guns were fired, with a view of attracting any whaleboat which might happen to be thereabouts. There was no reply, and after waiting some time Captain Daly cautiously pursued his way through these, to him, unknown seas. There was some difficulty in finding the entrance to the Heads. Guns were again fired and the vessel lay to, and soon, to the intense relief of all, two boats came outside, one containing Mr. Kettle and a Maori crew, and in the other was the pilot, Richard Driver, and his men. It was not until 8 o'clock the following morning that the anchor was dropped within Taiaroa Heads. During this unavoidable delay the Maoris proved most acceptable visitors, and made friends with everybody on board. A little incident raised them greatly in estimation. The waters were teeming with barracouta, and several of the passengers who had brought out with them the newest and most perfect tackle began to fish, with much patience but no success. The Maoris, after watching these operations for some time with contemptuous indifference, procured the stave of an old cask, which they split up into long pieces, tied to each a piece of flax string, fixed on an old hook and a bit of red rag, and soon caught a boat-load. Driver, the pilot, has always enjoyed the reputation of being able to tell very tough yarns. On this occasion he had ample opportunity of supplying indigestible morsels to his open-mouthed questioners. His was an eventful life, like most of the old New Zealand salts. Born at Bristol in 1812, he went to sea as a boy of fourteen in the "Governor Ready," a vessel which carried convicts to Hobart Town, and soldiers to Sydney. Thence he went to America, and after a due amount of whaling and wrecking in various parts found himself about 1838 in New Zealand. The adventurous portion of his life closed in 1847, when he received the respectable appointment of first pilot to the Otago Settlement. A few words must also be devoted to another member of the first boat's crew. This was William Low, born at St. Kitts, and the hero of an eventful life. As a boy he first served in the Brazilian trade, and afterwards on board the "Potomac," an American frigate engaged against the Malays on the coast of Sumatra. After a

little alternate wrecking and whaling he served under Captain Wilkes, who commanded the celebrated United States expedition. He gravitated to New Zealand in 1843, where he resumed whaling until 1847, when he joined the survey party.

Most of the young and unencumbered men left the old vessel without delay, and with stout hearts and heavy knapsacks made the best of their way to Dunedin from Port Chalmers through the toilsome surveyors' track. The weather was serene and warm for weeks, so that to them the first taste of their new life was all that could be depicted by Defoe. Captain Cargill and others came up by boat, and pitched their tents on the beach-line. It extended from what is now known as Briscoe's Corner, in Jetty Street, to the Standard Insurance Office. Captain Cargill's tent was a very conspicuous affair, and at once marked out its owner as the leader of the camp. It was what is known as a bell tent, and was picked out with red bindings or facings. The women and children remained on board until the first week in April, and were then pulled up with their belongings by boat-loads. Prior to this their husbands had been engaged for a fortnight in making some sort of an accommodation wherein to shelter their families. These were called "barracks," and were situated along the beach which extended from the corner of High and Rattray Streets to the present Dowling Street. They were long and low, and constructed of native grass, rushes, and flax. The sight must have been as unique as it was busy and interesting. The Maoris helped their new invaders with the utmost good humour; indeed, their assistance was invaluable in the erection of these primitive abodes. The forms, tables, and other fittings brought up from the vessel composed the furniture. All the cooking was done outside; fuel was abundant, and could be had for the cutting. In a word, every one was as active, happy, and exhilarated under the serene skies of this new country as a parcel of schoolboys released for the holidays. Day by day the boats were engaged in lightening up portions of the extensive cargo destined for the use of the young community.

Whilst this was proceeding, word was received at Dunedin that the "Philip Laing" had arrived at Port Chalmers. She was boarded by pilot Driver, whose boat, manned by a fine Native crew, was the admiration of all as it swiftly pulled alongside the weather-beaten vessel. A thousand hurrahs rent the air, and in a few minutes, with sails again bellying in the breeze, the "Philip Laing" sailed swiftly up to her anchorage. Every one was on the crowded deck in a state of bustle and excitement chattering to his neighbour, and struck with the magnificent amphitheatre of wooded hills around. Hardly had the grating sound of the chains and the heavy splash of the anchor ceased, announcing that at last the voyage was ended, before a loud cry

rang out of "Man overboard." It was not a man, however, but a poor little child, who had fallen from its mother's arms at the supreme moment of all their confusion. Without a moment's hesitation or delay Mr. Blackie, the schoolmaster, sprang overboard, and rescued the child from its imminent peril, for the tide was running fast. Once safely on deck with his charge, the air was again rent with a thousand hurrahs. Soon Captain Cargill arrived on board, and welcomed the old friend who, for so many bitter years, had been his staunch henchman. Together they now stood victorious. It mattered not what further difficulties lay in the unknown future, they surely would not equal those which had been overcome.

Captain Cargill now addressed the assembled people, first thanking God for his mercies vouchsafed, and then congratulating them on their safe arrival. He then proceeded to give them homely, sound advice as to their future conduct. One sentence is remarkable, and affords another instance of the repetition of historical incidents. "My friends," he said, "it is a fact that the eyes of the British Empire, and I may say of Europe and America, are upon us." The passengers went up to Dunedin, but as the accommodation there was quite insufficient the principal number stayed on the vessel, and, indeed, five weeks or more elapsed before the last of the emigrants finally bade their adieux to the old vessel. The weather, which hitherto had been all that could be desired, now changed. The heavens opened, and for more than a fortnight there was almost incessant rain, with cold disagreeable weather. There was constant, almost daily, communication between the vessels and Dunedin. The principal landing-place was where the first jetty was afterwards built—that is, at the bottom of Jetty Street. Here the water was a little deeper than at the Maori landing-place, and not so much affected by the ebb tide. But it mattered little which was used, as most of the goods were brought ashore on the backs of men, who waded with them from the boats.

Mr. Burns preached his first sermon in one of the barracks on Sunday, the 16th April—the day after his arrival—and until the church or schoolroom was built service was continued there or in Mr. Kettle's survey office.

By the end of May every one had transferred himself and his household goods to the infant capital. The married folks and single women dwelt, or, rather, were huddled together, in one barracks, and the single men in another. In wet weather the rain streamed in through the leaky roofs, and it was no unusual occurrence to have one's blankets saturated by the morning. Cooking operations were conducted outside; and the spectacle was often witnessed of a faithful though hungry husband holding a huge umbrella over his wife whilst she prepared the primitive

meal. Still, no one complained, and the first letters sent to friends at Home painted everything with roseate hues. People would tell in the same breath of being wettel to the skin or of sleeping out in the open air all night and yet of never catching cold—indeed, of being all the better for the exposure, such was the wonderful climate.

The stores and provisions, of which there was a three-months supply, were sold by the company at very reasonable rates. Oatmeal was 2s. 6d. and flour 3s. a stone; sugar 3½d. and tea 1s. 3d. a pound; beef and mutton at 6d. a pound. It was expected that at the expiry of this time stock would be imported from other parts of the colony, and that so an internal trade would spring up. The first wages were 3s. a day for a common labourer, and 5s. for mechanics. These soon became higher as people began to build, and so to demand labour. There was no eight-hours system then. Work commenced at 6; breakfast at 9, and rest for an hour; dinner at 2, and rest for another hour; and then work again until 6. On Saturdays work ceased at noon.

For a short time a gun was fired at midday to enable people to correct their time, and perhaps to give a little air of military precision to things in general. Very soon this was replaced by a sweet-toned ship's bell, which has a small history. It originally belonged to one of the early Sydney convict ships, which was at last converted into a hulk. The bell was then bought by the late Mr. John Jones, and placed on the well-known old whaling-vessel the "Magnet," which fifty or sixty years ago traded in these seas. For some time it was used at the first mission-station in this Island—the Wesleyan Mission Station at Waikouaiti; and soon after the "John Wickliffe" arrived it was lent by Mr. Jones to Captain Cargill and Mr. Burns for all the purposes of the mythical bell. In 1851 it was replaced by its huge sonorous sister, which was suspended on Bell Hill, and gave voice for five-and-twenty years. The old bell has found a congenial home amidst other relics in my house, where it has been exalted or debased to the position of a dinner-bell.\*

Within a week after the arrival of the two vessels arrangements had been made for the important business of enabling the land-purchasers to select their town sections. Until this was done no permanent building and no regular employment could be undertaken. Princes Street at this time was all but in a state of nature. It certainly had been cleared of flax and other growth, and the surveyors' lines—a chain wide—running through its length, and the pegs, were the only conspicuous indications of street-formation. Up and down streets such as these, through bush and scrub and watercourses, marched the land-purchasers, taking note of such

\* Now in the Hocken Wing of the Otago Museum.



sections as they desired to appropriate. They were assisted by a copious display of plans and maps in Mr. Kettle's office. The 21st April was the day appointed for the formal notification of choice, and Mr. Garrick, the lawyer, was requested to act as temporary Registrar of Lands. As you will remember, the balloting for priority of choice took place at Home before the departure of the vessels. Mr. Julius Jeffreys, afterwards of the Forbury, and of whom mention has already been made, won the first choice. No doubt believing Port Chalmers, as the seaport, had a great future before it, he chose his quarter-acre section there—a water frontage close by the present dock. This was the first chosen in the settlement. Mr. David Garrick, fourth on the list, was the first private individual to select in Dunedin: with apparent prescience he chose what is now probably the most valuable site in Dunedin—that quarter-acre on a portion of which now stands the Bank of New Zealand. Upon this he erected his frame house brought out in the "John Wickliffe" and afterwards converted into the Royal Hotel. As showing the remarkable increase of land-value, it may here be said that shortly afterwards Mr. Garrick disposed of this section for £100 to one McDonald, landlord of the said hotel. It was afterwards sold to Mr. George Smith for £300, by him to Messrs. W. Carr Young and Edward McGlashan, about 1861, for £1,600, by them a small portion of it to the Bank of New Zealand for £9,000 in 1863. A sketch is here exhibited of Mr. Garrick's house, the old Royal Hotel—then the southernmost in Her Majesty's dominions. Mr. James Brown—eighth on the list—chose that quarter-acre at the junction of Princes and Stafford Streets, known as "Brown's Corner." It is still in the possession of the family. Of this section the story is told that in the early gold-digging days, when Dunedin was suddenly transformed from a slow sleepy hollow to a stirring crowded town, Cobb and Co., the great coach-proprietors, sought to purchase a suitable site for their business. None appeared more eligible than Brown's Corner, and for this the large sum of £40,000 was offered. So vast a price completely staggered the owner, who refused to sell, saying that so large a sum could not have been honestly come by, and he would have nothing to do with it. Brown-Ewing's Corner was selected by one James Williamson. Wise's Corner was not worth selecting; it was down in a hole. Nor was the site of the Grand Hotel thought more of—the creek ran through it. Mr. Robert Chapman chose next to Mr. Brown in Princes Street. It must be remembered that all these were quarter-acre sections, hence in Princes Street, for instance, between the corners of Manse and High Streets, there were but three allotments, but four from and inclusive of the Bank of New Zealand and the magnificent new building of the A.M.P., and from the Criterion to the Octagon but two. Of course, these have long since been cut up into small portions, valued at so-much

per foot. But two or three individuals had the courage to select in that *terra incognita* beyond the Octagon. Mr. Edward Lee, before referred to as having given his name to Lee's Stream, chose the corner of London and Pitt Streets, whereon is the George Street branch of the Bank of New Zealand. In reality he selected this site for Captain Cargill before the first settlers' arrival, and with this view erected a house upon it. But when Captain Cargill arrived he refused to indorse this choice, preferring to be in the midst of his subjects rather than enthroned in solitary grandeur at so great a distance. For long this house was the only one beyond the Octagon. Like a beacon in a lighthouse to those on the trackless sea, it gave the latitude and longitude to wanderers on the flat, or to those bold people who had postponed their homeward journey from the North-east Valley until after sunset. Mr. Valpy also selected some contiguous sections still farther from the abodes of men, and at the junction of Frederick and South Leith Streets. In those days the spot must have been lovely, for even now, despite the embellishments of man's hand, it has the remains of beauty—still a few trees, most, however, raising their withered limbs to heaven, a clear and extensive view of the water, with the now denuded hills beyond; behind and to the right and left a rising amphitheatre once of forest and brown fern. Mr. Valpy, however, never resided in this Arcadia. He built a house in what we should now consider a very unromantic spot—that of Sibbald's Hotel—and soon removed to his suburban property at the Forbury, where he died in September, 1852, and where the last remains of his residence may still be seen.

This gentlemen's association with the earliest days of this settlement deserves a fuller notice than it can now receive. His is another of those names knit into the mesh of our history, yet almost forgotten or unknown. Mr. Valpy gave the name of Caversham to the district in which he resided, after Caversham in Essex, his old home. Forbury House, his residence, he named after his father's school—Forbury—in Caversham. His father was the celebrated Latin Grammar Valpy.

This part of our subject will not be complete without some reference to the selection made by the representatives of the Free Church itself, from which to this day is derived the principal portion of its income. Prior to the departure of the "John Wickliffe" and the "Philip Laing" four gentlemen were selected as the trustees for the religious and educational uses. These were Captain Cargill, the Rev. Thos. Burns, Mr. Edward Lee, and Mr. Edward McGlashan, brother to the secretary of the association. The title pretty well indicates their functions. To them was confided the control of church and school business, and they were to select according to order of choice those properties which they considered appropriate towards securing a future income or endowment for their trusts.

The latter duty devolved on Messrs. Cargill and Burns alone, as Mr. McGlashan had not then taken his departure for the settlement, and Mr. Lee was absent in a distant part of the colony. The selection was made with judgment, and bears fruit to this day in the shape of substantial rents paid by the tenants who occupy the Church leaseholds. But in addition to these, and of different nature, are certain other lands held by the Church. Amongst the instructions received by Mr. Kettle when about to commence his surveys was one to the effect that he should lay off certain portions of land termed "reserves," and not open for sale. Upon Captain Cargill as agent for the company was conferred the power of dealing with these reserves, and appropriating to them their several uses. One of these, and comprising most of old Bell Hill, is now the site of the First Church. On the old survey map Mr. Kettle here sketched a castle, doubtless to create another point of resemblance between Old and New Edinburgh. This was appropriated for the Church, though, as we all know, it was not occupied until very recent years by the handsome structure now crowning it. A second reserve, situated at the top of Jetty Street, was chosen for the manse, and upon it was erected Mr. Burns's frame house brought out in the "John Wickliffe"—source of Captain Cargill's unpleasant experience with the bailiff. The third and last Church reserve was called the College site, whereon the old school stood and the school-master's house. This school had multifarious functions to discharge, and as time went on, taxing its elasticity beyond the utmost limits, it commenced to bud forth with various excrescences. As depicted in this oldest view of Dunedin it appears in its pristine beauty. On Sundays it was the old church, on week-days meetings of all kinds were held in it—some of them very stormy ones indeed; the horticultural society used it for its show, lectures and concerts were given in it; here the Land Investment Society transacted its business, and so did the first Provincial Council, and the Governor's first reception was held there. An elderly lady, and a staunch Presbyterian, tells me that the first Anglican service was conducted within its walls by the Rev. Mr. Fenton, now Archdeacon Fenton, of Oamaru. But this is a mistake, explained by the fact that my informant was then a young and giddy girl, without much knowledge of locality. She told me, however, so good a story in connection with this service, wherever it was held, that I cannot refrain from introducing it; my only regret is that you cannot hear it in her own racy Scotch. She was highly curious to see the papistical services, and accordingly prevailed upon her aunt not only to grant permission but to go as well. The church was dimly lighted, and the congregation scanty. On a front form sat alone two well-known brothers, each with something under his arm like a thick stick. Miss Blank's curiosity was at its height. Mr. Fenton began by giving out the

rooth Psalm, whereupon up stood the two "lang, lanky young men, pat their sticks to their mooths, and tootled out siccan a whustling as ye never heard." This extraordinary form of precentorship was more than Miss Blank could bear. She burst out into a loud fit of laughter which ended by her aunt summarily dragging her out of the sacred precincts.

In this record one cannot forbear to mention one other little difficulty occasionally met with in Divine service. This was in much later days, when the few Episcopalians met together in their little church near the gaol. They had advanced much beyond flutes—as far, indeed, as a barrel-organ, behind which the grinder ensconced himself from public view. The hymns and psalms were generally ground by Mr. Tudor Williams, occasionally by Mr. Strode or Mr. H. F. Hardy. Mr. Williams should have been more careful, but it is told of him that on one occasion after treating the congregation to a hymn or two by way of voluntary he was heard to say, "So much for that little lot." Whether the fault of the organist or organ we need not stay to inquire, but sometimes a long-metre tune was fitted to a short-metre hymn—like a long-legged youth arrayed in childhood's early knickers. Occasionally the wretched instrument, though ground ever so fast, and though the congregation were waiting to begin, refused to utter a sound; and, worse still, it would sometimes refuse to stop when everybody else had finished.

One other story in this connection and we must return to the matter of fact of our subject. Years ago, and before the "John Wickliffe" and the "Philip Laing," the Bishop of New Zealand visited the Bluff on one of his wonderful pastoral tours. The scanty population consisted only of whalers, their *quasi*-wives, and children. The Bishop specified a suitable time for holding a religious service, doing baptisms, and so on. Very anxious to show every respect in return to their august visitor, they made extensive preparations. A little whare was cleaned and hung round with flags, a chair was disguised into a pulpit, and, what was more, the Bishop was promised a little music as a decorous accompaniment to the service. Naturally enough, he had some misgivings about this, but the offer was made so gravely and in such good faith that at last he felt quite relieved, especially as he was asked to give out the Old Hundredth. Mounted on the impromptu pulpit he gave out the desired hymn. The next moment he would have sunk into the earth but that the faces of his hearers disclosed nothing but the utmost gravity and decorum; for hardly were the words out of his mouth before a huge musical-box at his elbow struck up "Nix my dol pals, and fake away." This was followed by a spirited polka, and then came the solemn Old Hundredth, joined in by the delighted chorus of old whalers. The effect was electrical—especially upon the Bishop.

With this digression we return to the matter of the sections. The reserve upon which the old church and schoolmaster's house was built was applied for by Mr. Burns as being the most accessible to the community on account of its central position and communication with the sea-beach. It adjoined Mr. Garrick's valuable section, and, strange irony, is now partly occupied by the Lyceum. The sections for the New Zealand Company and the local municipality were selected by Mr. Kettle.

Mr. Burns and his family were almost the last to leave the "Philip Laing." This was on the 2nd June. He and Mrs. Burns were gallantly pulled up in the captain's gig, whilst the three youngest children—one of them a baby—and the servant followed in the heavy luggage-boat. The morning was delightfully fine when they started, but suddenly a heavy sou'-wester sprang up, blowing in their teeth. Against this the luggage-boat could make no headway, and after an ineffectual struggle had to put into a little bay, where these poor helpless people and the boat's crew had to stay all night. The night was bitter—frost and snow. Next morning the perilous voyage was resumed, and by midday the party marched up in safety to the little manse which had just been erected, and was then for the first time occupied. This incident has given the name of Blanket Bay to the sheltered nook where this miserable night was passed. After all, this might be called a rather quick passage, for in those days the voyage to Port Chalmers and back not unfrequently occupied two or three days—often, indeed, it was a case of wind and weather permitting. Even in modern times, with the facilities of the "Golden Age" and "Peninsula," most of us here remember that the journey to Port Chalmers meant a pound in one's pocket and almost a day consumed. And yet we now grumble that the train actually takes thirty-five minutes to traverse the same distance.

The grand houses of the settlement were, of course, those brought out in frame, Mr. Burns's being on the manse reserve—that elevation in Princes and Jetty Streets now occupied—grim irony again—by a publichouse, Owen's "Ship Inn." It was surrounded by the native ngaio, which all the way down clothed the precipitous cliff, whose foot was in the waters of the harbour. Captain Cargill's house was on another elevation, and from this vantage-ground he could exercise a judicious and constant supervision over all his subjects. It was situated a little behind the offices of the British and New Zealand Agency Company in Princes Street, formerly Mr. E. B. Cargill's offices. Palace though it was, I think it contained but three rooms and a lean-to. The rooms measured about 12 ft. or 13 ft. by 8 ft. or 9 ft. The other members of the community at once commenced to put up their own little cottages: they were clustered chiefly in Princes Street;

a few were to be found in Maclaggan Street, others in High and Stafford Streets. The architecture was very primitive, and belonged chiefly to that order known as wattle and dab. Saplings or young trees were fixed in the earth close together and side by side, the interstices being filled up with clay; the roof was thatched with the common tussock-grass, which then everywhere abounded; the chimney was a huge clay inglenook about as large as the whole house, and well suited for the consumption of the huge logs. Glass was scarce, so windows were small. Furniture was generally very scanty—a wooden bunk in the corner for a bed, the section of a tub made an excellent chair, and the box brought out from Home a table. The floor was made of the clean yellow clay, well smoothed and battered. Then there were picturesque little houses made of tree-ferns placed close together in the same way as has been described. Two or three of these are still to be seen in the outlying parts of Dunedin. As time proceeded and civilization advanced, sawn timber was brought up from Sawyer's Bay, and more pretentious houses, if less snug and warm, were built. A great objection to these houses was not being fenced in, and at night-time pigs, goats, and fowls gathered under them, and fought for best place.

In addition to the domestic rule to be dispensed by Captain Cargill as the company's agent, preparations were made to place the settlers formally under the wing of the New Zealand Government. With this view Mr. A. C. Strode, so well known to all here, was despatched from Wellington in the schooner "Perseverance," of 80 tons. He arrived at Otago on the 20th April, with the title of Deputy Inspector of Police, in charge of a small detachment of armed police—a sergeant, corporal, and four privates. He was empowered to administer the oaths of office to the first four Justices of the Peace made here—Captain Cargill, David Garrick, Edward Lee, and Charles Henry Kettle. Barely was this done before crime began to make its appearance, in much the same way, apparently, as previously healthy people begin to find themselves ill upon the appearance of a doctor in some new district. The first offender who had the honour of being sent up to Wellington for trial at the Supreme Court was one Daniel Jefferson, a seaman of the "John Wickliffe," guilty of stealing spirituous liquors from Alex. McKay's publichouse at Port Chalmers. There was no gaol so early, of course, so that prisoners were confined in a small tent brought down from Wellington for the purpose of giving shelter to Mr. Strode's constabulary. However, matters were rectified very soon in this respect, and then began that simple and happy form of gaol discipline conducted by that good old gaoler Henry Monson, beloved by all those committed to his tender keeping. The following extracts from his journal (now in my possession) will show the difficulties under which the good man laboured: "At 1 p.m. McLeod, of Dunedin, a sawyer, is brought

into the lock-up charged with being drunk and disorderly. This man, after sleeping in the cell for two or three hours, woke up quite sober at 5 p.m. He now wanted to procure bail, he said, 'as he felt very ill.' He was suffering of combined dysentery or diarrhoea; so much so that to me he appeared in a dangerous state. He appears in much pain, and constantly demanding of me to get bail. Here was I, a new beginner, with three prisoners—one declaring himself dying, and the others complaining of my cruelty to a sick man and saying that at Wellington any prisoner by putting down a sovereign for his appearance the next morning was let go for the night by the gaoler—in the absence of all persons who could have advised me. I had none, for Mr. Strode had that afternoon taken all the police and gone a-pleasuring in a boat, with his family, on a visit to Mr. Garrick (Sawyer's Bay). I could not send for the colonial doctor, having no one at command to send. The man appeared to be getting worse (at least, he affected to be so); he constantly made his demand upon me, and added that he would write to a Justice of the Peace, and it was at my peril to refuse him that liberty, or his bail or bond. At this period, 7 o'clock, Angus Cameron came in from duty (the only one left for town duty for the night). This policeman, though an old servant, yet could give me no information as to the usage in this matter, but he thought the corporal had taken bail at a late hour. In the absence of all instruction in such a point I paused. I considered the danger of any ill consequence, and more of getting Mr. Strode into any trouble. In the meantime the man was still pressing his case upon me—that to remain longer he would certainly die—the other prisoners taunting me with usage of cruelty and murder by detaining him. At 8 p.m. I said, 'If you can procure one or two respectable householders for your bail I will venture to let you go, on condition of your going at once to a doctor.' Oh, yes, all this would be done, for he wanted to get a doctor, and get to bed. The bail bond was drawn up by me as follows: 'Dunedin Gaol, December 12th, 1851. We, the undersigned, being householders in the town of Dunedin, District of Otago, New Zealand, hereby do give our bail bond for the safe-keeping of the body of Donald McLeod, and for his personal appearance before the Magistrate's Court to-morrow morning at 11 o'clock, without fail. Witness our hand, George Duncan, butcher; John Nesbey, baker, &c.' This document being signed and delivered to me by the aforesaid policeman, who procured the signatures of the bail bond, I then let the man go under his care, and to a doctor; but they no sooner had arrived at the front of the hotel than the man was told that his best doctor was a glass or two of brandy; he, the man, thought so too, and, in defiance of all the police could urge, Mr. Charles Hopkinson gave him the drink; he was put to bed then, and in the morning he was again served with drink, so much so

that when he appeared at the Magistrate's Court the next morning he was intoxicated. Dr. Williams, who sat for Mr. Strode on the bench, remanded him for next morning before Mr. Strode, but that gentleman did not return; the hearing came on before Dr. Williams, who reprimanded and discharged him. On the Tuesday morning Mr. Strode came to me and severely reprimanded me for what I had done in reference to letting out the man from the lock-up. He said that it was no part of a gaoler's duty to take bail, that was usurping of his, and that I had no business to do anything but what he had given me instructions of. Yet he added, 'Inside the gaol you may do what you like, but do not interfere with me outside.' I said, 'Sir, this is just what I have already asked you—your instructions on all points relating to gaol discipline, but you have given me none whatever, only referred me to the gaoler at Wellington. In the present case I am still persuaded that I did what both in the eye of the law and of humanity was right—that had the person been committed to me under a warrant, then I would not have let him out; then I would have tried to obtain for him either medicine or a doctor; but in the absence of all proper authority and instruction I believed I had not done wrong, inasmuch as bail bond had been given and that other parties were to blame, not I.' He then, out of temper, said, 'I tell you again you have no business to do such a thing; rather let them die in their cell than do it again; and as to your bail bond, as you are pleased to call it, the thing is not worth the paper it is written on.' I now left him, giving no reply, for I felt sore at heart; having confidence in the rectitude of both motive and action, I retired grieved. Such is life, and such the proud man's contumely; such is the haughtiness of office, and such I felt it. I warrant myself in such reflections, because on the one part there is age, there is experience of men of the world and of its customs, and generally of all classes of society—having had much intercourse with all classes and characters; on the other, to be short, a want of qualification for the office he fills. — H. MONSON, Gaoler, December 31st."

Another official, Mr. John Macarthy, was sent down. He was quite a pluralist, and held the offices of Sub-Collector of Customs, Sub-Treasurer, Deputy Postmaster, and Deputy Registrar of Births, Marriages, and Deaths. Before his advent all goods were landed free of duty; with him came duties and taxes. Almost his first act was thought at the time to be highly ungracious, and a piece of very sharp practice. It was actually to levy upon the "John Wickliffe"! Captain Cargill was perfectly aghast, but Mr. Macarthy was inexorable. Somehow he had got possession of the ship's papers, and refused to return them or to clear the vessel outwards until she had contributed a goodly sum to the public revenue.



In the very earliest days of the settlement the Press had no place, although Captain Cargill and Mr. Burns took considerable pains to induce a pressman to cast in his lot with the first party. The want was supplied at a later date, and therefore a short reference must suffice on the present occasion, as, interesting though the subject is, it does not come within the limits of the present lecture. The ship "Blundell," which arrived at the latter end of September, had as a passenger Mr. H. B. Graham, a printer. He was accompanied by his wife and family, and came, I believe, from Carlisle. He brought type and press with him, and was accredited to Captain Cargill by Mr. McGlashan, the secretary of the association, who was requested to give him every countenance and assistance. Graham set up his press in a little place at the back of the present site of the Bank of New South Wales. There, on the 13th December, 1848, appeared the first number of the *Otago News*, of foolscap size, and issued fortnightly. The last number—the ninety-first—appeared in December, 1850. It was succeeded in January, 1851, by the *Otago Witness*, published uninterruptedly to this day, and enjoying the unique distinction of being by far the longest-lived newspaper in the colony.

On the 19th May the "John Wickliffe" sailed for Wellington, thence returning to Bombay, where she resumed her old East Indian trade. In June, a month later, the "Philip Laing" also left for Wellington, and thence to Singapore. With the departure of these vessels let us for the present bid farewell to the pioneers, and leave them to the enjoyment of that new life for which their leaders had so long and bravely fought.

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## CHAPTER XI.\*

Struggles of the Company—Church of England Settlement—Canterbury—John Robert Godley—Terms of Purchase as compared with Otago—An Ambitious Prospectus—Joseph Thomas—Seeking for a Bishop—Captain Bellairs—Death of Colonel Wakefield, and Mr. Fox appointed Acting-Agent—Looking for a Site—Port Cooper chosen—Surveys commenced—Previous History—The Nanto-Bordelaise Company—Purchase of Banks Peninsula—Scheme of French Colonization—Arrival of Immigrants at Akaroa—Anticipated by Governor Hobson—Friendly Agreement entered into—Land Claims Courts.

I HAVE sought to depict the history and development of New Zealand from the far-distant time of its discovery, when savages alone tenanted its wastes, to that recent period when successive efforts of colonization had planted upon it an increasing number of English-speaking people obeying English law. I have sought also to show that the credit and honour of planting this young nation is chiefly due to the great New Zealand Company. Within eight short years—from 1839 to 1847—these important islands were rescued to the Crown of England, and dotted upon them were, in the order of their foundation, the infant settlements of Wellington, Auckland, New Plymouth, and Nelson, with the pioneers of Otago speeding on their way—together numbering a population of over thirteen thousand souls. This great work was accomplished despite the determined and almost ceaseless opposition of the Colonial Office, which never wavered until suddenly came the cry for help from the handful of struggling Englishmen who far off were beset by the perils of massacre and savage rebellion. Not only were consternation and pity aroused, and assistance sent by the British Government to their distressed fellow-countrymen, but concessions were made to the company, including the loan of £100,000 whereby they were enabled again to resume their long-suspended colonizing-work—recognized at last as something praiseworthy.

The firstfruits of this great change were witnessed in the final completion of the Otago scheme in 1847, its peaceful issue unmarked by the storm and struggle which surrounded its inception and that of its sister settlements. Lord Grey was at this time the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and from him flowed further favours still. Between that nobleman and the directors of the company ensued a lengthy correspondence, terminating in an agreement between the two parties which was thought by many of the directors to be specially favourable to them. By this agreement, which was shortly transformed into an Act of Parliament, it was provided that a further loan of £136,000 should be advanced to the company in instalments of £28,000, £72,000, and £36,000.

\* Lecture delivered before the Otago Institute, 9th September, 1891.

This sum was to be devoted to the discharge of existing liabilities, and towards further prosecuting colonizing operations. The Government further yielded to the company the entire and exclusive disposal of all Crown lands in what was then called the Province of New Munster—that is, the whole of the Middle Island and the southern portion of the North Island. In fact, the Crown waived its right to these lands, leaving it entirely to the company to sell them wherever they deemed it prudent for the purpose of founding any new settlements. The Government stipulated for the appointment of its own Commissioner, whose functions were to see that these arrangements were faithfully and properly carried out. With this view he was empowered to sit at the meetings of the Court, and to have access to all books and documents; his assent was also to be procured to any resolutions of the Court. For three years these arrangements were to be in force—until July of 1850. At the end of this term if the company found itself unable to continue its operations it should cease to exist and the Government should enter into possession.

Such were the principal clauses of this celebrated memorandum, which most persons would agree in considering to be of the most advantageous character, and one which apparently breathed on the part of the Government sorrow for all past default and willing promise of future amends. Not so, however, all. The astute Edward Gibbon Wakefield, and with him Charles Buller, the clever and soon-to-be-lamented politician, and member for Liskeard, professed to see far differently. Like Laocoon the priest, each said, "*Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes,*" and in its sentences they read the death-knell of the New Zealand Company. Mr. Wakefield especially contended that the old hostilities of the Colonial Office did but slumber, and that the memorandum was only a new and most efficient device for entrapping the company into toils from which it could never escape to give more trouble. Whilst power was apparently vouchsafed, the arm to use that power was paralysed, or was forbidden to move save in one direction. But the majority of the directors did not share in these pessimistic opinions, or, at all events, were not guided by them. Their experience had been one of incessant weariness and warfare, and, like the tempest-tossed mariner, they accepted with a feeling of thankfulness any haven which gave the promise of rest. Besides, were not Lord Grey's stipulations both fair and businesslike, and with the valuable concessions he had granted for the long term of three years could they not with rigorous effort again assert and deserve their claim to be founders of a future nation? But Mr. Wakefield's prediction was verified. On the 5th July, 1850, the New Zealand Company yielded to the unequal strife, and surrendered to Lord Grey its seal and charters. The early history of this colony is so interwoven with that of the company that it

is impossible to dissociate them, and I have therefore, somewhat cursorily it is true, spoken of circumstances which are of importance to a just understanding of the more immediate subject before us.

The history of the New Zealand Company is a subject of very great interest, but I am here bound to say that the causes of its dissolution do not appear to me to be those predicted by Mr. Wakefield. Without doubt the assistance given by Lord Grey was advanced with generosity and in all good faith. But probably it came too late, as to one in whom the seeds of decay have been too long neglected. The liabilities of the company were heavy, disunion sprang up amongst the directors, their *personnel* had changed, due to constant misfortune no doubt, their interest and energy had waned, and into the character of their meetings entered more of a mercenary and less of the patriotic spirit which accompanied their earlier transactions. *Sauve qui peut* was the unuttered feeling. £10,000 drawn from the Government loan was appropriated for the payment of the directors' fees from June, 1842, to April, 1849. (This, however, was not appropriated, but devoted to the concerns of the company—*vide* New Zealand Company's report for 1845.) And with such elements of decay did the company drag on its existence until the end came. This, however, did not take place until its youngest offshoot—that of Canterbury—had seen the light.

Quiet early in its career the company devised the formation of "class settlements," as they were called. These were to be composed of persons closely united by the strong ties of nationality or of common faith, who should carry with them to their new homes all that would keep fresh the pleasant memory of the old. And thus, so far back as 1843, it was proposed to send forth a Scotch Church colony, a Church of England one, and even a small nationality of Irishmen. The difficulties in the way have already been noted at length, and, as we have seen, it was not until the opposition of the Colonial Office had ceased that the resumption of the Otago scheme became in 1847 an accomplished fact. In the same year were laid the foundations of the company's youngest but most vigorous settlement of Canterbury. In some respects its history affords more pleasant, if not more interesting, study than that of its older sisters. They had struggled into existence surrounded by storm and enmity—Canterbury amid sunshine and troops of friends. The lines on which they had been laid were imperfect, but in the case of Canterbury the scheme was of the most elaborate kind and aimed at nothing less than "sending out a full representation of the parent State, a complete segment of society," founded on Church of England principles. Its success was from the first assured by the active patronage of peers of the realm and of high Church dignitaries—amongst them the Archbishop of Canterbury. In it was foreshadowed not merely a fresh and vigorous rooting

of the old English Church in the far-distant soil, but also a solution of that burning question of the day—how to provide for younger sons and for that innumerable crowd of the “anxious classes” which might throng the portals of every profession, but could never ascend the steps. As the result proved, the expectation far exceeded the reality, but none the less did it make an excellent working theory.

With the facilities under the new arrangement, and with the Otago scheme successfully launched, it became incumbent on the directors once again to exercise their high function as colonizers. Chief amongst them was still Mr. E. G. Wakefield, who, notwithstanding his opinions on the recent policy, yet refrained from severing his connection with the association, which acknowledged him as founder and as moving spirit. No one was more conscious than himself that at this juncture resignation meant disaster, and would deserve the character of cowardice, whilst a continued adherence might alone prevent the results he so greatly dreaded. Impressed with this view, he devoted himself with great energy to the formation of the Church of England settlement. It was agreed that the method adopted so successfully in the case of Otago should, with some variation, again be followed. There was to be a division of labour. Upon the shoulders of the company was to devolve the business portion of the scheme; it was to advance all necessary funds, and by it was to be selected, purchased, and surveyed a suitable block of land, with buildings, wharves, and other erections necessary for the reception and comfort of the first immigrants. Thus prepared for settlement, the land was to be sold to an association in whose hands should rest further management and transaction of all details—the selection of settlers, the further sale to them of the subdivided land, and the organization of Church and school. To form this association, a body distinct from the company, was the difficult problem, and to it Mr. Wakefield addressed himself with rare success.

In Cathedral Square, at Christchurch, stands a monument erected to the memory of John Robert Godley, who has well been called the “Founder of Canterbury.” The energy and wisdom he displayed and the love of his self-imposed task, which, indeed, soon developed into almost a passion, entitled him to this honourable designation, and it is he who now presents himself as the chief of our *dramatis personae*. It must not, however, be forgotten, and it should, as a matter of truth and justice, be here repeated that to the New Zealand Company Canterbury owes its parentage and its earliest care. Especially to Mr. Wakefield does it owe much. Though his labours were not so prominent as those of Mr. Godley, they were of the utmost value, and between the two there existed a constant interchange of thought on the subject of their common solicitude. Mr. Godley was an Irishman, and was born in 1814.

He was educated at Harrow, and Christ Church, Oxford. After leaving the University he was called to the English Bar. His predilections were, however, rather towards politics than law, and with a view to gaining an enlarged conception of the former he travelled extensively, especially through Canada and the United States. On his return, and when but thirty years of age, he published a work, entitled "Letters from America," which attracted much attention in political circles, and which stamped him as a powerful and original thinker. Determining to devote himself to politics, he contested a seat for Leitrim, his native county, but was defeated. This was in 1847, the year with which this history has specially to deal. It was at this time that the dreadful fish-famine raged, which became the subject of Parliamentary inquiry. Mr. Godley identified himself prominently with the subject, and gave evidence before the Commission, in which he suggested an extensive system of emigration to Canada as a means of relieving the distress. We know that the method was not carried out as suggested, and that no less a sum than £10,000,000 was granted by Parliament towards allaying this suffering. But in the author of the scheme Mr. Wakefield's far-reaching vision saw the man of whom he was in search, and over him he spread that curious and subtle influence which fascinated most who came within his reach. Mutual introductions took place in the latter part of 1847, and from that moment Mr. Godley became the faithful and unswerving co-worker in the Church of England scheme. His special work was to form that other body of which we have spoken as distinct from the company—the association—and for this he was peculiarly fitted, not merely by his mental qualifications, but by his extensive friendships in the very class it was necessary to attract and interest. His labours, which were those of the devoted missionary, began in the month of December, and towards the end of March, 1848, he had grouped around him a body of gentlemen as fellow-labourers. These were thirty-six in number, and included the Archbishops of Canterbury and Dublin, five bishops, many of the higher clergy, and a number of noblemen, baronets, and members of Parliament. Doctor Sumner, the Archbishop of Canterbury, was chosen president, and here the first piece of name-giving took place in connection with the scheme, the title of the "Canterbury Settlement" being bestowed after that of the sec.

Without delay the association opened a correspondence with the company and laid before it certain proposals. As these were afterwards considerably varied, it would be of little interest here to enumerate them. The association, however, desired to acquire from the company no less than 1,000,000 acres of land in one block, the price of which was to be virtually £3 an acre. Of this sum the company would receive as its price for the land 10s., 10s. would be devoted to surveys and miscellaneous expenses.

£1 to emigration, and £1 to ecclesiastical and educational purposes. This quotation was for rural land, of which no smaller quantity than 50-acre blocks was to be disposed of. Suburban sections, containing 10 acres each, were to be sold for £75, and quarter-acre sections in the capital town for £12 10s. each. The first body of colonists received some advantage. For the sum of £150 they were entitled to receive 50 acres of rural land and a town allotment of half an acre, but no suburban land. Indeed, the suburban lands were removed from the scheme, and did not reappear in the revised terms of purchase.

It may be interesting for a moment to compare these terms with those existing in Otago, then but just founded. The Otago Block contained 400,000 acres, and its price was fixed at £2 an acre—£1 less than that of Canterbury. Of this, 10s. was charged by the company for the land, 10s. for surveys and miscellaneous expenses, 15s. for emigration, and 5s. for religious and educational uses. And it was sold to the purchasers as follows: Rural allotments of not less than 25 acres, £2 an acre; suburban allotment of 10 acres, £3 an acre, or £30; town section of a quarter-acre, £12 10s. For a sum of £120 10s. a purchaser could secure what was called a property, which consisted of 50 acres rural, 10 acres suburban, and a quarter-acre town section. It will thus be seen not merely that the Otago terms were less, but that the appropriations for religious and educational purposes and for emigration were differently allocated, and also that the block of land required for the Canterbury Association was more than double the size of that with which the Scotch settlers had been content.

This correspondence with the New Zealand Company involved many side-issues, to which it is not either necessary or desirable here to specially advert. It must suffice to say that Earl Grey, whose sanction and assistance it was necessary to obtain under the recent arrangements, warmly supported the movement, and in a despatch addressed to Governor Sir George Grey requested him to afford every assistance in his power both in the selection of a site and also in extinguishing any Native titles on behalf of the company. He further promised to favourably consider the request made to him for a charter of incorporation, as already the association had found itself seriously impeded in its proceedings by the impossibility of acting as an independent body, and that the assistance rendered it by the company was itself of a contingent kind. However, matters were so far favourably advanced that in April the committee issued their first advertisement, and on the 1st June their plan or prospectus. In this it was evident that their aims were very high, and they read almost like the dreams of Alnaschar. It was proposed to build twenty churches, twenty parsonage houses, twenty schools, a college and chapel, and residences for a bishop, the principal of the college, and an archdeacon, for

the sum of £41,000. Connected with these were a bishop, an archdeacon, twenty clergymen, and twenty schoolmasters, at a total yearly stipend of £7,000. It was assumed that within the first year or two 200,000 acres would be sold, thus realizing, after payment for the land and survey and other expenses, a sum of £400,000, the interest upon which, at the rate of 6 per cent. on colonial securities, could be appropriated in the manner indicated, and further in promoting the emigration of fifteen thousand persons. It was determined to send out without delay to New Zealand a gentleman who should act as agent and chief surveyor, and upon him devolved the important duty of selecting the land. The instructions he received on this point were very definite. His responsibility in the selection was to be shared with Colonel Wakefield, of Wellington, the principal agent of the New Zealand Company. This joint choice was further to be ratified by the Governor and by Bishop Selwyn, the latter of whom took a warm interest in the scheme. It was also directed that the block of land was to be in a part entirely removed from all possibility of Native disturbance or difficulty.

For this important service Captain Joseph Thomas was chosen by the company, and capable he proved himself to be. Captain Thomas was originally a military man, and had served in the 87th Regiment of Fusiliers. He loved the adventure of a wild life, and was never so happy as when far away from the trammels of civilization, against which he rebelled. He was passionate and overbearing, and could brook no advice or opposition. Still, he was a firm friend, and beloved by those who paid no heed to the roughness of his character. As a surveyor he was clever, and he discharged his multifarious duties for the company with vigour and ability. An old surveyor, Mr. Thomas Cass, of Christchurch—or "Tom Cass" as he was called—to whom I am greatly indebted for many anecdotes and much information regarding the earliest Canterbury days, tells me that Captain Thomas would often sketch a bridge or other design upon the top of a box or table with his pipe dipped into a pot of beer. When dry this was understood to be a capital working-plan for his assistants. In 1846 he was one of Mr. Kettle's survey staff engaged in laying out the Otago Block, the portion which he and his partner Mr. Harrison contracted to survey being the Kaitangata district and the neighbourhood of the Molyneux. After the completion of this survey Captain Thomas took up some land in the Molyneux, and commenced runholding. Shortly afterwards he returned to England, and there remained until appointed to the surveys of the Canterbury Settlement. It is difficult to follow the footsteps of one who vanishes before civilization, but I believe that when advancing years forbade him to wander further he took up his abode in one of the suburbs of Melbourne, and there died some



years ago. Such was Canterbury's pioneer. He sailed, then, on his important mission on the 7th July, 1848, from Gravesend, in the company's barque the "Bernicia," of 548 tons. She had 156 immigrants on board, to be distributed at Nelson, New Plymouth, Wellington, and Otago.

It was the practice in those days for emigrant-vessels to be consigned to the various ports, and to drop at each its consignment of passengers. The "Bernicia" arrived at Otago, her terminal port, on the 3rd December, nine months after the landing of the first settlers. Captain Thomas had, however, disembarked at Wellington. He was accompanied by Mr. Torlesse—a name afterwards well known in Canterbury—a nephew of Mr. Wakefield, who was to be employed on the survey staff. It was not expected that information regarding the success or otherwise of the negotiations of Captain Thomas in New Zealand could reach England much earlier than a year after his departure, and so for a time the association ceased from very active work. But Messrs. Wakefield and Godley were not idle. By incessant correspondence and by interviews with various important persons they sustained an interest in the scheme. The choice of a clergyman who should suitably fill the office of bishop in the new diocese was an important matter for discussion. The Rev. James Cecil Wynter, rector of Gatton, near Reigate, was pressed to accept the bishopric. He was not only a clergyman of considerable learning and activity, but one who took great interest in colonization. Considerable pressure was brought to bear upon him, and it seemed probable that he would accept the dignity. Family reasons, however, induced him finally to refuse it, but he remained an active member of the association, and published in furtherance of its views a learned pamphlet entitled "Hints on Church Colonization." He suggested the name of Mr. Maddock, rector of Kington, in Herefordshire, as being especially fitted for the office which he had declined, and some steps were taken to ensure Mr. Maddock's appointment. The association justly recognized that great advantages would follow an official announcement of the bishop-designate's appointment, affording, as it would, a very evident proof of progress in one of the most important features of the scheme. It was therefore with great dismay that for a second time the association was compelled to bear with a refusal.

Other troubles and difficulties arose. It was considered desirable to secure some one who to all intents and purposes might be called a leader of the colonists—one whose position and wealth and intention to emigrate might induce others of his class to join the movement, who would afterwards look upon him as their official head. Such a one was found in the person of Captain Bellairs, who held some position in Her Majesty's household, and whose father, Sir William Bellairs, was a Norfolk squire possessed

of considerable wealth. Captain Bellairs worked very actively on behalf of the association, and it was understood that he and his father and brothers would form a valuable party of colonists. It would seem that negotiations were set afoot for the bestowal of a baronetcy upon Sir William, but whether for the purpose of conferring greater *éclat* upon the movement or as a species of *quid pro quo* to him for consenting to exchange the comforts of his country seat for the uncertain pleasures of founding an estate in the wilderness is not quite clear. Certain it is that the negotiations came to naught, and that the Bellairs influence was withdrawn.

But Captain Bellairs had become so imbued with the notion of a colonist's life that he determined to embrace it at least for a time. Accordingly, with his wife, he emigrated to the new Settlement of Otago in the early "fifties," and there remained for three years. He resided on the spot now known as Fernhill, and occupied by the Dunedin Club, into whose possession it passed from the late Mr. John Jones. As perhaps was to be expected, he now ran counter to the principles which had been so faithfully instilled by his quondam friend E. G. Wakefield, and which were, of course, the ruling principles of that settlement and those on which it had been founded. He joined that small and select though bitter body of English folks planted in the midst of their Scotch brethren, and known in those days as the "Little Enemy." He aired his new and exceedingly distasteful views on the land question, and, finding no support, bitterly complained of having come from too far south for the Scotchmen; but they corrected him, and with delightful asperity retorted that it was they who had come from too far north for him. And so it proved. He soon shook off colonial dust from his feet, and afterwards repaired to France, where at Biarritz he became a banker and Consul and a French correspondent of *The Times*.

Then, again, an unhappy feeling of jealousy began to be entertained by certain of the directors towards the association, and Mr. Godley with his few attached friends were almost reduced to the depths of despair. More than once during the anxious time of waiting for news from New Zealand, and from some such causes as those disclosed, it seemed quite certain that his labour was in vain, and that the cherished scheme must have an untimely end. A threatened danger, and one of no small magnitude, arose from an entirely unexpected source. In one of his despatches to the Governor, Earl Grey expressed his opinion that "the savage inhabitants of New Zealand have no right of property in land which they do not occupy, and which has remained unsubdued to the purposes of man." Bishop Selwyn, a warm friend and champion of the Native race, protested against this doctrine in the most emphatic manner, and requested that his protests might

be forwarded to Earl Grey. This was done, with the result that amongst the large class of Bishop Selwyn's English friends a strong opinion was formed unfavourable to further colonization in New Zealand. Altogether it was with a feeling of great relief that despatches were received from Captain Thomas, in October, 1849, stating that the district of Port Cooper had been fixed on as the site of the Canterbury Settlement.

We must now follow Captain Thomas's footsteps, and give some account of the circumstances which led to the selection of this site and also some information connected with its earlier history. Information regarding his mission had already preceded him, and much discussion had taken place among the different small communities as to what locality would be chosen. It was understood that the Governor favoured the Thames district, as being near the seat of Government; Bishop Selwyn thought the Aburiri Plains suitable, where Napier was afterwards founded; and the Wellington people considered the Wairarapa Plains to be not only unsurpassed in extent and fertility, but that they would, as a settlement, add materially to the strength and commercial resources of Port Nicholson. Captain Thomas, with his companions, Messrs. Cass and Torlesse, landed in Wellington on the 21st November, 1848, and found that two months before his arrival death had suddenly removed Colonel William Wakefield, who from the commencement of the settlement until 1848 had administered the affairs of the New Zealand Company as its principal agent, and that Mr. (afterwards Sir William) Fox was discharging the duties as acting-agent. It was speedily evident that the Wairarapa district did not possess the features so specially insisted upon by the association at Home. It did not contain the requisite million acres of available land—not more, indeed, than 400,000; it had no harbour; and there were some difficulties in the way of getting an unobjectionable title from the Natives. And so Captain Thomas proceeded in his search, his plan being to examine Port Cooper and its vicinity, and afterwards to proceed south of the Otago Block and inspect the extensive country now known as Southland. For this service the little cutter "Fly," of 20 tons, was chartered, and after a sojourn of three weeks in Wellington Captain Thomas and party sailed for Port Cooper about the middle of December, Mr. Fox accompanying them. Arrived at their destination, a bird's-eye view of the country gained from the crest of the Port Cooper Hills at once impressed them with its fitness for their purpose. Behind lay the unruffled waters of the spacious and almost landlocked harbour up which they had sailed; in front, far as the eye could reach, illimitable plains stretched to the south; whilst to the west the prospect was broken only by the dim outline and haze of Captain Cook's "Snowy Mountains," the backbone of New Zealand. Half a dozen scattered clumps of bush, and the circuitous paths of

three rivers meandering to the sea, alone relieved the russet-brown of tussock, flax, and fern, which covered the great plains. The solitary stillness of the scene was broken by only one little nestling homestead, planted six years before by the brothers William and John Deans, of whom more must be said presently. This oasis was distant about nine miles in a south-westerly direction from Port Cooper, and to it Captain Thomas directed his steps to seek for information. He was hospitably received by the brothers, who gave a most satisfactory account of their successful efforts in subduing the wilderness. The climate, soil, pasture, and well-watered country were all that could be desired. In various directions and for many miles did he traverse the hitherto-untrodden country, every step confirming the favourable opinion which he had formed on his first view of the country.

But the search was not yet concluded ; it could not be considered exhaustive until he had visited the more southern districts, which were reported to be extremely fertile. Accordingly the bows of the little cutter were turned to the southward, but she refused to move in the face of a strong sou'-wester which suddenly sprang up. A little later another attempt was made, but with like result. Captain Thomas accepted the omen. "Here," said he, "let us stay ; the fates are against us : these shall be the Canterbury Plains." On so small a circumstance was determined so important a result. But for it the Bluff and Invercargill might have been Port Lyttelton and Christchurch, and there no towering mass of hills would have separated the harbour from the plains.

It yet remained to procure from the Governor and the Bishop their approval of this choice. Without such approval no further move could be made. For two months Captain Thomas and his small survey party remained at and about Port Cooper, chaining and roughly surveying about 2,000,000 acres of land, which proved to be level, well-watered, and in all respects suitable for grazing and agriculture. Armed with the knowledge derived from this careful examination, it seemed improbable that the desired consent could be withheld. Accordingly he returned to Wellington on the 27th February, and, accompanied by Mr. Fox, sailed for Auckland on the 12th March in the schooner "Harlequin," arriving after a three-weeks passage. A further delay now occurred owing to the absence of Bishop Selwyn on a visitation tour in his little 17-ton schooner "Undine," and the Governor declined to take any decided steps in the matter until the Bishop's return, which was daily expected.

Whilst Bishop Selwyn entertained very warm and favourable sentiments towards the Church of England scheme, he was not in favour of its being founded either in the Middle Island or on the Wairarapa Plains. His advice and recommendation had been sought on behalf of the association by his friend the Rev. Edward

Coleridge, and in a lengthy reply he says, "I cannot consider Port Cooper eligible, as the plain of the southern Island is very variable—in some places a mere washed gravel, barely yielding a little grass—and the great intrusive mass of Banks Peninsula shuts out all settlement on one side." And farther on, "I cannot, therefore, compromise myself to a recommendation of any site within the southern province unless the whole be accurately mapped, and facility given to every purchaser to know exactly what kind of land he is buying, and where it is situated." Twice on his missionary voyages—in 1844 and 1848—he had visited the locality, landing at Banks Peninsula, but on neither occasion had he any reason to be favourably impressed with it. In 1844, whilst sailing down the coast for Otago in a chartered schooner of 20 tons, want of wood and water and the sudden springing-up of a south-east wind compelled an entrance into Peraki Harbour. Here, freed from the miserable accommodation on board, the party determined to pursue their further journey overland, and thus the Bishop made his first acquaintance with the "great plains." Walking over endless miles of gravel and shingle beds was toilsome in the extreme, and fording the rivers which constantly crossed their path was full of danger. On the return journey he entered Akaroa Harbour, where great disappointment awaited him, and from this port an entire week was consumed in the voyage to Wellington. His second visit to Akaroa was in 1848. Of this an amusing anecdote was told me by Mr. Cass, though we may be sure the Bishop would consider it anything but amusing. The news of his arrival speedily spread throughout the bays and harbours of the peninsula, and thereupon came trooping in whalers and their spouses and all the odd population of those out-of-the-way corners. They came to enjoy the blessings of marriage and baptism, opportunities for solemnizing which only occurred at long-distant intervals. The ceremonies over, high revelry ensued, and such a generally glorious time as seemed to them befitting the occasion. The Bishop was full of chagrin, and Bruce, who kept the sole grog-shanty, as full of gratitude, and when the Bishop departed he followed him down to the steamer and took his leave with well-intended compliment. "Good-bye, sir," said he, "and welcome back to you. You're the gentleman as can give the Gospel a good shove to windward." With such aching reminiscences as these was the Bishop asked by Messrs. Fox and Thomas to approve the choice of this locality. He landed in Auckland from his mission tour by the end of April and was immediately waited upon by these gentlemen, who from their surveys and more accurate knowledge of the district were able to bear testimony to its suitability. And so the consent of the Governor and Bishop could no longer be withheld.

A difficulty yet remained which had already formed the subject of correspondence between the Governor and themselves

whilst waiting in Auckland. This referred to an undefined, old-standing claim of a French company—the Nanto-Bordelaise—to some 30,000 acres of land on the peninsula, the boundaries of which apparently included portions of Port Cooper, Port Levy, and other harbours, including that of Akaroa. Until this claim was in some way settled or defined Captain Thomas declined to proceed with his surveys. It will be necessary to give an account of this interesting historic claim presently. The Governor considered it obviously absurd that for several years a foreign company should be allowed to retard the settlement and occupation of a British colony by having kept open for its choice 30,000 acres and four of the finest harbours in the Middle Island. He therefore promised that, subject to the consent of the British Government, every assistance should be given towards procuring Port Cooper and Port Levy, whilst for the time at least Akaroa and Pigeon Bay should be reserved for the French. As the sequel will show, very different though perfectly satisfactory arrangements were made later on.

Their labours so far successfully completed, Captain Thomas returned to Wellington in the barque "Ennerdale," arriving on the 5th June. He at once advertised in the Wellington papers for surveyors and labourers, horses and drays, pile-drivers, and tenders for building immigration barracks, schoolhouse and church, and other preliminary buildings. On the 1st July he sailed in the barque "Fair Tasmanian" for Port Cooper to finally carry out and complete the work he had so well begun. Thus a period of at least four months was frittered away before it was possible to proceed with the work laid down. The difficulty of dealing with the Native lands fortunately formed no part of Captain Thomas's troubles, as this had been removed several months before his arrival in the colony by the purchase of a huge block of land several millions of acres in extent. This purchase was effected through the Commissioner, Mr. Henry Tacy Kemp, by direction of the Governor, on behalf of the New Zealand Company, and was made from the Ngaitahu Tribe. The sale was completed at Akaroa on the 12th June, 1848, for the sum of £2,000, paid to the Natives in four instalments of £500 each, and at half-yearly periods. The boundaries of this block are comprised between two parallel lines drawn from the east to the west coast of the Middle Island—the northernmost one running from Kaiapoi to near the site of present Westport, and the southernmost from Milford Sound to Tokata Point, whereon now stands the Nuggets Lighthouse. The portions of the block exempted from this purchase were certain reserves for the Natives themselves, the disputed Banks Peninsula, stated to belong to the French company, and the 400,000 acres constituting the Otago Settlement. But little was known of the South Island in December of 1848, when Captain Thomas commenced his surveys. The population was a handful, numbering only 4,000 souls.

Of these Nelson claimed about 3,000, and in Otago, then settled but eight months, there were 600. The remaining 400 were made up of whalers scattered along the coast and of the French settlers at Akaroa. The coast-line was inaccurately laid down on the maps, and as to the interior there was all but absolute ignorance.

In February, 1770, Captain Cook, then on his first voyage of discovery, sailed down the east coast of the South Island. The appearance presented by Banks Peninsula induced him to consider it as an island, which he named after his co-voyager Mr. Banks—afterwards Sir Joseph. As such it is placed upon his chart. The error remained uncorrected until about 1820, when Captain Stewart, who discovered the insularity of Stewart Island, found that the so-called Banks Island was in reality a peninsula. The name of his vessel—the “Pegasus”—was given to a bay immediately north of Port Cooper, and it thus appears on all the older maps. The peninsula itself was long represented on these maps as being connected with the mainland by a long, low, narrow neck of land, the whole somewhat presenting the appearance of a battledore with a short handle.

Almost the earliest record of Banks Peninsula is one disfigured by treachery and massacre. The story I have already told, and it need not be repeated now. It related to the celebrated chief Te Rauparaha, who in 1830 came down with eighty of his warriors to Akaroa, there to avenge the death of his friend Te Pahi. The horrors of the story are intensified by the fact that the captain of a whaler conveyed the war-party to the scene of blood, and was himself no inactive spectator.

About 1832 whalers began to form stations on the Peninsula, whose numerous bays and landlocked harbours afforded them every facility whilst exercising their arduous calling. In 1839 the news reached Sydney of the proposed colonization of New Zealand by the New Zealand Company, and it was at this time that speculators came down to purchase tracts of land from the Natives with a view of enhancing the value of their bargains later on. The salubrity and fertility of New Zealand were well known in New South Wales, and the advantages possessed by the colony for breeding horses and cattle for export to Sydney and to India were recognized. Amongst such breeders were such well-known men as Messrs. Cooper, Holt, and Rhodes. Port Cooper—Wakaraupo of the Natives—derived its name from the well-known Sydney merchant Daniel Cooper, uncle of the Speaker of the N.S.W. House, and afterwards Sir Daniel.\*

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\* Daniel Cooper, of the firm of Cooper and Levy, merchants, and engaged in whaling enterprises. Port Levy was named after the other member of the firm.

The points of contact between France and New Zealand form most interesting episodes in the old and early history of this country. The visits of De Surville to the Bay of Islands in 1769, and of the ill-fated Marion du Fresne in 1772, who, with sixteen of his comrades, was massacred by the Natives, have already been described by me.

It now remains to give an account of the formation and proceedings of the French Nanto-Bordelaise Company at Akaroa, to which reference has been made, and which is so closely connected with our early history. Prior to 1840, when New Zealand was "No Man's Land," it was visited by whalers of all nationalities, and thus it happened that in July of 1838 one Captain Langlois, of Havre de Grace, entered Port Cooper harbour in his whaling-vessel "Le Cachalot." Here he entered into negotiations with as many Native chiefs as he could scrape acquaintance with for the purchase of the whole district of Banks Peninsula, with the exception of that portion called Hikoraki, which presumably belonged to a whaler named Dodds. Langlois' story was that the chiefs consented to the sale, and that twenty-three of them signed a deed to that effect by means of their *mokos* (or tattoo-marks and crosses). It was no doubt at the instigation of Captain (Admiral) Cécile that Langlois effected this purchase. The terms of the purchase were that 6,000 francs' worth of various kinds of merchandise—equivalent to £250—should be paid for the land, and in two instalments; the first to be paid immediately, and the second within forty moons, or three years, by which time Captain Langlois promised to return, enter into possession, and complete the bargain. Accordingly the first or preliminary payment was then and there made on the 2nd August. It consisted of 150 francs' worth—about £6—of different articles of clothing, of which it may be presumed the Natives stood urgently in need—such as shirts and trousers, waterproof hats and overcoats, and shoes. This piece of business transacted, Langlois straightway returned to France, and at once took steps to improve his venture. Nor was this at the time a difficult matter to accomplish. Notwithstanding the efforts and representations made by the embryo New Zealand Company to induce the Government formally to annex the Islands of New Zealand as a British possession, no such measures were taken—indeed, the Colonial Office more than once distinctly repudiated all claim to sovereignty, despite its formal establishment by Captain Cook. Hence no international difficulty existed. The French, moreover, were at this time anxious to establish settlements in the Pacific Ocean, and especially to form a penal colony.

So far circumstances favoured Captain Langlois' scheme, which he placed before several business men. The result of the negotiations was the formation of the Nanto-Bordelaise Company, so called from the fact that it was composed of the members of



two mercantile houses in Nantes, of two at Bordeaux, and of three gentlemen in Paris, one of whom was no less a personage than King Louis Philippe. Langlois himself ceded his right and title to the land on condition of his becoming a partner to the extent of one-fifth in the company. The capital was fixed at 1,000,000 francs—about £42,000—of which it was proposed to call up £7,000.

The preliminaries thus satisfactorily settled, the company saw its way not merely to the acquisition of Banks Peninsula, but also to that of the Middle Island, and perhaps to that of the whole of New Zealand, seeing that the English had laid no claim to it. With this view it approached the French Government for sanction and assistance, and, apprehensive of danger from the restless energy of the New Zealand Company, begged for a prompt reply. This procedure took place in October, 1839, and invested the scheme with new significance, for the Government, recognizing its important character, at once appointed a Commission to inquire into the whole question. The recommendations of the Commission were forwarded to the Minister of Commerce, the President of Council, and the Minister of Marine, and were by them directed to be carried into effect. A man-of-war, but out of commission and ranked as a whaler, was placed at the disposal of Captain Langlois for himself, as the head of the expedition, and the outgoing colonists. As a tribute to the importance of the movement, the vessel was re-christened "*Le Comte de Paris*," after the grandson of the King. She was to be supported by the corvette "*L'Aube*," under the command of Captain Lavaud. From the acquaintance with details presumed to be possessed by Captain Langlois, he was granted *carte blanche* to settle questions of property, to select a site for the French establishment, which was to consist of a fifth portion of the company's territory, and to ask from the Government whatever administrative powers he required. The point of final rendezvous for the two vessels was Akaroa Harbour, but it may here be remarked that by Captain Langlois' request the "*Aube*" was to make the North Island her destination in the first instance, with the view, it seems a fair presumption to make, of taking possession of that portion of New Zealand.\*

The emigrants or colonists who proceeded under the company's wing in the "*Comte de Paris*" were sixty-three in number, about a dozen being of German nationality. They were all of the poorer class—labourers, carpenters, masons, a baker, and a miner. Eleven women and some children accompanied the party. A prominent member of the party was M. de Beligny, an able young naturalist from the *Jardin des Plantes*, his specialties being botany and

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\* It is right to say that the recent researches of Mr. Robert McNab in the archives of Paris lead to a very different conclusion in this matter.

mineralogy. The agreement made by the company with their emigrants is of an interesting kind. Each person was to be supplied with provisions for seventeen months, dating from the time of sailing. Women were to receive the same rations, children under ten half rations. On arrival in New Zealand, each man was to receive a grant of 5 acres of land, it being understood that the land was to be cleared during the five years which was the term of service or engagement with the company. If not so cleared, the land would revert to the company. Boys between the ages of ten and twelve were to receive half the quantity of land, and were subject to the same conditions. During their first five years in New Zealand the emigrants could acquire any further quantity of land, provided that the same was cleared and one-half of it returned to the company. The necessary agricultural implements were to be supplied by the company, payment for them being made by the sale of the produce of the land. The company undertook at the end of the five years to carry back to France any of the emigrants who, finding the climate unhealthy or the soil infertile, desired to return. In return for these great advantages the emigrants agreed to work with industry and zeal at clearing the lands on behalf of the company. They were further to behave themselves, and by all the means in their power were to promote the colonization of New Zealand.

This agreement was signed on the 5th February, 1840, at Rochefort. At the end of the month the "Comte de Paris" sailed. The "Aube" had already sailed a month previously for the North Island. Both vessels made long passages of nearly six months each, rendezvousing at Akaroa in the month of August, only to find, to their great chagrin, that they had been anticipated by Governor Hobson, who, on behalf of the British Government, had taken possession of the South Island. The details connected with this episode have already been described by me. Captain Langlois did not, however, permit any sense of disappointment to interfere with the completion of his part of the bargain. He accordingly produced the balance of his goods, distributing them amongst the various chiefs. They were of the most heterogeneous description, consisting of arms and ammunition, pipes and tobacco, wine, bonnets and shawls, soldiers' shakos, cravats and handkerchiefs, carpenters' tools, razors, all kinds of clothing, and many other articles too numerous to mention. According to stipulation, the market value of these goods was £234. The deed, for what it was worth, was signed by the contracting parties, and witnessed by some of the "Aube's" officers. The emigrants then landed, and took up their quarters in a sheltered part of the harbour. The greatest good feeling was soon established between them and the British officers who, as masters of the situation, remained at Akaroa to represent the Government.

Four months afterwards the little settlement was visited by Captain Dunlop, of H.M.S. "Favourite," and his account of it was by no means a glowing one. The emigrants had no stock whatever, and they were living upon salt meats and preserved meats, with whatever vegetables they could raise from their small gardens. The "Comte de Paris," their home for so many months, was about to leave them on a whaling cruise.

A year after their arrival, in September, 1841, Governor Hobson paid them an official visit, and he then made a suggestion to M. de Beligny to the effect that they should relinquish their location at Akaroa for a block of land containing 50,000 acres situated in the Kaitaia district, in the extreme north of the North Island, and which he would place at their disposal. The advantages of this course seemed to be the nearness of the settlers to the control and assistance of the Government, and that the soil would prove more suitable for the growth of the vine, olive, and mulberry. This suggestion was favourably entertained by M. de Beligny, who promised to propose it to his company, and it was also forwarded by Governor Hobson to the British Government for their advice and opinion. A result of this was that Lord Stanley, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, expressed his general approval of the proposal, and in a correspondence which then ensued with the French Government it was promised that the settlers should in every sense rank as British subjects, and that their claims and titles to land should receive the careful examination and consideration of the Commissioners about to be appointed.

Shortly after the founding of the colony the necessity arose for instituting Courts whose functions were to inquire into the validity of numberless land claims made by persons—land-sharks and others—who professed to have purchased land from the Natives before the advent of the Government. The claims of the Nanto-Bordelaise Company fell, of course, into this category, and a Court to examine into them was held at Akaroa in August, 1843, under the presidency of Colonel Godfrey and Captain Richmond. The evidence adduced was considered by these gentlemen to be far from conclusive. The original deed from the Natives to Captain Langlois, and that between himself and the company, were not forthcoming; they were stated to be in the possession of the company in France. There was much discrepancy in the evidence given by the Natives. Our ancient Otago friends, long since dead, Tuhawaiki (or "Bloody Jack") and Taiaroa, who claimed a heritage in Banks Peninsula, were not parties to the sale, and denied that they had signed any document; others denied that they had parted with their land; and there were other conflicting circumstances. M. de Beligny stated that the expenses incurred to date in maintaining the emigrants, in making roads, bridges, buildings, and other necessary works amounted to over £15,000. Altogether the

Commissioners did not feel competent to adjudicate upon a case surrounded by circumstances so peculiar, and they contented themselves with forwarding the whole evidence to Lieut. Willoughby Shortland, who was then administering the Government, owing to the recent decease of Governor Hobson. Mr. Shortland in turn transmitted Colonel Godfrey's report to Lord Stanley, in November, 1843, asking for his instructions. In his letter he remarked that the peninsula was itself a most valuable locality, and that Akaroa was one of the most important harbours and stations in the Island, if not the most important.

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## CHAPTER XII.\*

Claims of the French Company—30,000 Acres granted to them—New Zealand Company desire to purchase the Surrender—French Company claim 260,000 Acres—Earl Grey firm—Fresh Negotiations—The Nanto-Bordelaise Company sell for £4,500—Early History of the District—First Settlement on the Plains—The Deans—Port Cooper inspected by Mr. Tuckett as Probable Site for New Edinburgh—Considered unsuitable—Captain Stokes.

EARLY in 1844 the French company deputed M. Mailléres to visit England and there confer with the British Government with a view to the adjustment and final settlement of the company's claims. Lord Stanley requested that the whole subject should be examined by the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, and to that body he referred M. Mailléres. The Commissioners reported that an expenditure of £11,685 by the company had been proved to their satisfaction. At this juncture Colonel Godfrey, before whom the claim was first heard, arrived in England from New Zealand, and to him the matter was referred for further opinion. The result was that in July, 1845, Lord Stanley issued instructions to Governor Grey to send an officer to Akaroa, there to assist M. de Beligny, the agent of the company, in securing quiet possession from the Natives of the 30,000 acres, and no more, claimed by them. The boundaries of the purchase were to be fixed and inserted in a Crown grant which was to be handed to M. de Beligny.

Due, doubtless, to the disturbed state of New Zealand caused by the Native war, no further steps seem to have been taken by the Government for nearly two years. The directors of the New Zealand Company, however, had not been indifferent to the importance of the matter, and had accordingly made more than one attempt to purchase a surrender of the claims for the sum of £7,500. Their efforts would no doubt have been successful but for the determined opposition of M. Langlois himself, who demanded a much higher price. Thus foiled, the directors, with much cleverness, drew the attention of Lord Grey, who had succeeded Lord Stanley as Secretary of State for the Colonies, to the advisability of making a further move, on the grounds of public policy. This was in April of 1848, at a time when the French were in the throes of revolution. Shortly afterwards an angry letter appeared in the columns of a leading French newspaper—the *Journal du Havre*—from M. Langlois' pen, which gave much point to the recommendations of the directors. He asseverated that the sovereignty of the Middle Island of New Zealand was, through his negotiations with the Natives, really vested in France, and that but for the

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\* Lecture delivered before the Otago Institute, 13th September, 1892.

weakness displayed by the recently fallen Government it would never have been contested. He asserted, furthermore, that the country was one which it was highly necessary that France should possess. A copy of this letter, together with the report of a hot debate which some time previously had engaged the French Chamber of Deputies, was forwarded to Earl Grey by the directors. Shortly afterwards they again addressed His Lordship in a very exhaustive document. Their efforts to effect a purchase had been quite fruitless, and whilst these had been in progress they had become acquainted with the fact that the Nanto-Bordelaise Company no longer confined their claim to the former modest limits of 30,000 acres, but had extended it to 260,000 acres, being, indeed, the area of the entire peninsula. The Directors of the New Zealand Company suggested that the French company should at once be called upon to select the land to which they were entitled; failing to do this, that the land should be selected for them; and, lastly, that one or more of the important harbours in the peninsula should be reserved by the Government for the purposes of colonization.

This communication had the desired effect, and it was quite evident that the Colonial Office would no longer continue to treat this important question with supineness. In November, 1848, Earl Grey forwarded instructions of a very peremptory character to Governor Grey, asking what steps had been taken to bring the business to a conclusion. The question of the extent of land claimed would not, he said, be reopened, the amount of 30,000 acres mutually agreed upon with M. Mailléres in 1845 remaining undisturbed, and this amount was as speedily as possible to be conveyed to the French company. These instructions were received by Governor Grey about the same time that Mr. Fox and Captain Thomas were in correspondence with him on the subject—that is, in April, 1849—and it will be remembered that Sir George Grey's views on that occasion were decidedly favourable towards retaining as much of the peninsula lands for colonization purposes as possible. It appeared that he had made several attempts to discover some person representing the company in New Zealand with whom he might deal. M. de Baligny, the local agent, had returned to France in 1845, without leaving behind him any responsible agent, and thus it had not been possible to carry into effect the instructions of Lord Stanley, and afterwards of Earl Grey.

But what was not possible in New Zealand was now to be effected in England. In the beginning of 1849 the directors received private information that special efforts would be made by the French Government with a view of inducing the Colonial Office to recognize the additional claims preferred by the Nanto-Bordelaise Company, and on that basis to grant proportional compensation. The French Minister for Foreign Affairs instructed

Admiral Cécile, the French Ambassador, to intercede in a private manner, and a M. Cuzon, specially representing the company, was armed with a letter of introduction to Lord Palmerston. No favourable result followed these measures, and in February fresh negotiations were commenced between the New Zealand Company and Messieurs Cuzon and Beligny and Mr. Robinson, the latter of whom had formerly been Resident Magistrate at Akaroa. The directors offered a sum of £4,500 for the purchase of all right, title, and interest, and this was finally accepted by the representatives of the company, in spite of M. Langlois' opposition, which to the last remained bitter and immovable. The deed was signed on the 30th June, 1849. It recognized certain concessions and sales of land formerly made by the Nanto-Bordelaise Company in Akaroa and vicinity, amounting to less than 1,000 acres in all. And thus, fortunately, was overcome a difficulty which in their correspondence with the Governor both Mr. Fox and Captain Thomas considered to be of such a character as seriously to interfere with, if not prove fatal to, the selection they had made.

With the ground thus cleared before us, we are now in a position to follow uninterruptedly the steps taken by Captain Thomas to prepare a home for the Canterbury settlers, and to follow also the measures which the association were again able to prosecute with renewed energy in the Old Country. Before doing this it may be interesting to give some account of what was previously known of the Port Cooper district—that is, between the years 1841 and 1848 or 1849. Of the little history which attaches to it earlier than this, I have already given some account.

The first valuable information relating to the Port Cooper district is that recorded in July, 1841, by two of the earliest Wellington settlers, Captain Daniell and Mr. George Duppa. At the request of Colonel Wakefield, these gentlemen voyaged down part of the east coast of the Middle Island in the schooner "Belle," with a view to selecting a suitable site for the Nelson Settlement, the colonists for which were then on their way from England. Messrs. Daniell and Duppa proceeded no farther than Banks Peninsula, but there carefully examined Ports Cooper and Levy and the adjacent country, making their way for some miles in a small boat up the "Putarikamut," as they called it. This river, afterwards known as the Avon, is now fringed with lovely willows, and winding through the City of Christchurch confers upon it a feature of great beauty. One important addition the explorers made to the geographical knowledge of this part of New Zealand. They were the first to show that Banks Peninsula was joined to the mainland not by a mere low, narrow, sandy neck, but that throughout it was broad and fertile, and of considerable elevation. Notwithstanding the glowing account given of the extent and fertility of the district, it was not destined to become the home of the Nelson

settlers. Governor Hobson refused to grant his assent, much to Colonel Wakefield's chagrin, on grounds which have elsewhere been given in connection with the history of that settlement.

More than a year later—in November, 1842—Captain Smith, the New Zealand Company's chief surveyor, visited and examined the district whilst on his expedition to explore the various harbours on the east coast of the Middle Island. He confirmed and extended the excellent accounts already given by Messrs. Duppa and Daniell.

The first settlement upon the plains was in 1840. In that year Messrs. Dodds and Davis, who were millers in Sydney, desirous of securing a constant supply of grain for their mills, commenced farming operations on the spot afterwards known as Riccarton. They sent down James Heriot, or Hariot, as manager, two farm hands, and two teams of bullocks. They ploughed and cultivated about 30 acres of land and secured their crops. But in less than a year they decided to abandon all further efforts. Numberless rats attacked the garnered stores, and the bar at the mouth of the river or estuary proved a sad obstacle to shipping whatever grain had been spared by the scourge of rats. Shortly afterwards a furious fire swept across the plains, destroying in its course buildings, stacks, and implements, and so brought to a complete and untimely end the first settlement upon the vast and silent plains.

The second settlement was of a much more interesting and permanent character. It brings to our acquaintance the brothers William and John Deans, whose names are a household word in New Zealand colonization. Their descendants, numerous and prosperous, now flourish upon the same broad acres which more than half a century ago were won from the wild waste, and by the courage and energy of the two brothers were made to yield their hidden wealth and beauty. From members of the family and from other sources I have gleaned so much interesting information regarding this phase of early pioneering that I shall not hesitate here to interrupt the current of my history. Mr. William Deans, the elder brother, was one of the New Zealand Company's earliest emigrants. He arrived at Wellington in April, 1840, in the "Aurora." The difficulty he experienced, in common with so many of his fellow-settlers, in securing undisputed possession of the land he had purchased from the company determined him to settle elsewhere whenever a favourable opportunity offered. With this view he accompanied Captain Daniell and Mr. George Duppa in their exploration of the east coast, to which reference has already been made. So impressed was he with the suitability of the Port Cooper district that he decided there to found his future home. His brother John landed at Nelson in October, 1842, and, as he too was dissatisfied with his land, which he had bought in London, he determined to cast in his lot with his brother. Accordingly, William sailed from Wellington in February, 1843, in the 30-ton



schooner "Richmond," and after a ten-days voyage arrived at Port Levy. He brought with him John Gebbie, wife, and three children; Samuel Manson, wife, and three children; also poultry, provisions, and timber to erect a house. A few old whalers had settled at Port Levy with the Maoris, and with them the women and children were left for a few weeks, with John Gebbie as protector. William Deans, with Manson and a few other hands, then pushed his way on to Port Cooper, sailing up the river of the sounding echo, Putaringamotu, or "Putarikamut" as the whalers anglicized it, and now known as the Avon, in a whaleboat as far as what has ever since been known as "The Bricks," for here he landed the bricks he had brought with him for building chimneys. Onwards the party forced their way through swamp and flax and fern until they reached, with infinite labour, the spot selected for settlement. Here was erected the first house on the plains. Though over fifty years old, it yet stands in excellent preservation, and is used as a labourer's cottage on the estate. The old house is put together with wooden pegs, which were made in the tent in the evening, and which took the place of the nails which unfortunately were forgotten and left behind in Wellington. It was finished in about three months, and then Manson and the others returned to Port Levy for John Gebbie, the women, and children. They followed the same route on the return as before. When they reached their destination William Deans stood all alone by the one only dwelling on the vast plains, watching and waiting to welcome the band of pioneers, the first instalment of the hosts that have since followed to reclaim the wilderness. As the canoe could not be brought farther up the river owing to the shallows, and the distance being too great for the children to travel, each father and boatman, on landing, took a child on his shoulders and bravely strode on, the mothers as bravely following, fighting their way through the tall fern and scrub until they reached their destination. On complaining of the roughness and the hardships of the way, William Deans laughingly told them that there would in the future be roads and railways in all directions, and in all probability a tunnel through the Port Hills, and that hereafter they would drive about in their carriages.

The little house was partitioned off into three apartments by means of blankets and sheets, the two families taking one each, leaving the sitting-room for the Messrs. Deans. In June John Deans returned from New South Wales, bringing with him sixty-one head of cattle, three mares, and forty-three sheep, all of a good class, and also wheat, oats, barley, lucerne, and potatoes sufficient for planting 20 acres. It was no easy matter bringing the stock home after landing—first the hills to climb and then the swamps and boggy creeks to encounter on the plain; but with men of such determination the task was successfully accomplished. Their

small hand steel flour-mill ground about 40 lb. an hour, and at it each would take a turn for amusement during the evenings. In two years—that is, in 1844—they had broken in and milked twenty cows, from which they made butter and cheese of excellent quality, which obtained a high name in Sydney. They had abundant crops of various kinds, and had erected three houses, a bridge, cattle-sheds and cattle-yards. This sketch, kindly lent me by Mr. Chapman, was taken in 1850 by Mr. Cridland, who was then surveying the Canterbury Settlement for the expected emigrants. The chief occupations of the little band were building, fencing, gardening, and stock-keeping; the women attended to the dairies and made the soap and candles, in addition to their domestic duties. The sport of the pioneers was stock-riding when the flocks or herds strayed, an occasional wild-dog or wild-pig hunt, duck and pigeon shooting, and eel or flounder fishing.

Lonely as their life was, it was yet broken by stirring incident, which well illustrated the hardships and dangers of New Zealand pioneering. On one occasion they had a memorable visit from the well-known Mr. William Lyon, of Wellington—afterwards of the firm Lyon and Blair. Mr. Lyon started from Akaroa with a companion to walk round by the old Maori track. He was taken ill in a big swamp, and there had to lie all night, deposited in a flax-bush, whilst his companion proceeded onwards to the Deans, there to secure a horse and blankets. He was then brought on, and after a few days' nursing he recovered. On another occasion a party of the settlers proposed visiting what is now Lyttelton. They started on a fine calm morning, but before reaching the bar of the river at Sumner the wind had risen and the bar was very rough. The women and children were landed, and remained in a cave all night, hungry and cold; the whaleboat was capsized on the bar, and William Deans saved his life by clinging to a box of tea. On yet another occasion three men called upon them describing themselves as shipwrecked sailors. They were hospitably received and welcomed, as all visitors were. They stayed the night, giving and receiving news. Next morning they praised the comforts of their quarters, and especially admired the warmth and size of the blankets. After gaining all the information they could of people and places, and being provided with necessaries for their further journey, they proceeded onwards to the Messrs. Greenwood, near Pigeon Bay, where they were engaged as labourers, and worked for a few days. Suddenly one evening, while seated at tea, at a given signal, they rose and pinioned their employers, who were at table with them. They searched the house, taking whatever they thought desirable, and obliged one of the Greenwoods and William Prebble (after whom Prebbleton is called) to carry the plunder to the boat on the beach, which they also took possession of, intending to revisit and rob the Deans. They threatened to murder their

victims if they dared to leave the spot. Prebble, however, as soon as he considered it safe, returned to the house and released the other brother, who was still bound. They immediately left for Port Levy, where a number of old whalers lived—most useful people in those days. A large party at once took boat and came round, going up the river by daybreak next morning, thus anticipating the robbers, who, not knowing the locality, and being overtaken by a mist, wandered about the Sumner caves. The Deans armed all hands with what weapons they could provide, and waited the approach of the robbers, who at last found their way into the Deans' bush at dusk. Their camp-fires were seen for three nights, but, seeing the place so well defended by so many men marching up and down, they never ventured out of their hiding until compelled by a snowstorm. They then decamped, and their footsteps were traced in the snow for some distance towards Otago. One was drowned crossing a river on the way; the other two were captured in Otago and taken to Auckland by Mr. Cass, the surveyor, where they received their sentence.

Curiously, the two brothers Deans died at the same early age of thirty-four years. William was drowned in 1851 during his passage from Lyttelton to Wellington, the vessel in which he was sailing being wrecked off Cape Terawhiti. Twenty-six out of twenty-eight persons on board were lost. Three years later the younger brother, John, died of consumption, after a lingering illness, induced by cold and early privation. The loss of two such energetic and exemplary settlers was keenly deplored by the young community at Christchurch, which in various ways had benefited by the ever-willing help of the brothers. It should have been mentioned that they were natives of Scotland, and that in memory of their old home they called their new one "Riccarton," and the pretty river which ran in front, and which now fringed with graceful willows gives so much beauty to Christchurch, they called the "Avon," after the Scotch river of that name—a tributary of the Clyde, near Hamilton.

We can imagine with what pleasure the brothers heard in 1843 of the projected new settlement of New Edinburgh by the New Zealand Company. Their letters Home at this time depicted the plains in the most glowing colours, and they expressed the hope that there the young Scotch colony would be founded. As we know, the selection of a site devolved upon Mr. Frederick Tuckett, the New Zealand Company's chief surveyor. His expedition sailed from Nelson in April of 1844, in the brig "Deborah," and anchored in the waters of Port Cooper on the 5th. Dr. (afterwards Sir David) Monro was a companion of Mr. Tuckett's, and his account of the stay as given in his journal is highly interesting, and contains the fullest account of the district which had so far been given. The exploring party divided into two, Messrs. Tuckett and Davison,

the surveyor, deciding to reach the plains by ascending the bay as far as possible, and then crossing over the range which divides the harbour from the plains at its lowest elevation, whilst Dr. Monro and Mr. Barnicoat (also a surveyor, and who subsequently and for many years occupied a seat in the Upper House) decided to scale the range in a direct line and so descend to the plains on the other side. The parties agreed to meet at the Messrs. Deans' hospitable abode.

Dr. Monro and his companion started from what is now the site of Lyttelton. Here was a small pa named Rapaki, consisting of two or three miserable Maori cabins inhabited by half a dozen helpless old creatures and a few diseased children. The course then taken would probably be that steep ascent afterwards known as the "Bridle Path," and trodden later by the weary feet of many a Canterbury pilgrim. The summit reached after a toilsome climb, a glorious panorama disclosed itself. Before them the plain extended for thirty or forty miles in a direct line, being bounded by a lofty range of snow-capped mountains; to the south it spread as far as the eye could reach, and was lost in the illimitable distance, whilst on the north it was bounded by the sea-coast. Upon the plain, meandering to the sea, were descried the Waimakariri, nearer was the Putaringamotu or Avon, and nearer still, almost at their feet, the sluggish Opawa or Heathcote, appropriately called by Mr. Duppa, on his expedition two years before, the Serpentine. After enjoying the view they descended the grassy slopes and late in the afternoon made the welcome shelter of the Deans' homestead without any special adventure.

Not so, however, Messrs. Tuckett and Davison, who did not put in an appearance until the following morning. Unable, like their friends, to select from a high vantage-ground the best and safest route, they became entangled amidst the swamps and creeks which everywhere impeded their path. Through some they waded, into others they fell. Coming to one creek they found a Native raft, or *mokihi*, made of a bundle of flax-sticks tied together. Now, the rule in crossing with a *mokihi* is to bestride it as one does a horse, and to paddle forwards with the legs. Mr. Tuckett neglected this rule, and, having a change of dry clothes with him, essayed to cross by balancing himself on top of the frail craft. When in midstream the affair rolled round, carrying everything under. Daylight departed, and in such plight, cold, wet, and hungry, did the twain spend the night, until the first light of a chilly morning enabled them to resume their weary way.

After such an experience we need not wonder that Mr. Tuckett considered the Port Cooper plains quite unsuited for the proposed Scotch settlement of New Edinburgh. His strongest objection, however, rested on the scarcity of timber, a requisite so necessary for firewood and fencing. A large body of emigrants settled under

such a disadvantage would find their whole time occupied in procuring fuel. The opinion of the entire exploring party as to the best method of developing the resources of the Port Cooper district was that persons of considerable means should each have the range of several thousand acres upon which they could combine the rearing of stock and tillage. Such settlers should be able to wait for a time for their profits, and to bear the expenses necessarily arising from the scarcity of timber.

Considerable interest attaches to one who was an early explorer in the Port Cooper district, and who was the last, prior to the survey by Captain Thomas; and with some account of him this portion of our subject may fitly close. I refer to Captain (afterwards Admiral) John Lort Stokes, of H.M.S. "Acheron," to whose labours we are indebted for the greater portion of the survey of our New Zealand coasts. Captain Stokes entered the navy in 1824, joining H.M.S. "Prince Regent." For the long period of eighteen years—from 1825 to 1843—he served in the well-known surveying vessel "Beagle," rendered famous in Darwin's "Voyage of a Naturalist round the World." A most interesting and valuable account of the explorations and surveys made by him during several years of this voyage was published in 1846 in two volumes, entitled "Discoveries in Australia." After a well-deserved rest he was promoted to the rank of captain, and received the command of the "Acheron," in which vessel he surveyed, as just said, the principal portion of our coasts. His labours here extended from November, 1848, to March, 1851, and comprised the chief parts of the coast and harbours of the South and Stewart Islands and Cook Strait, and the North Island from Doubtless Bay to the Mercury Islands, and from Cape Kidnapper to Cape Palliser on the east side, and thence to New Plymouth. He also explored and made what is known as a running survey of the wild west coast of this Island. In this connection it may here be mentioned that Captain Byron Drury, of the "Pandora," performed between 1852 and 1855 the surveys not undertaken by Captain Stokes. To him sailors are indebted for their knowledge of the west and north coasts of the North Island and that portion of the east extending between Mercury Bay and Cape Kidnappers. It was, then, in March and April of 1849 that Captain Stokes visited the great Port Cooper plains. Of them he gave the most favourable description, and commended the choice made by Captain Thomas, the New Zealand Company's surveyor.

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### CHAPTER XIII.\*

More Troublous Times for the Company—Talk of Self-government—Dr. Lang—Society for Reform of Colonial Government—J. E. FitzGerald—Lord Lyttelton—Mr. Godley appointed Chief Resident Agent, and arrives in New Zealand—His Notes on Otago and the Labour Question—Finds great Activity at Port Cooper—Site for Inland Town—Nomenclature—Cheap Native Labour—Company's Guarantee expended—Activity of Committee at Home—A Periodical—Public Meetings in England—Wanted, a Bishop—Rev. Mr. Jackson—New Zealand Company surrenders its Charter—Christchurch College—Junketings—The Pioneer Vessels arrive—The Reception—The First Sunday Service—The *Lyttelton Times*—Mr. Godley returns to England—Self-government and Provincial Councils.

IN June, 1849, the troublesome claims of the French settlers to Banks Peninsula were satisfactorily settled by the New Zealand Company's purchase of the whole of the disputed land. Captain Thomas, the company's agent and chief surveyor, had selected his site on the great plains, and had, indeed, commenced a preliminary survey. And thus were the two important bodies—the New Zealand Company and the Canterbury Association—in a position to resume their great work. And yet, so far as the operations in England were concerned, the work progressed but little and languidly; and more than once did it seem as though the brilliant scheme of eighteen months before, connected with the names of noblemen and high Church dignitaries, was destined to end in dismal failure. The evil days which had begun to descend on the New Zealand Company, and which a year later were to end in the surrender of their charter, had begotten a spirit of indifference amongst the directors, whose motto seemed to be "*Sauve qui peut.*" This spirit brought its certain effect. They saw in the association a rival and not an ally—a partner whose demands upon the joint purse must everywhere be curtailed. Throughout this troublous—nay, almost disastrous—time Edward Gibbon Wakefield stood firm, and possessed himself in patience. He likened himself to a mole working in the dark. His work was incessant, and effective, too. No difficulty dismayed him: he was in constant, if hidden, communication with those who were the apparent and moving actors in the scheme. He advised and suggested, pointed the way out of difficulties, adjusted differences of opinion, and with his powerful pen discussed in the columns of *The Times*, the *Spectator*, and the *Morning Chronicle* not merely matters relating to the coming Canterbury colony, but a question which just then was powerfully agitating the hearts of all colonists throughout the British Empire—the question of self-government. In all these labours he was aided by his friend, and almost his equal in ability, John Robert

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Godley, who took as deep and fervent an interest in the scheme as Wakefield himself. Though it may appear so, it is no real digression from the subject close in hand to stray for a few minutes and touch upon the momentous question to which I have referred. The foundation of the new Canterbury, designed on so extensive and complete a plan, seemed to give fresh force and an increased sharpness to those arguments which had long been adduced in favour of granting the colonies permission to decide upon their own requirements and to legislate accordingly. These opinions had been long held not only by those most interested, the colonists themselves, but also by an ever-increasing body of English politicians. Attempts had already been made to secure these privileges, but they were invariably stifled by the Governments of the day, who viewed the colonies as an unavoidable nuisance—as a thorn, not a gem, in the British Crown.

Many colonists doubtless remember the visit paid to New Zealand in the early “seventies” by the patriotic, not to say pugnacious, Dr. Lang, of Sydney. This reverend gentleman, who veritably belonged to the Church militant, was foremost in most political questions connected with the colonies. And thus it happened that in 1849 he completed his seventh visit to the Home-country, there to plead and sue for those rights which he contended had always been cruelly and unjustly withheld from his brethren at the Antipodes. But his efforts were of no avail, and, whilst shaking the dust from off his feet, he addressed a ferocious and farewell epistle to Earl Grey, and concluded it by saying—and he rejoiced whilst saying it—that the time was at hand when the incensed colonists would turn round upon their mother, cast off their love and allegiance, and, like the Americans, form their own free and independent State. We shall presently see how different, how conciliatory, was the tone adopted by Mr. Godley on his departure—almost at the same time—for New Zealand. For he, too, addressed a parting letter to Mr. Gladstone, Earl Grey’s Under-Secretary.

This year, then—1849—was a momentous one in the history of the British colonies, for in it those able politicians and statesmen who long had taken a keen interest in colonial matters now gathered their forces together, and enrolled themselves into a body called “The Society for the Reform of Colonial Government.” For a year or two before and after this time innumerable pamphlets and speeches were poured forth discussing these subjects, the great newspapers enlightened the public upon them, and the reviews treated them in weighty articles. Crowning all, appeared Wakefield’s work on the “Art of Colonization,” written in his clever, incisive way, and the last of the many he had contributed since 1830. And thus with the threatening danger of defeat and at almost the point of the sword the Government agreed to grant the Constitution which this and other colonies now enjoy.

Amongst the men who did battle in this strife were Lords Lyttelton, Kinnaird, Talbot, Hon. Travers Baring, Spencer Walpole, Sir W. Molesworth, Charles Adderley, Joseph Hume, Cobden, Bright, Roebuck, and Rintoul, the editor of the *Spectator*. The first secretary of this able and powerful society was James Edward FitzGerald, who had cast in his lot with the Canterbury Association, and, indeed, sailed a year later for New Zealand with the first colonists. FitzGerald was an exceedingly able man, whose name, though rarely heard now, will ever be identified with all that is best in the history of his adopted country. He took, as we shall presently see, a prominent place in the association, and he was in constant communication with his friend Gibbon Wakefield.

Towards the end of 1849 matters began to mend, and the leaders of the association displayed renewed energy. At the end of October news arrived from New Zealand that Captain Thomas was in the full swing of work, and a little later that he had no fewer than 110 men employed on surveys, roads, and buildings. In November the charter of incorporation was granted.

Thus stimulated and fortified, the association entered upon a new existence. Lord Lyttelton, who had always taken a lively interest in its fortunes, was elected chairman, in the place of Mr. John Hutt, and to the end of his life he continued to be a firm patron and friend of Canterbury. For the duties of his position he was well fitted. The descendant of an historical family, he was born in 1817. He was educated at Eton and Oxford, and married Miss Glynne, a sister of Mrs. Gladstone. He soon identified himself with questions relating to the advancement of the working-classes, and thus strongly advocated the founding of night-schools and of working-men's institutes. But he devoted most of his attention to matters connected with the Church and with colonial questions. In 1846 he was Under-Secretary in Sir Robert Peel's Administration, and thus had special advantages in studying matters relating to the colonies. Hence it was with peculiar fitness that in 1849 he was selected to fill the office of chairman of the Canterbury Association. During the years 1867 and 1868 he visited and travelled through the flourishing province which he had so greatly helped to found, and published an interesting account of his visit on his return to England. He died in March of 1876. His connection with the Province of Canterbury will ever be handed down in the names of "Lyttelton," its seaport, and of "Hagley Park," in Christchurch.

Mr. Godley's delicate state of health now rendered it imperative that he should leave the bitter English winter and seek rest and health in a more genial climate. For some time he had suffered from an affection of the throat, and symptoms of consumption had manifested themselves. His physician insisted that if he valued his life and hoped for recovery he must not delay his



departure. Against the obstacles which threatened destruction to the Canterbury scheme he laboured incessantly with his friend Wakefield and others, and thus became passionately attached to it and bound up in its success or failure. It must, therefore, have been with feelings of intense relief and delight that he saw the difficulties lighten. Moreover, he had the prospect of an active, congenial life in the glorious climate of New Zealand substituted for the idle ease of Italy or Madeira. His personal qualities and his knowledge of every detail marked him specially out as the pioneer. He was therefore appointed chief resident agent, and had plenary powers. On the eve of his departure he addressed a remarkable letter to Mr. Gladstone, one which formed a striking contrast, as I have already said, to that of Mr. Lang to Earl Grey. In this letter, which was afterwards published in pamphlet form, Mr. Godley eloquently beseeches Great Britain to preserve the attachment of her colonies and so the greatness of her Empire. With prophetic vision he sees the advantage of federation to both, and as a step to this he begs that without delay the gift of self-government be accorded to the distant colonies. Thus many years ago was a prayer uttered for federation. The events of recent years show how surely if slowly the bonds are being woven between a once indifferent mother and her children.

Mr. Godley said farewell to his numerous friends, and, accompanied by his wife and little son of three years old, sailed in December, 1849, for the shores of New Zealand in the "Lady Nugent," which was bound in the first instance for Otago. Amongst his companions were the Hon. Mr. Tollemache and Edward Jerningham Wakefield, the only son of his celebrated father. On board were a number of early Otago settlers. The vessel arrived at Port Chalmers on the 26th March, 1850, and there remained a fortnight. During this time Mr. Godley made numerous observations and notes upon the then infant settlement of Otago, and these he embodied in an unpublished letter to the Canterbury Association. There are several pretty pictures of the surrounding scenery of the infant town, and of the primitive mode of life. "We have been," he says, "much pleased with the labouring-people. I never saw such a nice, tidy, civilized population in manners and appearance. Their little cabins, though of course small and rude, are quite neat and clean, the children equally so; and on the Sunday evening everybody turned out, extremely well dressed, for the Scotch service." Still, there are many severe criticisms in this lengthy letter; and what chiefly induced me to digress in referring to it was to introduce Mr. Godley's sensible remarks on a question which seems to have given trouble in those earlier, as it does now in these later, days—namely, the labour question, and the finding of work for the unemployed by Government. After stating the difficulty met with by the few agriculturists and other

private employers in securing men to work for them, he goes on to say, "The second point regards the employment by the New Zealand Company of a certain number of labourers permanently for the sake of giving them employment—that is, not because they are wanted, but because they are in distress. Under all circumstances and everywhere I believe this kind of national workshop to be a very bad method of relieving distress, but in a colony like Otago, where wages are so high as to paralyse agricultural enterprise, it is not only unnecessary but detrimental and absurd in the highest degree. It is true that on the charity works the labourers only get 3s. a day, whereas private employers give 3s. 6d. to 4s. besides rations (shepherds, £50 a year), but the difference is compensated in the labourers' eyes by the circumstances that in one case he is paid for working and in the other for only making believe to work; in fact, for standing with his hands in his pockets and his pipe in his mouth. It is not only on account of the direct expenses to which these abuses subject the company that I deplore them. A far worse effect is the impression of bad management and jobbery which they produce in the minds of the colonists. The colour which they put upon the creation of a useless office and upon the unnecessary and detrimental expenditure of the public money is that *they* pay for these things, and that the company is spending *their* funds for the sake of increasing its patronage on the popularity and influence of its representatives." Such words deserve record, and, if true then, are true to-day.

Wellington was to have been the next port of call for the "Lady Nugent," and it was Mr. Godley's intention to make his way thence as best he could to the new settlement at Port Cooper. But important despatches awaiting him at Otago caused him to charter the vessel to convey him direct to Port Cooper. There he arrived on the 11th April, and was received by Captain Thomas, who was in charge of the surveys, and had acted, indeed, as general supervisor and agent. The works had been in hand about nine months, and Mr. Godley was fairly astonished to see the progress made. At Lyttelton, the site of which had been laid out, a jetty 160 ft. long had been erected; also four immigration barracks capable of holding four hundred persons, various storehouses and sheds, and a surveyor's office. A broad road commencing at the jetty and intended to connect the port with the plains, *via* Sumner, had been formed for about four miles and a half out of the necessary ten and a half. Everywhere were proofs of busy activity. Already a well-known old Wellington settler, Major Hornbrook, had erected a publichouse for the accommodation of the expected settlers. True to the ecclesiastical sentiments of the scheme, this had been entitled the "Mitre Hotel." This ancient landmark was destroyed in the great Lyttelton fire nearly forty years ago, but its successor, with the same name, still exists. A track, after-

wards and still known as the "Bridle-path," had been devised to connect directly the port and the plains by scaling the precipitous heights of the hills at the back of Lyttelton and then descending on the other side. For years the feet of many a weary pilgrim trod this toilsome path. Mr. Moorehouse's bold conception of the Lyttelton Tunnel years ago relegated to limbo these old paths of travel. Still, it is well worth the visitor's while to climb the steep ascent, at the summit of which he gazes upon that glorious view of distant mountain and illimitable plains which entranced the eyes of the first pioneers. Thoughts deeper than words crowd upon him; he is transformed into a pilgrim too, and he sees in the invisible past all the comings and goings and incessant changes which surrounded with a halo the colonization of those early days. Half-way up the hill on the Christchurch side may still be seen the remains of a stone drinking-fountain erected by Mr. Godley, which has been repaired in later years.

To return: 300,000 acres had already been surveyed, and the survey of Christchurch had just been completed. Altogether, affairs were in a very forward way. Amongst the surveyors must be mentioned many well-known New Zealand names—Torlesse, Cass, Hughlings, Park, Jollie, and Bealey.

According to Mr. Cass, the site of Woolston would have been greatly preferable to that of Christchurch. It was drier, better drained, and more under the hills. Christchurch was in a more swampy locality. But Captain Thomas in his impetuous way would not listen to this suggestion. He considered that the Avon must go through the town, so that there might be boat traffic and direct water communication with Sumner. Christchurch was laid out by Messrs. Thomas and Jollie, and the principal portions of the block were triangulated by Mr. Cass and the other surveyors. The brothers Deans requested that the town should not be placed too near their homestead, and thus the public gardens, afterwards known as "Hagley Park," were placed so as to intervene.

And now for a short account of the name-giving, which is always of some interest. In this instance the key is chiefly found in the ecclesiastical character of the scheme. As those well acquainted with the province will presently discern, many of these names have been long lost or have fallen into desuetude. The "Canterbury Block" was so named after the primacy of All England, and the seaside township of Sumner after the Archbishop himself, John Brid Sumner, who was the president of the association. "Lyttelton," as has already been said, is after the chairman of the association. "Christchurch" after the college at Oxford of which Mr. Godley and so many of his co-workers were distinguished members. The name of "Godley" is not specially euphonious, otherwise it would without doubt have been devoted to one of the two towns. It appears alone at the entrance to the harbour as

“Godley Head,” in one of the quays, and in a mountain-peak. The streets of Lyttelton are all called after the bishops who were on the committee, and those of Christchurch after the bishops who were not. Captain Thomas resorted to quite a characteristic way of putting them on his plan. He shook all the names up in his hat, and placed them as they came. Thus there was no favouritism or difficulty about precedence. Those faithful martyrs of the Church, Cranmer and Latimer, are enshrined in the two squares. The two universities appear as terraces upon the banks of the Avon. This pretty river alone intrudes into this august assemblage without any priestly title. It does not even represent, as has been contended, the bard of Avon; though, to give a colour to this opinion, the earliest settlers sometimes called it “the Shakespeare,” and thus it appears in early print. From time to time a little discussion arises on the point in the *Lyttelton Times*, and it is with a feeling of some pride and satisfaction that I have succeeded in settling this small point. The River Avon for about four miles from its source divides the adjacent counties of Ayrshire and Lanarkshire and in this portion of its course it intersected a property belonging to the grandfather of the brothers W. and J. Deans. Here as boys they played and fished, and in after days perpetuated its memory by naming the Maori Puringamotu, which ran in front of their Riccarton abode, the “Avon.” The Heathcote, which with its sister, the Avon, falls into the estuary at Sumner, is after the baronet Sir William Heathcote, M.P. The great rivers throughout the block were named after noblemen on the association committee—Courtenay, Cholmondeley, Ashley, Hinds, Ashburton, and many others. But mostly the old Maori names have resumed sway—the Waimakariri, Rakaia, Rangitata. Lake Ellesmere still perpetuates the Earl. The plains were separated by the great rivers—the Wilberforce, the Sumner, the Whately Plains; but these are now effaced from memory, and as for years there was so little settlement upon them were probably never used. Many of the mountain-peaks received their names at this time, and later as the interior surveys and explorations progressed—Mounts Torlesse, Grey, and Stokes, for instance, and, above all, Mount Cook.

As might be expected, it was difficult to estimate at first the relative importance of the two towns, which only existed upon paper. Captain Thomas thought—and rightly, as time has shown—that the town of the plains would be the chief. It was long, however, before the port town was supplanted and reduced to the second rank it now occupies. Early illustrations show how important was Lyttelton, whilst Christchurch could boast of but a small sprinkling of houses. The title of the chief Canterbury newspaper—the *Lyttelton Times*—is still retained, though its office home was changed thirty years ago.

Captain Thomas had done a great deal of work by April of 1850, the time of Mr. Godley's arrival on the scene. His former experience of the English labourer had not been at all favourable. He accordingly determined to try an experiment. He brought down with him from Wellington about 120 Maoris, who had previously been employed in forming the roads in the neighbourhood of that town. The result was highly gratifying to him; they were cheerful, good-natured, worked fairly well, caused no trouble, and were delighted with the treatment they received; their pay was 2s. 6d. a day per man. Being Christians, they had some sort of religious service night and morning before commencing and leaving off work. Captain Thomas thought, however, that white labourers at 4s. 6d. a day were cheaper than the Maoris at 2s. 6d. Still, situated as he was, without protection, and familiar with strikes, demands for higher wages, and other little peculiarities of his countrymen, he was thoroughly satisfied and proud of his venture. In addition to the Natives, he employed a small staff of skilled artisans, such as carpenters, blacksmiths, and surveyors' men. Altogether about two hundred souls were employed on the busy scene.

These extensive works and this small army of workmen meant indeed a large expenditure of money, and to meet this the New Zealand Company in its first arrangements with the Canterbury Association guaranteed that body the sum of £20,000 to be placed at their disposal in New Zealand. Mr. Godley was dismayed to find that this large sum had been expended, and that but for the generosity and judgment of Mr. Fox, the company's agent at Wellington, the works would have been entirely suspended some time before. Mr. Fox permitted Captain Thomas to draw upon him for a further sum of £3,500, and thus relieved him from a serious dilemma. Even this additional sum was almost exhausted, and no alternative was left Mr. Godley but to direct that no new contracts should be undertaken and that all work should cease with the expiring of Mr. Fox's additional credit.

Though somewhat anticipating, it may be as well here to complete this portion of the Rev. Mr. Jackson's history. He sailed for Lyttelton in the "Castle Eden," the fifth ship, and arrived two months after the first body of settlers. He was accompanied by his wife and family, and had also a footman and, I believe, a carriage. His wife was the daughter of a fashionable London tailor. She directed the fashion at Lyttelton, not a quarter of a year old, and herself, dressed in ostrich-feathers and silk, required that all ladies attending her reception should also be in silk attire. One difficulty was to find roads on which the carriage might drive, and another was to find a suitable site for "my palace." Mr. Godley gave great scandal in always appearing in moleskin trousers and a blue jumper. These particulars I have gathered from private sources, and with

difficulty, because a most proper effort was made to throw a veil over everything connected with the Bishop-designate. I do but recount these items so as to depict more plainly than in any other way the manner of man he was. The personal interview with Bishop Selwyn took place. Over this let us throw a veil.

Mr. Jackson, not quite satisfied with his prospective diocese, soon returned to England with his carriage, and footman, and ostrich-feathers. No consecration took place, and no more was heard of him in connection with Canterbury. He was appointed to a living—the rectory of Stoke Newington—and there died about 1886. Probably due to this rude shock, no effort was made for many years to fill the ecclesiastical void. But it was filled in 1856 by the appointment of one whom all who knew loved and revered—Bishop Harper. Such is one of the forgotten episodes in our early history.

On the 5th July the connection subsisting between the New Zealand Company and the Canterbury Association ceased, for on that day the company surrendered its charters to the Crown. Its services in colonizing this country can never be overestimated. It was the mother—the *alma nutrix*—of all our settlements, excepting that of Auckland, and, indeed, of that indirectly also. Wellington, Taranaki, Nelson, and Otago were its daughters; and now the fifth was struggling into life whilst its parent died. This inevitable result had, however, long been foreseen, so that the event in no way affected the fortunes of Canterbury. Legal provision was speedily made whereby the association was empowered to deal with those lands which had previously been vested in the New Zealand Company for colonizing purposes.

The scholastic picture was always prominent in the scheme, and after mature consideration a plan was propounded for the establishment of a college in the capital city, and to be called “Christchurch College.” It was proposed that this should consist of two departments—a lower or public-school department, for boys from seven to seventeen; and a collegiate or upper department, for young men above the age of seventeen. The plan of the great grammar schools of England was to be adopted for the former, both as to instruction and discipline. The collegiate department comprised four divisions—the theological, classical, mathematical with civil engineering, and the agricultural. The scale of fees proposed was moderate, and was dependent on the income derived from the College endowments. It was long before the aspirations contained in this outline were even partially attained; but attained they were to some degree within four months of the arrival of the settlers, and it may even yet be of interest to give an account of what was then effected. In the public school were taught Greek and Latin classics, ancient, modern, and ecclesiastical history, geography, arithmetic, algebra and Euclid, vocal music, drawing, and French, and the doctrines of

the Christian religion. The terms were eight guineas a year with an additional payment of 10s. to £1 a year for the use of books, of which there was an ample supply. For the College the terms were £12 a year. The Rev. Henry Jacobs (now Dean Jacobs) was the classical master, and Mr. Christopher Calvert, who came out as secretary to the Bishop-designate, was mathematical master. The hours were from 9 to 12 and 2 to 4.30. Saturday was a whole holiday. The holidays were two of five weeks each and one week at Easter. In addition to these there was a Church Grammar School, apparently for the children of the humbler class. The terms were 6d. and 9d. a week, and the principal subjects taught were the three Rs, religious instruction, vocal music, and sewing. The Rev. W. Dudley—a well-known Canterbury name—had charge of this school.

The time now approached for the departure of the pioneers. True to their efforts and promise, the committee chartered four vessels—the “Charlotte Jane,” “Randolph,” “Sir George Seymour,” and “Cressy”—and advertised that they would positively sail on the 29th August. These were the parallels of the Otago “John Wickliffe” and “Philip Laing.” What ceremonials and leave-takings and functions there were in those days of emigration! Such as surely can never occur again, and as in these days can barely be appreciated or understood.

A month before the sailing the association gave a public breakfast to those of their colonists who were what we should now call saloon passengers. The vessels, which were lying together in the East India Docks, were gaily dressed in bunting. Three hundred and forty persons sat down to a very sumptuous repast. Lord Lyttelton was in the chair. Many of the nobility and gentry, Church dignitaries, and ladies were present to wish the guests God-speed. Then there was much excellent speech-making, and at the close of these festivities the company adjourned to the docks and there commenced dancing to the strains of the Coldstream Guards' band. Amongst the guests and speakers was Mr. FitzGerald, whose active labours as one of the officials in the scheme were now drawing to a close. Surprise was expressed by many of the papers when reporting this *déjeuner* that it had been confined to the upper classes, and that no notice had been taken of the bone and sinew of the enterprise—of the labouring emigrants. It was speedily explained, however, that this class was to be feted and feasted immediately before their departure. This was accordingly done two days before the sailing, and the event must have been a very remarkable one, and probably had more features of interest than its predecessor. From all parts of the kingdom these occupants of cottage homes gathered together at Gravesend near their vessels' sides. Here a huge tent had been erected capable of holding seven hundred people—the emigrants, their friends, and many members of the association. They were regaled with the roast

beef and plum-pudding of Old England. The Bishop-designate presided and made a most eloquent speech. Altogether the spectacle was a remarkable and touching one. The last great function was a sermon preached before the departing colonists in St. Paul's Cathedral by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The four vessels took their departure on the 7th September, and within a few hours of each other. There were of all classes 791 passengers, of which number 127 were in the chief cabin. The two pioneer vessels to Otago—the "Philip Laing" and "John Wickliffe"—had but 278 passengers between them. The voyages were probably not more diversified with incidents than is usual, and, moreover, an interesting account of each is given in the first issue of the *Lyttelton Times*, which appeared three weeks after the first landing. But a remarkable incident must be noted. Though the vessels sailed together, and with a trifling exception at the beginning of the voyage saw nothing whatever of each other, they arrived at their destination almost within a few hours of each other. The "Charlotte, Ann" was the first to arrive—on the 16th December, 1850, at 10 o'clock. At 3.30 the "Randolph" appeared. Early the next morning the "Sir George Seymour" arrived, and the laggard in the race was the "Cressy," about a week after.

Miss Townsend, who afterwards married Dr. Donald, of Lyttelton, painted a spirited little sketch of the first landing. Sir W. Fox's early pictures of this and other scenes have, of course, quite an historical value here.

Of the long roll of names forming the pioneer list, many have disappeared, and after the lapse of forty-three years it would be of little interest to make much reference to them. Still a few remain, and the memories of others are associated who are honoured not only in their own district but throughout New Zealand—Dean Jacobs, and other well-known clergymen, Mr. FitzGerald, C. C. Bowen, the clever family of Ward (of whom was that prince of parodists, Crosbie Ward, who chiefly wrote the "Canterbury Rhymes"), and many scions of aristocratic families.

As no advantage whatever could follow from remaining longer at Port Cooper, Mr. Godley determined to proceed onwards to Wellington in the "Lady Nugent," which had thus been detained for two days. This course enabled him to communicate more directly with Home, to acquaint himself with colonial affairs, and, above all, to take a leading part in those political questions connected with self-government which were then agitating the minds of the colonists.

At Wellington we will at present leave him, and return to England, there to follow the further footsteps of the New Zealand Company and the Canterbury Association. No sooner, then, had Mr. Godley departed for his new home and duties and the new



year of 1850 well commenced then the association advertised that, being at length in a condition to proceed with their undertaking, they had resolved to do so without delay.

I have already compared the two schemes adopted by the Otago and the Canterbury Associations respectively, and I therefore need say no more on this head than bring to your remembrance that whilst the Scotch settlement was content with a modest-sized block of 400,000 acres, the Episcopolians were not content with less than 2,400,000. The boundaries of this block were somewhat loosely defined, nor was it possible that it should be otherwise, seeing that the interior of the country was all but absolutely unknown. They extended along the sea-coast from the Double Corner to the mouth of the Ashburton River and thence inland from these two points to the mountain-range, whose base completed the area. The price of the land in Otago was £2 per acre; that in Canterbury £3. No block of less than 50 acres could be sold; £24 was the price of a half-acre allotment in the principal town, but any person who purchased land before the 30th April was entitled to receive as a gift one of these town allotments, and he was further entitled to the honourable distinction of being one of the first body of colonists. To the great disappointment of the committee, however, purchasers did not come forward in any proportion to the efforts made to induce and attract them. In a measure this was due to a very unfortunate business arrangement made with the New Zealand Company, and it soon became apparent how this crippled and threatened to wreck the whole scheme. The company stipulated that if by the 30th April the association had failed to sell £100,000 of land, then the whole of the land should revert to them. This, of course, meant a suspension of the scheme, besides a serious loss of time, effort, and money. Had purchasers boldly come forward according to expectation all would have been well, but, as it was, this contingency deterred them. Would-be purchasers looked round to see their neighbours make the first move, and, as no one moved, the position became very serious indeed.

In this dilemma, what was to be done? Correspondence and interviews were held with the company, and numerous suggestions made, which came to naught. Meanwhile the fatal 30th approached. At last the difficulty was overcome. Lord Lyttelton, the Hon. Mr. Cavendish, Captain Simeon, and Mr. Wakefield gave a bond or guarantee for £15,000 to the company, and upon this understanding that body remitted the imperilling clause. Such was a noble example of public spirit—of patriotism, indeed. And now disappeared the last of the great difficulties which had beset the path. Applications for land became more numerous, and the association extended to the 30th July the advantages accruing to the first body of colonists—that is, to those who enrolled themselves by that date. To give finality, and to relieve uncertainty, a posi-

tive promise was made that the first body of colonists should sail from the shores of England not later than the first week in September.

The activity of the committee was not now to be surpassed. Rooms were taken in the Adelphi, where intending colonists met. Here papers were read on subjects of special interest, information was given, and facilities afforded for meeting and conversing with those who had personal knowledge of New Zealand, and especially of Canterbury. Here were to be seen living New Zealand plants, specimens of the woods, and many of the country's products. This society afterwards became a very powerful and important organization in the young country to which it was transferred, and many well-known Canterbury names belonged to it—James Edward FitzGerald, Tancred, Henry Sewell, Perceval (father of a later Agent-General), Brittan, and many others. Then, following the example of the Otago Association, which issued the *Otago Journal*, a series of tracts or papers was published from time to time, generally a number every alternate month. They gave advice and information regarding the scheme, reported progress, published letters from old colonists and the officials. Though Mr. Bellairs nominally edited the first three or four numbers, Wakefield really suggested and selected the material. I have already given some account of Mr. (or, rather, Captain) Bellairs and of his father, Sir William, a Norfolk squire, who it was hoped would invest £70,000 in the scheme, and would from his position and repute become the leader of the colonists.

This publication is of much rarity and value and contains a succinct account of the rise and progress of the settlements. It consists of twelve numbers, the first being published on the 1st February, 1850—the last in April, 1852. A new series was commenced in March, 1859, which extended to but two numbers.

Another important method of operation was by means of holding large public meetings in London and adjoining counties. Every precaution was taken to make these successful, and tremendous successes they proved. Noblemen, bishops and other Church dignitaries, members of Parliament, and country gentlemen filled the platform, and as a consequence overwhelming numbers crowded the various meetings. The speeches were eloquent and effective, and excited the greatest enthusiasm. Prominent amongst them all were those delivered by the Bishop-designate, and this mention leads me to give some accounts of this dignitary.

You will remember that the leaders of the scheme considered the appointment of a bishop to be of the first importance. "*Nil sine episcopo*" was the sentiment, and it was not considered possible or decorous that this great pilgrimage of the English Church could go forth without its natural leader. So far the efforts made

had been disappointing. The gentlemen approached—the Revs. Messrs. Murdock, Wynter, Gell, and Abraham—refused the invitation for different reasons. In this difficulty the Rev. Ernest Hawkins, an active member of the committee, and secretary of the S.P.G. in foreign parts, recommended the Rev. Thomas Jackson, a prebendary of St. Paul's, and principal of the Battersea Training College. Some years before he had been private tutor in the family of Bishop Blomfield, the then Bishop of London, and author of the well-known Greek Testaments. Mr. Jackson's advancement in the Church was no doubt owing to the Bishop's patronage. But a more unfortunate appointment could not have been made, and had the mere title of Bishop-designate been converted by association into that of Bishop of Lyttelton it seems quite certain that the poor Canterbury Association must have laid down and died. Fortunately, this was not to be, not merely from the inherent unfitness of the man himself, but from the fact that there was a legal difficulty in the way. This, shortly put, was that, as Bishop Selwyn held by letters patent the diocese of all New Zealand, he could not divest himself of any portion of his extensive charge. Mr. Jackson's great point was the wonderful ability he showed as a platform orator, and a highly valuable one it was for the work in hand. His audiences were spellbound and attracted by the glorious pictures he drew of the new colonization, so that at every meeting it devolved upon the Bishop-designate to move the principal resolution in the principal speech. It was not long, however, before it dawned upon the association committee how entirely unsuited he was for the high office. He was wayward and impracticable, interested for himself chiefly and little careful for others; but beyond this, and not to put too fine a point upon it, he was utterly reckless in money matters, of which he seemed not to have the slightest knowledge. It was doubtless, therefore, with some feelings of relief that Mr. Jackson informed the association of his intention to proceed in an early vessel to gain some acquaintance with his future diocese, and, by a conference with Bishop Selwyn, to clear away the legal disabilities just referred to.

As was to be expected, great preparations were made for the reception of so eminent and special a body of settlers, very different from those of poor old Scotch Otago. The Governor and Lady Grey came down in the man-of-war "Fly," Bishop Selwyn in his yacht "Undine"; and in the colonial brig "Victoria," from Wellington, were Mr. Justice Chapman, Hon. Mr. Petre, Mr. and Mrs. William Fox, and other notabilities. Accompanied by his wife, Mr. Godley ended his long holiday in Wellington, and at the end of December steamed down to Port Lyttelton in H.M.S. "Acheron," Captain Stokes, there to enter on the active duties of his great charge. The weather was hot and magnificent. Complaints were

few. Tents and rough huts were erected on every side, as it was soon evident that the barrack accommodation was quite insufficient.

An amusing story was told of one stranded lady who had applied to Mr. FitzGerald, the immigration agent, for a room. Her request was refused. "Then I know what I shall do," she replied. "I shall dig a hole in the side of the hill, sleep in it all night with my children, and then write to the Home papers saying that we had to sleep out all night." It is needless to say that Mr. FitzGerald had, in face of this threat, to stretch the size of his rooms a few inches more.

A characteristic story is told, too, of Bishop Selwyn, who with Messrs. Mantell and Cass proceeded to walk over to the Deans's farm at Riccarton. They ascended the steep bridle-path and down the hill on the other side to the Heathcote, which had not then been bridged. Here they rested for a few minutes on a stone which Mr. Mantell, who was always fond of a joke, suggested should be known from that day as the "Holy Stone." Proceeding, they dropped behind so as to give the Bishop a courteous precedence as regarded the river. But to their astonishment, and without any ado, the Bishop simply tilted his coat-tails under his arms and walked across, followed, however, by Messrs. Mantell and Cass in a properly denuded fashion. All the remark he made was, "Well, it was the shortest way at least."

The first Sunday services were held in the upper storey of the association's store, erected by Captain Thomas for containing barrels, tarpaulins, ropes, and suchlike articles. The ascent was made by a ladder, the seats were planks laid along casks, and the only light was gained from a door at the end, whereat protruded a windlass for hoisting up goods from below. Despite all this, we may be sure the scene was solemn and impressive. The Rev. Mr. Jacobs—later Dean Jacobs—officiated. The singing was excellent, and the ladies of the congregation were attired in their light summer dresses and ribands.

On the 11th January the first number of the *Lyttelton Times* was issued, under the editorship of Mr. James Edward FitzGerald, to whom already so much reference has been made. The paper at once took a high stand amongst the New Zealand weeklies, a position which, as a daily paper, it yet holds. In the first issue appeared a few verses by an accomplished man, Mr. Theodore Williams, of such beauty and suitability that I am tempted to reproduce them. They were composed by Mr. Williams on the mast-head of the "Randolph," when off the coast of New Zealand, and were descriptive of their first sunset:—

Setts't as thou wert wont to do,  
 Old fount of light?  
 Bathing with familiar hue  
 Tree, and dale, and height?

Casting still old England's shades,  
 Thou art ay the same ;  
 If on this land the vision fades,  
 Then be ours to blame.

Grand old friend! thou shinest still,  
 Guiding to the work ;  
 To the steadfast mind and will  
 Never dim or mirk.

Glorious type! of old fond ties  
 Fate may have bereft us.  
 Paint thou with unfading dyes,  
 God hath not left us.

It soon became evident how entirely unfitted Lyttelton was for the principal town. It was hot and dusty, of small extent, and hemmed in by huge hills. Those who had the courage to ascend by the Bridle-path, and still more those who extended their excursion to the plains, saw at once the advantage of a city on the plains. But the difficulty of access was very great—even the easier circuitous road by Sumner was much longer, unfinished, and dangerous, whilst the approach over the Sumner Bar and up the Avon was sometimes impracticable, and dangerous, too. And so this question of routes became one of the earliest matters for discussion with the immigrants. Into it and other matters it is beyond us now to enter. Suffice it to say that tents and huts dotted along the Avon banks soon began to make the future Christchurch. The first to pitch his tent there was Dr. Barker, the surgeon superintendent of the "Charlotte Jane"; the material of his tent, indeed, was the try-sail of that vessel. It is many years since his daughter, then a bright, handsome, vivacious young woman, told me that she was the first child born in Christchurch. "Yes," she said, "I was born in a V hut and christened in a pie-dish."

Mr. Godley remained in Lyttelton for two years after the arrival of the settlers. During this time he exercised over their affairs a constant and skilful supervision, and it is not too much to say that but for his forethought and promptitude serious disaster, if not shipwreck, must have befallen the infant settlement on more than one occasion. He gained the love and admiration of all classes. "He was a man amongst men," said Mr. Cass, speaking of him. It was thus that he parted from his friends, on the 22nd December, 1852. He was entertained at a large breakfast given in a tent in Hagley Park, at which 150 people were present. His farewell speech was of commanding eloquence and pathos. He reviewed the progress of the young colony, pointing out its successes and its failures, and insisted that his hearers should take fresh courage and should allow no disappointment to chill them because their first ideal of quiet ease and abundant plenty had not entirely been realized. Work was noble, and to be happy all men must

engage in it. He dreaded parting from what had become the warmest associations of his heart, but to the latest day of his life he should, in his English home, do whatever he could towards watching over and furthering the interests of those to whom he was so closely bound. His final utterances were choked by the emotions of those around him. These last promises he faithfully kept to the end of his life, and his services in the Home-country were almost of as valuable a nature as when dispensed in New Zealand. Arrived in England, Mr. Gladstone appointed him a Commissioner of Income Tax, and soon afterwards he received office as Under-Secretary for War under successively Lord Panmure, General Peel, and Lord Herbert, which he retained until his death, on the 17th November, 1861, in London. His death was caused by a recurrence of the old disease—consumption of the throat—for which he had sought with so much advantage the genial climate of New Zealand. In New Zealand he commenced to improve in a wonderful way, and it seemed as though the fell enemy had been beaten off.

After the successful initiation of the Canterbury settlement—this, the youngest and the last—the conditions of New Zealand began to change. Self-government was conferred upon the colony, and with it came provincial institutions. Thus a new order of things soon displaced those old conditions which, full of hardship and danger as they were, were also full of romance and breathed forth that spirit of “heroic work” made classic by Bacon and by those who in his age and onwards were filled with its fire.

## CHAPTER XIV.\*

Rise and Growth of the New Zealand Constitution—The *Spectator* and its Contributors—Colonial Reform—Poor Encouragement by Government to Colonization—The First-designed Constitution—The Company's Constitution—An Appanage of New South Wales—Created a Separate Colony—Method of Government—Municipal Self-government Ordinance disallowed—A New Constitution—Self-government at last—Operation suspended for Five Years—A Pretended Measure of Reform—Society for Reform of Colonial Government—Settlers' Constitutional Association—The Constitution of 1852—Self-government and Control of Waste Lands—Provincial Councils and General Assembly—More Delay in bringing Act into Operation—General Assembly meet—An Omission in the Act—No Provision for a Ministry causes much Trouble and Disorder.

NEARLY seventy years ago the *Spectator* newspaper commenced its career under the cultured editorship of the well-known Mr. Rintoul. Considerably modified to suit the requirements of the present day, it still flourishes, and is read by a large class of readers. Mr. Rintoul gathered round him many able political writers—Grote, Whateley, Charles Buller, John Stuart Mill, Gibbon Wakefield—and with their aid developed and discussed those questions of national policy which then so stirred men's minds. These men were bent on reform, and formed a school of philosophical Radicals. The influence of their writings was widespread and powerful, and did much to direct not only public but parliamentary opinion, and also to develop a class of politician whose liberal views and labours secured to the nation, and to us an offshoot, many of the advantages which both now enjoy. Amongst the matters so early discussed in the pages of the *Spectator* was that of colonial reforms, and here especially did Edward Gibbon Wakefield shine. I have often referred to our indebtedness to this most clever and versatile man. Though his character has been aspersed, his honesty of purpose denied, and his great theory as to the "sufficient price" for land derided, all who are acquainted with his writings recognize the charm of his language, the breadth and logic of his views on all matters connected with colonization, and can well believe the story of a fascination which, like a magnet or a spell, laid all under his influence, and converted many into warm disciples of his doctrine. Though well-nigh seventy years have gone since he enunciated his views regarding the treatment of land in new countries, and though the same period has brought changes in the mode of colonization, I think those views should be credited with more attention than has been allotted them for many a year.

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\* Lecture delivered before the Otago Institute, 8th September, 1896.

The convenient and somewhat affectionate term "Mother-country" was devised by Mr. Wakefield to signify the relation between Great Britain and her colonial children. Whilst the term is now appropriate enough, and merits all the sentiment attached to it, that of "*Sæva Mater*" or "*Sæva Noverca*" would then have been a much more appropriate one. I need say little to justify this position. The colonies were viewed with no favour by the Colonial Office. They represented but a burden and expense, and were endured chiefly because they afforded an outlet in trade or a means of patronage in the shape of Governorships and other official positions. The trade was too often carried on with impolitic or unjust provisions, and the Government was too often a despotism which listened to few complaints and received no reproof from Home. Newspapers were few, and no cries were heard across those wide seas.

And so the War of Independence lost us America a century ago, and more recently the rebellion in Canada again plainly showed that wherever the English flag was planted the Englishman would have his constitutional rights, which for our present purpose may be defined to be the right of representative and responsible government, for there is an important difference between the two which shall be pointed out later on.

When our first colonies were planted in America those who went forth departed amidst great *éclat*, with the sanction of their Sovereign, and armed with a charter which confirmed to them the rights and privileges enjoyed in the land they were leaving. The results of this freedom were, as we know, beneficent. A large trade developed, and "ships, commerce, and colonies" soon placed England in the van of progress.

And then came a change in the honourable sentiment and pride with which England viewed her colonies. This, no doubt, was greatly due to the chagrin and heartburning suffered from the loss of America, and to the consequent settlement of Australia not as a home for trade and enterprise, but as a *locus penitentiæ* for felons and convicts. Hence colonization lost much of its old quality, fell into some disrepute, and colonies were neglected by the parent State. We can now see how well-founded was the cry for colonial reform uttered in the pages of the *Spectator*, and how urgently Gibbon Wakefield and his friends insisted that suitable self-government should be granted to those young Australian colonies just starting into life at Perth and Adelaide, as well as to most of the older ones throughout the Empire.

It may be as well here to sketch the mode of government imposed upon the colonies seventy and eighty years ago, and under which they groaned for relief. However distant, they were governed by the Crown, whose power and authority were delegated to the Governor, who was generally a retired officer of one of the services,



and whose sole suitability for the office perhaps lay in the fact that he had been accustomed to command obedience. Associated with him was a small body of gentlemen, perhaps half a dozen, who formed a Legislative Council. They were virtually appointed by the Governor, who selected them with a judgment which avoided opposition, and, indeed, ensured that they were much of his own way of thinking. By them, with the Governor as President, all laws were made, subject to a veto of the Crown, taxes imposed, and the whole machinery of government carried on. In all this the people had no voice whatever, and it is evident how prone such a system must have been to beget discontent, injustice, and even rebellion, as was the case in Canada.

We know what strong but unavailing efforts were made to secure the sanction and assistance of the British Government in that scheme for colonizing New Zealand which was propounded by Wakefield and his coadjutors. The missionary party thwarted these efforts; and so the company, cast down but not conquered, laid the foundations of our colonization, if not in defiance of the Government, at least without further reference to it. Uncomfortable epithets were applied to them—it was said they were guilty of treason, and their expedition was that of buccaneers. The outcome was that Great Britain, unwilling but compelled, entered into possession of these Islands in the beginning of 1840. Yet in 1837 the company, an "association" as it was then called, had every reason to believe that the Government would countenance their efforts. Lord Glenelg had not only said as much, but had suggested certain alterations in a Bill which they proposed to bring before Parliament. This Bill was brought in by Mr. Baring and Sir George Sinclair in June of 1838, and was promptly thrown out on the second reading. As it has an historical value in connection with our subject, being the first attempt to legislate for New Zealand, some details will be interesting. It was prepared mainly by Gibbon Wakefield, was entitled "A Bill for the Provisional Government of British Settlements in the Islands of New Zealand," and contained fifty clauses. It provided that a body of Commissioners (sixteen were named) should be appointed by the Queen. The Commissioners were empowered to purchase lands from the Natives on behalf of the Crown, and might sell such lands to any British subject at no lower price than 12s. an acre. The revenue so derived was to be extended in sending out emigrant labourers, making bridges and roads, building schools and churches, aiding the Natives, and defraying incidental expenses. They were to impose Customs duties and taxes of all kinds, to raise loans, to enforce the laws of England, and to enact any that were suitable to the new conditions, to maintain a colonial Force, to constitute a Bishopric, and make provision for religious worship. An accurate record of their proceedings was to be kept and forwarded at short

intervals to the Secretary of State. The performance of all their functions was subject to his permission and control, and he could nullify any one. The Commissioners, who were chiefly noblemen and gentlemen of social standing, and so bound to the English soil, were empowered to appoint not less than three persons to act in New Zealand as their executive body. These were called the "Council of Government," and to them were delegated the powers of their patrons.

Such, then, was the Constitution—comprehensive enough—first designed for New Zealand. It will be observed that its most important feature is that which later on was adopted by the New Zealand Company in founding their various settlements. The revenue derived from the sale of the waste lands was devoted to the development of the infant colony. Mouthpiece and champion of representative government as Wakefield was, no provision for it appears in his Bill, and for the simple reason that there was no elective body in New Zealand. The whole population numbered but three thousand souls, scattered throughout the Islands as whalers and sealers, escaped sailors and convicts, and traders. With such and so sparse a body there could be no representation.

Another scheme for a Constitution, but one equally abortive, was devised by the New Zealand Company immediately before the departure from Gravesend, in September of 1839, of their first three emigrant-vessels—the "Adelaide," "Aurora," and "Oriental"—with over 450 souls on board. The company, as we have seen, unable to procure any sanction from the Government, or any information as to their policy with regards to New Zealand, felt that their plans would be incomplete unless obedience to law and order could be assured to the settlers. The mode of securing this was interesting and somewhat dramatic. An influential body of directors, amongst whom were many men of high rank and members of Parliament, steamed down with gay flags and fife and drum to the departing vessels, which were visited in turn. In an eloquent address the emigrants were asked to enter into a solemn league to maintain law and order in the new society they were about to form, so that all might enjoy the advantages of protection and redress. A document was read, and all were invited to sign it. Its provisions were that a committee should be formed composed of not more than twenty-five members, who should make any rules suitable to the new order of things; that as far as applicable all the English laws should be observed; that any dereliction or offence against them might be punished in the same way as in England. In civil proceedings arbitrators and an umpire should be appointed with power to call for witnesses and books, and that there should be a Court of Appeal of five members. The settlers were to enrol for drill as a militia. Power was taken to levy rates and taxes. Altogether the fourteen clauses of this Constitution seem to

have been of an equitable and comprehensive kind. Fifteen of the principal gentlemen who were going out to New Zealand were nominated as a council for the first year ; afterwards it was to be constituted by the suffrages of the community. It was expressly declared that the Constitution was provisional only ; necessarily drawn up for the welfare of the people in the absence of that sanction and support which in vain had been sought for from the British Government, it would cease to exist the moment that British rule was vouchsafed. Amidst great cheers and enthusiasm the emigrants, one after another, came forward to the capstan, upon which the document lay, and signed it. The vessels speedily afterwards sailed.

Great was the commotion caused by these proceedings. An angry but polished correspondence ensued between the Colonial Office and the company, which, whilst it served to widen the breach between the two, has no doubt resulted in benefit to New Zealand. The company was informed that their act was illegal, and that whatever ill consequence flowed from it would be visited upon the actors. This opinion was very plainly confirmed by that of their own counsel. But their footsteps could not be retraced ; the vessels had sailed, with the Constitution on board. It may be as well to follow it for a moment. On arrival the council commenced its sittings and jurisdiction. The first to suffer was a Captain Pearson, who was arrested for illegal conduct to his charterers. He refused to acknowledge the authority of the Court, which, notwithstanding, committed him for trial. However, he managed to effect his escape the next day, and his laugh was heard for long afterwards, even so far as Sydney. Still, a satisfactory amount of fines and imprisonment were imposed, and a good deal of business done, creditable indeed if it had only been legal. Then came the unpalatable notice to Colonel Wakefield, who was president of the council, and the machinery of what was really a well-conceived piece of government, as well as our first, stood still.

Prior to the arrival of Captain Hobson, and the consequent cession of New Zealand to the Queen by the Treaty of Waitangi, on the 6th February, 1840, the relations between Great Britain and New Zealand, though interesting, were slender. Mr. James Busby, who resided at the Bay of Islands, was appointed British Resident in 1835, and received his instructions from the Governor of New South Wales. He was accredited to the missionaries and to the chiefs, and his duties were chiefly those of repressing outrage, facilitating trade, cultivating friendly relations with the Natives, and perhaps of notifying any disposition of the French or other nations to annex the country. His power was, however, rather nominal than real, and was dependent chiefly on the good influence he exercised and on the *vis a tergo* with which report invested him. He was called a man-of-war without guns. Thus New

Zealand was an appanage or quasi-dependency of New South Wales.

When Captain Hobson first landed in New Zealand he knew that his footing was insecure, and that his future position entirely depended on the reception granted him by the chiefs. If this proved one of tolerance merely, then a Consul he would remain, possessed of little more power and influence than Mr. Busby, whom he displaced. However, the cession of the country to the Queen by the Treaty of Waitangi entitled him to assume the authority of Lieutenant-Governor, the commission for which had been thoughtfully placed in his pocket beforehand. He and New Zealand were now under the control of Sir George Gipps, the Governor-General of New South Wales, and the laws and Ordinances of that colony became applicable to New Zealand. This arrangement was, of course, highly embarrassing and obstructive to progress, as Captain Hobson was obliged to refer all measures to his chief.

But these hindrances speedily ended when the British Government was apprised of this cession. Despatches were at once issued creating New Zealand into an independent colony, and appointing Captain Hobson as its first Governor. These arrived in April, 1841, being about a month or six weeks after Captain Hobson and his officials had taken up their abode in the newly formed capital of Auckland. I have not been able to gather much record of the celebrations, if any, which attended this interesting event in our earliest history. It must not be forgotten that the infant capital was built of raupo whares, tents, and a few small weatherboarded houses, that it contained little more than a thousand inhabitants, and did not possess that unfailling accompaniment of new settlements, a newspaper. However, on the 3rd May a table was brought out and placed in front of Government House, which latter, by the by, had been imported from London. On it were placed the documents, the charter and commission, which were read to the surrounding crowd of civilians, Natives, and soldiers. Proclamations were made, the needful oaths administered, and so the young State was launched. In the evening Captain Hobson was entertained at dinner in a small publichouse dignified by the name of "Wood's Hotel," whose site is now occupied by the palatial Northern Club. Of the speeches there is no record, for there was no reporter, and those who made them are all dead. By the charter the North, Middle, and South or Stewart Islands were respectfully designated "New Ulster," "New Munster," and "New Leinster." This was in complimentary deference to the request of Captain Hobson, who was an Irishman. The type of government was that of the Crown colonies, pilloried by the *Spectator* and the reformers, and groaned under by the unfortunate colonists. The Governor was supreme, responsible alone to the Home Office, entirely com-

petent to ignore the wish and will of the people. The six members of his Legislative Council, the governing body, were appointed by himself. They were a Colonial Secretary, an Attorney-General, a Colonial Treasurer, and three senior Justices of the Peace, and he was their President. All Bills were introduced by himself, and, with Councillors pliant and obedient, soon passed into law. I must give two instances of the ready and effective way in which obstructionists were dealt with. One, who came from Port Nicholson, foolishly thought that he represented the interests of the poor settlers there. He was quickly undeceived. Protesting strongly against some clauses in a measure, and further involving himself with his brother Councillors, who thereupon made common cause against him, he received a letter from the Colonial Secretary, in which he was informed, "As your colleagues have lost all confidence in you, and can no longer act in a way that will benefit the public interest, His Excellency has, by the advice of the Executive Council, removed your name from that position in the list of Magistrates which entitles you to be a member of the Legislature of this colony." Again, the publisher of the *Bay of Islands Gazette*, who had been guilty of criticism, notifies his subscribers that he must suspend publication for a week or two, in consequence of receiving notice that the Acts in force in New South Wales relating to the printing and publishing of papers were to be enforced here.

The Council sat in some rooms attached to Government House, and the first meeting was held on the 24th May, 1841—the Queen's birthday. It was open to the public, and the Governor delivered a short speech which contained nothing whatever of moment or interest. The session lasted six weeks, and produced as many Ordinances, as they were called, which I take to mean unfledged laws submitted to the Queen for sanction.

Though aside from our main subject, I cannot forbear placing before you an interesting item or two connected with that day of small things, and in doing so will avoid painful statistics. By the Customs Ordinance all the necessaries of life were taxed 5 per cent. Goods, if the produce of the United Kingdom, New South Wales, or Van Diemen's Land, were free of duty. Spirits were taxed 4s. to 5s. a gallon; wine, 15 per cent.; tobacco, 1s. a pound. The estimates of Government income and expenditure for one year were based on a modest £50,000, of which £140 was appropriated for schools, and £11,000 for justice, police, and gaols.

With that sagacity and foresight which marked him as a statesman, and imbued, moreover, with the current doctrines of colonial reform, Lord John Russell instructed Governor Hobson to confer upon the people such a measure of partial self-government as was granted to the various municipal bodies in the Old Country. He was to form the settlers of each district into a regular community,

as, in early history, the Saxons were settled under King Alfred. The outcome of this appeared in the shape of a Municipal Corporations Ordinance, which may be noted as being the first attempt in New Zealand to entrust the colonists with even a modicum of self-government. Altogether, the measure was not unlike that regulating our cities at the present moment. There were a Mayor and Corporation elected by the people. They imposed the rates, and expended them. Any settlement having a population of two thousand souls might erect itself into a borough; and, so that all outlying settlers might be included, the boundaries were somewhat extensive, stretching seven miles in a straight line from the principal market-place of the settlement. Yet this Ordinance never became law, for a reason which was not only trivial but again points out how helpless our predecessors were in the effort to manage their own affairs. The Ordinance was disallowed, remained unfledged, because the Home Government considered that two clauses interfered with the Royal prerogative. One assumed the power to erect beacons<sup>s</sup> and lighthouses—a very necessary power to exercise, one would fancy, in these sea-girt islands; the other sought to vest in the Corporations the waste land within their boundaries. This was viewed as an attempt to seize the property of the Crown. So the Ordinance was returned with a barely concealed suggestion, though not in so many words, to do better the next time.

Incidents such as these begot a bitter spirit, and a feeling that when leaving the old shores English liberties had been left behind. Other grievances connected with land were loudly complained of, and the company's settlers in the south bemoaned their hard lot and the neglect under which they suffered. Worn out with worry and ill health, Governor Hobson died on the 10th September, 1842, at once the exponent and the victim of this system of misrule.

Now matters grew worse. After the brief administration of Lieut. Shortland, Captain Fitzroy stood at the helm, and disastrously indeed was the craft steered. From one end of the colony to the other were heard the loud and incessant cries of the settlers. The country was bankrupt, the Wairau massacre had been half-justified, and the Natives took up arms in a war which lasted two years. An appeal was made for Captain Fitzroy's removal, and he was recalled—another exponent and victim of this system of misrule. It is but fair to say that he had to contend with unusual difficulties, and that he received but little support from the Home Government.

The news of these terrible disasters soon reached England, and speedily formed the subject of a most important debate in the House of Commons in June of 1845, and lasting for three days. Mr. Charles Buller, an influential member of Parliament, a director of the New Zealand Company, and an able writer and advocate

for responsible government in the colonies, led the debate. His speech was eloquent and scathing, and he poured the vials of wrath upon a system which denied distant Englishmen their birthright—the right of taxing themselves and of making laws suited to their own requirements. Others followed in the same strain, and so strong was the feeling that the Government narrowly escaped defeat. Indeed, had the debate not assumed a party aspect defeat must have ensued.

The lesson was not lost. For years various colonies had been bombarding the unyielding doors of the Colonial Office with the demand for representative government, and now for the first time, and with the case of New Zealand in the van, they began to yield. Curious, as we shall see, that one of New Zealand's own household delayed for years the granting of the boon. That personage now comes upon the scene—Captain, subsequently Sir George, Grey. No man has been more identified with New Zealand, whether for its weal or woe, than himself. Of culture and intelligence, unyielding will, self-reliant, and without the tact or perhaps the desire for forming friendships, he was well qualified for his post in New Zealand, which he assumed in November, 1845. He came direct from South Australia, of which colony he had been Governor, and had there acquitted himself so well during most trying times as to earn the highest encomiums and confidence of the Colonial Office. That confidence he continued to enjoy for many years, despite the accusations of insincerity and unscrupulousness with which he was assailed by his numerous enemies. Complaints and petitions forwarded through him to the Colonial Office from those who considered themselves aggrieved were accompanied by his own able commentaries. Invariably the replies expressed continued and increased confidence in his measures, although they might be assailed by the prejudice and disapproval of those whom he governed. No doubt a firm hand was necessary, but it was never gloved in velvet. The vacillating policy and unfortunate fate of his predecessors were doubtless a warning beacon, and his autocratic spirit directed the path he chose to take regardless of impediments.

Captain Grey soon saw how impossible it was to govern New Zealand from Auckland, with settlements as widely separated as their interests, and he suggested the appointment of a Lieutenant-Governor and Council for the South, whose legislation should be subject to his review. In August, 1846, an Act and charter was passed by the British Parliament for the better government of New Zealand, containing clauses conferring the long-desired self-government. Earl Grey, the Colonial Minister, ever a warm friend of New Zealand, forwarded this with a letter of instructions. It was of a most elaborate character, sufficient, indeed, for the governance of a kingdom rather than for a colony of fourteen

thousand Europeans. It was framed with much care, much upon the model of English institutions, yet adapted to the new circumstances. By it New Zealand was divided into two provinces—New Ulster and New Munster—the dividing line stretching due east from the mouth of the River Patea in the west. Thus New Munster included not only the South Island, but the Cook Strait settlements of Wellington and Wanganui in the North. Each province had a Lieutenant-Governor, with Legislative Council and House of Representatives. The members of the Council were nominated by the Governor, those of the House of Representatives were elected by the Mayor and Corporation of the various municipal boroughs into which New Zealand was divided by this scheme. They were elected to serve for four years. The Mayors and Corporations were themselves elected by burgesses in the respective boroughs. The franchise was very comprehensive. All householders could vote provided they could read and write, were not recipients of charity, had not been convicted of any offence, and had paid their rates and taxes. In addition to these Provincial Houses of Legislature, there was one supreme power—a General Assembly for the whole colony. This also consisted of a Legislative Council, whose members were selected by the Governor from the members of the two Provincial Councils, and a House of Representatives, elected by the members of the Provincial Houses from amongst themselves.

Such is a *précis* of this important Act, which, indeed, formed the basis of our later Constitution. It was cumbrous, because weighted with two Houses for each province where one would have done, and the representative principle was too restricted and curiously graduated. Various details were left for the Governor to fill in, and within limits he had the power to vary, add to, suspend, and proclaim the operation of the Act. It reached the colony in May, 1847, and was received with general expressions of pleasure and satisfaction, and the widespread question was when it would come into force.

At this point commenced that conduct and policy on the part of Governor Grey which some characterized as upright, sagacious, and statesmanlike, and in the best interests of the people; others as underhand, selfish, and autocratic. For some time prior to the passing of the Act Captain Grey well knew how strong the feeling had grown in the Colonial Office that the colonists should have the management of their own affairs by representative government. Private drafts of the measure had been forwarded to him. To these he replied in no uncertain way. He contended that the system of government in force was calculated to secure the future tranquillity, prosperity, and happiness of the country, which was by no means ripe for self-government. Moreover, that the contemplated measures were calculated to plunge the country into



a war even more expensive and disastrous than the one just closed. Such measures would not be submitted to by the proud and war-like race who so vastly outnumbered the handful of Europeans, and who would refuse to be taxed by a Government in which they had so little share and interest. It was better to wait until the Natives had been educated to the new position, and until both races had learned to trust and respect each other as fellow-subjects. The force and sense of these objections—at least, the dangerous aspect of the step—was at once accepted by Earl Grey, who applauded and endorsed the Governor's views, and promised that as soon as Parliament met he would procure the passing of an Act which would suspend for five years the operation of the Constitution Act. It was evident that whilst framing the Act the Colonial Office had never contemplated the resultant consequences.

Of the secret correspondence thus proceeding the people knew nothing. They expressed some surprise that no apparent steps were taken to bring the Act into operation, but it was remembered that the machinery was complicated, and required time and consideration for its adjustment. In November proclamation was made that on the 1st January, 1848, it would come into operation. On that day the Governor took the oaths under the new charter on the lawn of Government House in the presence of a large number of spectators, amongst whom was several hundred Natives dressed in all the colours of the rainbow. Bent on enjoying themselves, and very hungry, they came to be feasted, and immense was their disappointment to find tea, bread, and jam—"painted bread" they called it—alone supplied. However, Native good humour soon got the better of disappointment, and they returned good for evil in the shape of a splendid war-dance. At Wellington the celebrations were much of the same kind, butter being there substituted for jam.

I have omitted to say that Lord Grey appointed Mr. Edward John Eyre Lieutenant-Governor of New Zealand. Mr. Eyre was well known as an explorer in Central Australia in 1840-41. He published an account of these explorations in 1845. Shortly afterwards he accepted Earl Grey's flattering offer, and accordingly administered the government of New Munster, the southern province. Here he was still the explorer, and ascended, in company with a few Maoris, the highest peak of the Kaikouras whilst attempting an overland journey to the new settlement of Canterbury. Here he nearly lost his life. The last part of the ascent was steep, narrow, and extremely dangerous. The summit reached, a fierce gale began to blow just as night was coming on. The party commenced the descent down the frozen snow, hoping to reach a halting-ground. One of the Maoris slipped, and, unable to recover himself, was precipitated down an adjoining abyss, and instantly killed. Governor Eyre slipped also, and narrowly escaped the same dread-

ful fate by clinging to a ledge and regaining his feet. The night was spent in this dangerous spot. The Maoris refused to go farther, and the remainder of the journey was in consequence abandoned. Mr. Eyre completed a six-years term of office in New Zealand, yet he is probably better known to us in his later career as having so successfully crushed the insurrection of the negroes in Jamaica.

Beyond the formalities referred to no further steps were taken to start the new machinery. In April despatches were received and published from Earl Grey which made abundantly apparent the reason of the long delay. From the tone in which they were written it was evident that the Colonial Office considered that disaster had been averted. Captain Grey was warmly thanked for his prudence and foresight, and the Office agreed with him that the time was not opportune for carrying out representative government—at least, wherever there was a Native difficulty. The operation, then, of the charter was suspended for five years by an amending Act, but Captain Grey was empowered—nay, almost enjoined—to introduce some form of representation such as might to him seem safe and suitable. He was granted very full power indeed, a necessity which arose from the long intervals of time and distance in communication between the two countries. On the whole, the disappointment was borne in good spirit, because it was known that the Governor was invested with full authority to introduce such a form of representation as would be free from the difficulties supposed to exist in the charter. But he did no such thing. Nine months elapsed without a sign; and then in September of 1848 an influential deputation of Wellington citizens waited upon him, respectfully asking for an expression of his views and intentions, and beseeching him to include a share of self-government in the measures he adopted. The reply being unsatisfactory and evasive, the deputation pressed the matter very warmly, with the result that Captain Grey expressed himself opposed to representative government, which might result in a war between the two races. Moreover, he had not had sufficient opportunity of studying the requirements of the country, and could not therefore come to a final conclusion. From this position he never departed, so far as it was apparent to the colonists. Yet it is curious that about this time—that is, towards the end of 1848—he wrote a long despatch to Earl Grey, recognizing that nobleman's desire to introduce a representative system, and suggesting in outline a scheme which he recommended for adoption. This outline was really founded on Earl Grey's charter, which had just been suspended. It was superior to it, inasmuch as it was not so cumbrous; indeed, many of its provisions were those which were finally introduced into the Constitution Act of 1852, under which we at present move and have our being. But the colonists knew nothing of this. It is difficult, therefore, to estimate Captain Grey's attitude in the

matter. My own conclusion, after very careful examination, is that it was one of determined opposition. It is not unlikely that at first it was one of sincere conviction, though the grounds of such a conviction may well be disputed; but very soon the resentment and bitter criticism of an angry people would intensify it to unyielding despotism. There were many who foresaw to what dangers representative government might lead, and there are many now who see to what dangers it has led, though not perhaps of the character then contemplated.

It was only when the five-years period of suspension was drawing to its close, and when compelled by the ever-increasing force of public utterance, that Captain Grey yielded further assistance to a policy of which he did not approve, yet could no longer successfully oppose. Aided by his Legislative Council, in a session held at Wellington in May, 1851, he passed an Ordinance applicable to the two new Provinces of New Ulster and New Munster, and stated to be the first step to representative government, though truly it was but the old Crown rule duplicated—at Auckland the same Legislative Council, at Wellington the new one under Governor Eyre. So passionate was the popular feeling that it was with difficulty the places in the latter were filled. It was a point of honour with some to refuse the Governor's invitation to a seat on the new Council, and "nominee" became almost a by-word and a term of reproach. However, gentlemen were again found to fill the seats, and the first session of the New Munster Parliament opened on 19th May, 1851, with a lengthy but able speech from the Governor-in-Chief.

But I must hasten on to describe the measures now taken in great earnest to end these grievances and this injustice, the lot not of New Zealand alone, but of all the colonies. A society was formed at Home for the reform of colonial government, with many noblemen and members of Parliament on the committee. The first secretary was Mr. Adderley, afterwards Lord Norton; the second, Mr. James Edward FitzGerald. The general object of the society was to aid in obtaining for every colony the real and sole management of all local affairs by the colony itself, including the disposal of the waste lands. It aimed to accomplish this by the dissemination of pamphlets and speeches, and by procuring the passing of Acts of Parliament which recognized these principles. During the many debates so fiercely fought New Zealand seemed to furnish the battle-cry and to point the moral. A rare interest attached to her. She was the most distant country in the world, the weird stories of cannibalism, of missionary labours, the romance of her first colonization, her conflicts with the Natives, and her misgovernment all commended her to the gallantry of the new knights-errant. Many of these were members of the Canterbury Association, then actively engaged in founding the new settlement of that name, and desirous

above all things of sending out with their settlers—who were speedily to sail—the certain hope of a good government.

Then, in the various settlements of the colony, what were called “Settlers’ Constitutional Associations” sprang up. These were especially active in Nelson and Wellington. Large and enthusiastic meetings were held at which political questions were discussed, despatches criticized, indignant protests forwarded to the Governor, and, through him, to the Colonial Office. Leading men took a most prominent part in them—Fox, Featherston, FitzGerald, Godley, Monro, Weld, Carleton—all the ablest men in the colony. This fact may be taken as a very sure indication of how universal, how grievous, and how well founded were the complaints. Otago was but young—three years old—with a population of twelve hundred; yet she founded an association, with Dr. Williams as chairman, Mr. Macandrew as treasurer, and a dozen principal names on the council. Auckland was alone careless or indifferent; but there was the head seat of Government and the principal expenditure. Wellington was the head centre of disaffection; here as many seditious speeches were made and symptoms of rebellion shown as would furnish a Home Rule movement.

Mr. (afterwards Sir William) Fox—was deputed in February, 1851, to visit England as the honorary political agent of the Constitutional Association, and there to join arms and efforts with the Colonial Reformers. He found that a sad state of apathy had gradually retaken possession of the public mind after the three days’ debate in the House of Commons in 1845 in relation to New Zealand, and that whatever interest was taken had been rearoused by the labours of his English *confrères* and by the movements of the Canterbury Association. He plunged heart and soul into the work, and to his energy the new Constitution owed much. He applied to Lord Grey for an interview, in order to lay before him the wishes and feelings of the colonists whom he represented on the subject of the government of the colony. But Lord Grey refused the interview, having doubtless received notice of the turbulent visitor to be expected. He, however, permitted Mr. Fox to lay before him in writing any observations he desired to make. This was done to some purpose in memoranda, which were afterwards privately circulated. He also published a now rare little book entitled the “Six Colonies of New Zealand,” which gave not only interesting and useful information suitable for would-be settlers, but also drew full attention to the defects of the Government. This book was written chiefly at the request of the Duke of Newcastle, as an effort was to be made in the ensuing session of Parliament to oust the Whig Government on the question of colonial mismanagement. The Colony of New Zealand was to afford the special instance of misgovernment.

This little scheme was never enacted. The Whig Government resigned on other grounds—a Militia Bill—and Lord Derby became Prime Minister, with Sir John Pakington as Colonial Minister instead of Lord Grey. Sir John was little known as a politician, and many jeers were made on his supposed unfitness for the office. It was said he would have to spell out the British colonies on a newly purchased map of the world, and at meal-times must stuff himself with Montgomery Martin's history of them. But Sir John sent for Mr. Fox, and discussed the whole subject, promising to introduce a Bill into the House. This was done, and on the 30th June, 1852, Sir John Pakington's New Zealand Constitution Bill became law.

It is but just to say that before leaving office Earl Grey had prepared the heads of a Bill he proposed to introduce, and without doubt this formed the basis—nay, the chief part—of that finally passed through. He also notified this intention to the Governor, enclosing also the heads of his Bill, which included eighty-nine clauses. Remembering how warm a friend the colonies had in Earl Grey, it cannot but be regretted that he was denied the honour at the twelfth hour of carrying out the scheme he had so long favoured. Yet there were not wanting many who said that if circumstances had been otherwise there would have been a further postponement.

Sir John Pakington's Bill fought a stormy way through Parliament, and more than once its wreck seemed imminent. But sooner than such a fate should befall it, its friends judiciously yielded many points which were considered detrimental to its value.

The glorious news reached New Zealand towards the close of 1852, and was received with almost universal acclamation. In Dunedin a crier went through the town calling upon the people to illuminate. An attempt was made to fire the gun at the jetty, but this failed, owing to the scantiness of powder and the wet weather. Though the rain was falling in torrents, a boat was pulled down to Port Chalmers to procure a barrel of powder. By night, and after a pull of sixteen miles, the rowers returned, and the gun was fired again and again to every one's satisfaction. The bell on Bell Hill was set a-ringing, blazing tar-barrels were thrown into the harbour, bonfires were lighted, and every cottage was illuminated with tallow dips. An impromptu ball was got up on the jetty to the music of a fiddle; and, tired out with these unwonted rejoicings, the programme was brought to a close long past midnight by all appropriately singing "God save the Queen."

The great features of the Act were an unexampled freedom of self-government and the control over the waste lands. The former was secured in a very admirable way. Six provinces were established — Auckland, New Plymouth, Wellington, Nelson,

Canterbury, and Otago—ruled in each by a Superintendent and a Provincial Council elected by the people. The qualification for voters was confined to men who possessed a freehold worth £50 clear, of leaseholders paying rent of a clear £10 a year, or house-holders paying rent of £10 a year in town or £5 in the country; a term of some length of residence was enjoined varying from six months to three years. The Provincial Council was to sit once a year, and its duration was four years. Its power of making laws, or “Provincial Ordinances,” as they were called, was considerable; but it could not infringe upon subjects which concerned the colony as a whole. Then there was a General Assembly constituted much on the same basis as at present, consisting of a Governor, Legislative Council, and House of Representatives. The Councillors were nominated by the Governor, and in this respect resembled the old nominees. They held their seats for life. The members of the House of Representatives were elected by voters qualified in the manner already stated to represent the various electoral districts into which for the purpose New Zealand was divided. The Governor had the power to summon the Assembly, to proclaim the electoral districts, to apportion, within certain limits, the number of representative members and of the Councillors. From this it will be seen how full was the gift of self-control; and by an amending Act this gift was further enlarged, so that, with certain exceptions, the Assembly was empowered to alter, suspend, or repeal any of the provisions of the old Act. A safeguard that was included in the Constitution was the Legislative Council, with the theoretical independence of its members. Yet so detested and feared was nomineeism that Mr. Fox and other of his helpers viewed the clause relating to it as one of the terrible blots of the Act.

To return from this digression: Sir J. Pakington’s instructions requested that the working of the Act should come into force with as little delay as possible. Yet it is a fact that the General Assembly did not meet until May of 1854—eighteen months after the receipt of the Act in the colony. When it did meet Sir George Grey was not there to open it. He had left New Zealand five months before at the expiry of his term of Governorship, and it seemed as though he were determined to evade whatever responsibility he could. Later on this conduct was severely criticized in the British Parliament. It is true that the Provincial Councils had been called into existence, and had held their first session before his departure; but this was called by Mr. Fox “putting the cart before the horse.” More than one of the Provincial Councils expressed surprise that the meeting of the General Assembly had been so long delayed and had not been summoned first, as being especially the body to take over and carry on the general government of the country. It would, however, be not much

more than matter of curiosity to pursue this aspect of a very interesting time in our constitutional history. It must suffice to say that Sir George Grey's attitude was viewed by most as evincing to the last a desire to retard measures for which he had shown so little sympathy.

When the various Proclamations appeared in the *Gazette*, and the writs were issued, it was amazing how excited the people became throughout the colony. The newspapers must have reaped a rich harvest from the columns of electioneering addresses, of which many would make amusing as well as instructive reading to-day.

All ended well, and the various Provincial Councils and the General Assembly were duly constituted. Of course, the oldest settlements had the largest representation both in their Provincial Councils and in the House of Representatives. In the Provincial Councils the number allotted to Auckland was twenty-four, and this tapered down with eighteen for Wellington to a modest nine for Otago.

As was to be expected, it was somewhat difficult for the newly formed bodies to know exactly how to treat their heaven-descended gift. For, indeed, it was a replica of the great English Parliament—Sovereign, House of Lords, and House of Commons, with, in addition, subsidiary representatives of the first and last. But after toying with it for a time the Provincial Councils got through the ordeal with varying degrees of dignity. They appointed a Speaker, in a gown, and a Sergeant-at-Arms, and a Chaplain, had opening speeches, and crises, and no-confidence motions. The opening speeches of the Superintendents were all good, that of Mr. FitzGerald, of Canterbury, superlatively so. That of Captain Cargill, Superintendent of Otago, was full of common-sense and recognition of the new position. He regretted—and this was on the 30th December—"being so long in the dark as to the creation of our Constitution." "It is again evident that the Constitution Act as a whole is suspended. Provincial Governments are set up, but the New Zealand Parliament is not called, and its functions, both as to land and revenue, have been otherwise assumed." This last sentence referred to a supposed illegality as to the disposal of the public revenues, which had been very recently thrown to the provincial dogs, and which formed a very pretty quarrel with the General Assembly later on. Captain Cargill said in a truly admirable and canny spirit, "I humbly think our policy should be to take all that is given and use it for the public good, but at the same time under protest against every infraction or suspension of the Constitution in all its fullness."

The General Assembly, as stated above, opened its first session on the 24th May, 1854, at Auckland. To its Legislative Council

had been nominated sixteen members. To the House of Representatives the popular voice sent forty members. Amongst them, rather than in the Upper House, were many able men—Featherston, Monro, FitzGerald, Weld, Clifford, Carleton, Forsaith, Macandrew, Sewell, Moorhouse, Travers, and last, but far from least, Gibbon Wakefield, who had followed from England to New Zealand the Constitution which he had done so much to frame and then to win.

Colonel Wynyard, the senior officer commanding the Forces, *ex officio* administered the government until the return of Sir George Grey or the arrival of his successor. On him devolved the honour and distinction of opening New Zealand's first Parliament, and this he did in an effective speech. Soon after the business of the House had commenced a very important discovery was made—one which presently led to most violent and disgraceful disputes, and finally to the prorogation of the House itself. It was found that, whilst the Constitution Act granted the people the amplest measure of representation, it made no provision for the fuller and final step of responsible government; in other words, the representatives found that they had no power of determining who of their number should form the Executive, or as it is generally termed, the "Ministry"—a body elected to carry into effect the wishes of the Parliament, and who should be responsible to themselves and to no one else. I think it was Mr. Charles Buller who said that representation without responsibility was like a fireplace without a chimney. To increase the difficulty, the members of the former Executive Council under the old *régime* had been transferred, offices and all, to the new Parliament. These were Dr. Sinclair, the Colonial Secretary; Mr. Swainson, the Attorney-General; and Mr. Shepherd, the Colonial Treasurer. Not only were these gentlemen well salaried and officials for life, but they owed no responsibility to the people whatever, whose wishes, therefore, they were not bound to carry out. It is evident how serious the dilemma was. The Acting-Governor was strongly appealed to, and it is certain that he was desirous of affording every aid to the furtherance of business. He steadily replied to all appeals that if the Act did not confer responsible government he could not do so. The three Executive members, also desirous of assisting, promised to resign if a Pension Act were passed in their favour; but, of course, such a step could not alter matters. Finally, as a means out of the difficulty, the Governor appointed Messrs. FitzGerald, Sewell, Weld, and Bartley, members of the House of Representatives, as a Ministry to sit and confer with the legal Executive, and it was hoped that in this way all impediments would be overcome.

But it was soon found that this forced union was of no advantage. Differences of opinion were constant; and so this short-



lived Ministry, of which Mr. FitzGerald was Premier, told its grievances to the House, and resigned, and the old Executive remained masters of the situation. By this time the temper of the House was thoroughly spoiled. Acrimony and strong personal feeling pervaded the atmosphere. Mr. Wakefield was especially singled out for attack; but in this merest outline I cannot pretend to include many interesting episodes of what was really an interesting session. It lasted for nearly three months, and was generally marked by its high tone and the power and eloquence of its debates. A thousand times is it to be regretted that a violent and unseemly explosion should have marked its last days.

The Acting-Governor, Colonel Wynyard, who throughout had shown the greatest forbearance, friendliness, and refusal to take offence, now forwarded his final message, to the effect that, seeing the differences between the House of Representatives and himself were irreconcilable, the alternative alone remained of prorogation, and the House was accordingly prorogued to the 31st August, a fortnight later. The scene of disorder, confusion, and personal violence which followed was disgraceful. To escape this several made for the doors, which, however, were ordered to be locked. Some climbed the rail, and got out at the gallery-door. One member was seized by the back of the neck, struck, and hustled about. Managing to escape, he flourished his umbrella over his head and defied any one to turn him out. Then there was cries of "Expel him; expel him from the House." The wrangling at last ceased, and so at 4 o'clock in the afternoon of the 17th August, 1854, ended the first session of our Parliament.

The consternation of the public was amazing. Every one was ashamed. Lampoons were merciless and clever. On the 31st August the second session opened with another able address from Colonel Wynyard, the Acting-Governor. His speech was full, conciliatory, evidenced a desire to push on the business of the country, and again showed how impossible it was for him to grant an illegal request. Another Ministry was formed on the same union principle as before—the welding of material from the House with the old Executive. Messrs. Forsaith, Macandrew, Jerningham Wakefield, and W. T. L. Travers formed the new Ministry. This was called the "Clean-shirt Ministry," because when Mr. Forsaith was recounting to his friends a few days after the incidents connected with its formation he commenced by saying, "When the Governor sent for me I just had time to put on a white shirt." The new compact would no doubt have held together well, as Mr. Forsaith was a man of excellent common-sense, a good speaker, much respected, and free from that heat of blood under which his predecessors suffered. But it fell to pieces from other causes, and lasted but two days—surely a record in Ministries—for when Mr. Forsaith moved a reply to the Governor's Address he

was promptly crushed by an amendment which by twenty-two to eleven voted no confidence in this mixed form of Executive responsibility.

Thereafter the session lasted a fortnight longer, and was carried on with a moderation and success begotten of a wisdom acquired by a sharp and unenviable experience.

There was no delay in securing that missing clause relating to responsible government, whose omission had caused so much contumely, derision, and chagrin.

In 1876 the Abolition of Provinces Act, 1875, was brought into force, and thereby the system of Provincial Government, which was a cardinal feature of the Constitution Act, was done away with. To describe the contest between Sir Julius Vogel and the Provincial Governments which led up to the abolition of the provinces would be beyond the scope of this chapter.

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## CHAPTER XV.\*

The Whence of the Maori—Their Historic Canoes—Migration across Cook Strait—Greenstone—Visit of Tasman—Tribal Fights—Hongi introduces Firearms—Rauparaha—Massacre of Kaiapoi Natives—Siege of the Kaiapoi Pa—"Bloody Jack"—The Wairau Massacre—Rauparaha dies a Christian—Acquirement of the Natives' Land.

It is not possible within the scanty limits of a quarter of an hour's lecturette to tell you much about the very interesting people who, this evening and to-morrow, will contribute so much to our pleasure and enjoyment by rehearsing some of their old songs, or *waiata*, and some of their old customs. In return, I hope we shall contribute in a very practical and liberal way towards improving their social condition, adding to their pleasures and enjoyment, and of recognizing to how much they are entitled as former owners of this delightful country.

Whence did the Maoris and their Polynesian brothers come is still an unsettled and puzzling question. But it is highly probable that ages ago they dwelt on the plains of India, under the shadow of the Himalayas, and that thence commenced that great stream of migration which for centuries poured into the Pacific Ocean in all directions, gradually peopling those numberless islands which besprinkle it as the stars do the sky. The Island of Java was a stepping-stone or resting-place on the way, and it is supposed that the fabled Hawaiki, or Avaiki, from which all good Polynesians say they have come, has linguistic reference to that island, and perhaps to India behind it. But I must confine myself to our own New Zealand branch of that great stream, and tell you what is known of our own Maoris, especially those of this Island.

Their migration commenced about six hundred years ago, and the traditions connected with the voyaging and arrival of their celebrated canoes were carefully preserved and handed down for generations, affording stories of ceaseless interest wherever there were camping-grounds or kaingas. These canoes were of large size—double—and could carry two hundred people, or even more. Guided by no compass save the stars, and perhaps aided by a very primitive chart of mechanical construction, whereon were depicted prevalent winds and currents, the intrepid voyagers steered an unerring way. It is pleasant to think that we, the new-comers, have inscribed the names of these ancient historic canoes upon our own great vessels—"Aotea," "Arawa," "Tainui," "Tokomaru." These, and several others with equally pretty names, anchored at last at different parts of the east and west coasts of the North Islands, and from them sprang the various Native tribes of

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\* A lecturette on "The Maoris of the South Island," delivered at the Maori Carnival at Karitane, in 1901.

New Zealand, akin in division to the clans of Scotland. Another point of similarity between the two may be noticed. The Scottish prefix "Mac" has its analogue in the Maori "Ngai" or "Ngati," both meaning "descended from." Thus, as there are Mackenzie and Macgregor, so there are Ngaitahu, Ngapuhi, and Ngatimamoe. Perhaps, if time allowed, other points of resemblance might be found between the Maori tribes and Scottish clans.

Whilst the North Island was thus populated, there is no record of any of the historic canoes having directly contributed to the peopling of the South Island, which derived its population from subsequent hivings of the north pushing their way across the rough barrier of Cook Strait, and gradually descending in every direction from the lovely land-locked nooks and bays which so abound in the northern parts of this Island to the not less lovely though more inclement south. This secondary migration, if it may be so termed, began four hundred years ago, and there was hardly an original tribe that did not contribute some at least of its descendants to the ever-flowing stream.

It would be impossible here to detail the tribal designations or the order in which the various localities were peopled. It must suffice to say that, like the numerous clans of Macs in other parts of the world, the numerous tribes of Ngais and Ngatis spread themselves from Cape Campbell to the Bluff and Stewart Island, and from Cape Farewell to the Sounds. Wherever search is made stone implements and shell-heaps are found in such numbers and in places so various as to attest that a population much larger than is usually supposed once dwelt in this Island. Its disappearance may be attributed to internal warfare, and perhaps to the visitation of some pestilence, of which there are vague traditions.

I shall refer to a few matters of interest or points of contact between ourselves and the Natives of this Island. Take the greenstone, so much valued by us both as an ornament, and by them, in addition, as the material from which they made their highly prized war-club—the *mere pounamu*. This is found on the west coast, from Arahura, near Hokitika, down to the Sounds. An old tradition says that it was first discovered by the chief Ngahue, who, from some quarrel with a woman, was driven from his home at Hawaiki. Crossing the sea in search of a new home, he landed at Arahura, and after a long residence there returned to old Hawaiki, taking with him a block of greenstone, from which axes and adzes were made and used in construction of the canoes "Arawa" and "Tainui," which brought the first settlers to New Zealand. It is more probable, however, that the Ngatimamoe, one of the earliest and widest-spread tribes to settle in this Island, were the real discoverers. This by no means proved an unmixed blessing, for it excited the cupidity of other tribes, especially the Ngaitahu, and thus involved them in continuous warfare, carried on with varied success,

until at last the poor Ngatimamoe, scattered and driven farther and farther afield, yielded the unequal contest and sought shelter in caves, some of which may yet be seen in the neighbourhood of Lyttelton and Timaru. Many of these are inscribed with rude drawings or figures of various designs, which have been reproduced in certain volumes of the New Zealand Institute Transactions. Other remnants of this unfortunate tribe made their way to the forest fastnesses of the west coast, where pursuit was impossible. The miserable specimens seen by Captain Cook one hundred and twenty years ago in Dusky Bay were probably survivors of this ancient and once-powerful tribe, and since then, even as late as fifty years ago, whaling parties found traces of them. This valued stone also gave the Native name to this Island, for Captain Cook, pointing across the Strait to its hazy outline, was told that it was Te Wahi Pounamu—the place of the greenstone.

The first knowledge we have of European contact with the Maoris was in 1642, when Tasman, the accomplished seaman who discovered New Zealand, made his first unfortunate experience of them. Seven canoe-loads put off to attack his two vessels. A fierce encounter with his boats ensued, in which four of his men were killed. After firing several cannon-shot Tasman sailed away north, naming the scene of this disaster Murderers' Bay, which is in the neighbourhood of Nelson, and not far from the peaceful settlement of Collingwood.

As we have seen, the conquering Ngaitahus remained masters of the field, and it is probable that for a period of one hundred and fifty years that tribe held the chief sway over the principal portion of the South Island. And so they continued until in their turn they were conquered and dispossessed by the Ngatitoas, under the powerful chief Te Rauparaha, whose name is so well known, bringing us down to quite recent history.

What a different appearance the interior of the South Island must have then presented! The wide Canterbury Plains, our own interior of Otago, and the sloping shoulders of the hills and mountains which lead down to the Taieri, Strath Taieri, and Tokomairiro Plains were covered with verdant forests. These the Maoris destroyed by fire whilst preparing land for cultivation, and, perhaps, in bygone ages, whilst hunting the moa, and by such means driving it into creeks and swampy places. To-day we destroy our own forests in the same wasteful way, but with us the act is at least disgraceful, and should be considered criminal.

Eighty years have passed since the introduction of firearms amongst the Natives by the northern chief Hongi—needless to say, with the most terrible results. Armed with his new weapons, Hongi became the terror of his countrymen, whom he slaughtered in every direction, and whose villages he laid waste. Basketfuls of their flesh he continually sent as presents to his friends.

Amongst those who fled south before him was Te Rauparaha, the Ngaitoa. He, too, became inflamed with the lust of war, for his own escape begot no lesson of peace or mercy, and he carried on a series of bloody raids as far as present Wellington. Then, in 1827, he crossed Cook Strait, buying from the whalers there muskets and powder, and attacked the Ngaitahu, near Kaikoura, who in a boastful spirit had said that if Rauparaha dared to cross over to them they would rip up his body with a shark's tooth. For this insult he took widespread and savage revenge, his war-parties dividing in different directions, killing hundreds, and carrying hundreds away as slaves to his island fastness of Kapiti, where he could more leisurely practise his cruelty. At Kaiapoï one of his relatives, Te Pehi, was killed by a blow on the head from a stone club. He was bargaining for the purchase of some greenstone, and, failing to come to terms, he angrily said, "Why do you thwart me, you with the ugly *tatu*? Your nose will soon be cut off." This was viewed by the Kaiapoï Natives as a menace of coming danger, which they sought to avert by suddenly killing Te Pehi and his companions a few days after at a concerted signal. News of this was carried to Rauparaha, who, furious beyond measure, laid his plans for *utu*, or revenge, and the incident connected with it which I am now about to relate redounds to the eternal disgrace of the British seamen who so shamefully assisted. It was so late, as 1830. Rauparaha promised Captain Stewart, the master of the brig "Elizabeth," a whaler, 50 tons of dressed flax, worth £1,200, if he would take him and three hundred of his warriors to Banks Peninsula, and assist in every way to bring back to Kapiti as many captives as could be secured. Stewart agreed, and took the party, fully armed, to Akaroa, where he pretended to trade in flax, pigs, and potatoes. Rauparaha and his men kept themselves concealed below deck, only at night coming up for fresh air. The unsuspecting Natives in full numbers accompanied by their chief, Te Mailharanui, his wife and daughter, at length came on board. At a given signal the treacherous war-party rushed upon deck, massacring every one, with the exception of the chief and his wife, who were reserved for further torture. The party then went ashore, accompanied by the sailors, murdering all whom they could find. I will spare you a recital of the further cruelties practised, which were of the most horrible kind. You will ask, Was no punishment inflicted on these fiends, our countrymen? No. Those days were wild and lawless, and though information reached Sydney, and measures were taken, they failed to take effect, as, indeed, we might expect. Stewart sailed away, and, it is said, was drowned off Cape Horn. He was not the Stewart who discovered Stewart Island, but a cousin. What recompense can we make to the Maori, now our fellow-subject?

But Rauparaha was not yet satisfied, and he laid plans for the capture of the strong pa at Kaiapoi, taking with him strong forces of the Ngatitōa and Ngatikoata. This was in 1831. The story of this siege is full of interest and stirring adventure. Quite a thousand people defended the pa, and that for fully four months. Amongst the defenders were Taiaroa, with his party of Otakou Natives, the father of the Taiaroa so well known to us. Rauparaha, unsuccessful during all this time, finally determined to set the pa on fire, and with this view piled up huge bundles of dried manuka all along its southern face, which was to be fired with the blowing of the first south-west wind. But a fierce hot nor'-wester blew instead, and in it the poor, worn-out besieged saw a ray of hope. A few bold spirits dashed out of the pa, lighting the fires themselves. Volumes of dense smoke and leaping flames were driven from them upon the besiegers. But, alas! this good fortune was short-lived, for, as we here know is so often the case on a hot-wind day, the wind shifted suddenly to the south, and so fell the Kaiapoi Pa in a few minutes. Then followed the usual horrible slaughter, slavery, cruelty, and cannibalism.

Many escaped into the neighbouring swamps, came down to Otago, and still farther south, and lived to fight for many another day against their cruel enemy. Amongst them was the chief Tuhawaiki, so well and favourably known to the early New Zealand settlers. He was familiarly known as "Bloody Jack," and he was principally a resident in these parts. But he was not really cruel or bloody—that was a term of endearment conferred upon him by the whalers, who often saw him on the Waikouaiti sands drilling his warriors against likely attacks. He was really one of our best friends—intelligent, industrious, hospitable, and polite—and his name appears first in the deed which made over to us the Otago Block. Skilful sailor though he was, he was drowned in 1844 whilst guiding his little schooner past Moeraki in a tempestuous sea.

A word more concerning Rauparaha. His conquest of the South Island thus completed, he returned to the North, and wherever he trod his footsteps were marked in blood. Then came 1840, the date of our colonization, and three years later the dreadful affray with our countrymen at the Wairau, when Rauparaha and his fellow-chief Rangihaeata killed or severely wounded twenty-seven. This sad story is too long to tell here, but it is fair to say that we were not wholly blameless in the matter.

Then followed a time when the infant colony, with its mere handful of settlers, was in constant alarm from Native outbreaks in which Rauparaha was conspicuous. By a smart stratagem, and in the silent night, he was seized by our bluejackets when asleep in his pa at Porirua, and, like a trapped tiger, conveyed on board H.M.S. "Calliope" a prisoner, and shorn of power for

future evil. This was in 1846. In 1849 he died a Christian. Nay, more, like many a man whose life has been spent in crime, he built a church. This still stands at Otaki, though in a decaying condition. His son, Tamihana te Rauparaha was ordained, and became an estimable clergyman.

But my allotted time has more than expired, and I must not attempt to compress further incidents, of which there are so many. It may be of interest to you to know that from time to time large blocks of land have been purchased from the Natives of this Island for ourselves, until now we possess the whole. The total area is roundly about 38,000,000 acres, which have cost us in round numbers, and very roughly speaking, about £50,000. Of course, reserves have been made for the benefit of the interesting people who were the original owners of the soil. It is right, perhaps, and in accordance with the principles of evolution and of the advancement of the human race, that those should possess the land who use it to the best advantage, even though this should involve dispossession of the original occupants. But this should be done with every consideration and sentiment of justice. To a degree the British Government has ever observed these principles. But we ourselves should lend a helping hand to those who are our weaker brethren. They are endeavouring to help themselves, as view their efforts this evening, and also the brave efforts of the Rev. F. A. Bennett and his Young Maori party to raise the status and increase the comforts of his people. It is our bounden duty to help them, too, by every means in our power.

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