

# History of New Zealand

1642-1861

BY

ALFRED SAUNDERS



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*Yours Truly*  
*Alfred Saunders*

# History of New Zealand

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FROM THE ARRIVAL OF TASMAN IN GOLDEN  
BAY IN 1642, TO THE SECOND ARRIVAL  
OF SIR GEORGE GREY IN 1861.



BY

ALFRED SAUNDERS



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## PREFACE.

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As the *first* settler who landed from the *first* immigrant ship that entered Nelson Harbour, on the 1st of February, 1842, and as the oldest member of the New Zealand House of Representatives at the present date, I have often been earnestly requested, both by my colleagues in the House and by other New Zealand settlers whose judgment I value, to place on record something like a concise and connected narrative of the more important events that have come under my notice, in some of which, both as a settler and a public man, I have so long been permitted to take an active and a more or less responsible part. So long as I had little expectation that I should outlive so many of my contemporaries and comrades, I felt under no obligation to undertake what could be better done by more able men. But as the most promising of my comrades have, one after the other, gone to their rest without having made any effort to place their knowledge and experience on record, and as the existing historical works on New Zealand do not, either separately or collectively, supply a complete, compendious and reliable record of the leading events in New Zealand history, I have consented at the eleventh hour to undertake a task which I may or may not live to complete, but which will, even with this volume, cover the dates about which little will be remembered by the present generation, upon which official records are not to be found, and of which little would be known to later writers who may be induced to contribute to the history of New Zealand.

I have devoted what some of my readers may consider an undue space to the only reliable early records, for which we are so much indebted to Captain Cook and the Rev. Samuel Marsden. It has long appeared to me to be a matter for regret, and even a just subject for reproach, that the deeply interesting work of those two great men should be so little known or appreciated by the present generation of New Zealanders; and that such men have been far more honoured in Australia and even in England, than they have been in the country to which their best and their most successful energies were devoted.

To the heroic, unaided courage, fidelity and industry of Cook, which stand out in their solitary grandeur as giving us all that we know of what New Zealand and its inhabitants really were during the eighteenth century, I have been tempted to give more space than I should otherwise have

done in consequence of being now able to command the grandly simple narrative of his own work in his own words. The publication, by Mr. Corner, only three years ago of Cook's own journal in his own language, gives a new interest to the great navigator's work, and to his own unpretentious description of it, now no longer obscured by its translation into the more scholastic language of Dr. Hawkesworth. This has appeared to me to justify some account of his educational restrictions, and the insertion of some copious extracts from a journal which from so many different points of view, can hardly fail to command much interest and much veneration.

It is neither his power, his ability, nor the multiplicity of his resources which give the great charm to Marsden's noble character. It is that heroic unselfishness and steadiness of purpose which enabled him to despise dangers, to brook disappointments, and confidently and continuously to face difficulties which very few men would have encountered so long, so patiently, or with such complete ultimate success. I need offer no apology for the space occupied to indicate the great work of the unselfish man who first discovered and proved how much latent worth and honour lay hid beneath the rugged exterior of the Maori character, and who made the colonization of New Zealand compatible with the preservation of the physically and mentally powerful race who were always so ready to die in defence of their real or imaginary rights.

To "say nothing but good of the dead" may be a motto often rightly adopted in the ordinary conversation of daily life, but is evidently not admissible as a guide for the impartial historian. A mere assemblage of panegyrics could only be contemptible if professing to be a history; and it must be obvious to all that, in attempting to write a comparatively modern history, at a time when

"Part of the host have crossed the flood  
And part are crossing now,"

at a time when the actions of the living and those of the dead often appear side by side on the same stage, the historian who writes not merely for the present day can have no right to handle the one more leniently than the other, or to allow anything but an impartial judgment to be his guide in either case. It is too commonly the aim of writers for the present hour to say something pleasant, and only pleasant, about every character they touch, and "verily they have their reward;" but such productions have no claim to the name of history.

Without recording any political actions of my own, or encumbering my pages with political essays in support of my own personal views on public questions, I have made no effort to conceal my political opinions; as by practising no concealment as to what I believe and approve, it

appeared to me that my readers would be better able to decide as to whether I have or have not fairly treated those whose public opinions have, more or less, differed from my own. I have failed in my endeavours if I have not succeeded generally in leaving carefully sifted facts to tell their own tale.

It will be readily understood that the whole of this volume is occupied with that portion of New Zealand history for which the materials are more difficult to collect and far more difficult to verify than those that could be better obtained relating to the more modern periods, during which the daily cablegrams and the hourly telegrams have been systematically arranged in the columns of so many daily and weekly newspapers.

Although I have deferred this work until I find myself long past the allotted age of man and still farther beyond the prime of manhood, I am by no means tempted to underrate the importance or to lightly estimate the responsibility of the work which I have thus so late undertaken. No one can fail to recognize that even the nursery tales of King Alfred's infancy or Washington's boyhood are still not without their influence upon the inmates of the great countries which gave birth to those noble patriots, countries which are so evidently destined ultimately to command the empire of the world. Such being the fact, no writer of the earliest New Zealand history would be justified in concluding that a similar responsibility does not attach to the moral bearing of the incidents he may select to form the finger posts or the beacons in the future onward and upward path of this promising off-shoot of the same predominating race.

My aim has been to write a history that can be obtained, read, understood and trusted by the young and the old of all classes, of both races; in which the mistakes of my fellow colonists, as well as those of our rulers and governors have not been concealed; in which their humble but honest efforts have not been underrated; and in which truth, justice, patriotism and philanthropy will take a higher place than wealth, station, ambition, talent or success.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, N.Z.

*August 3rd, 1896.*



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## CHAPTER I.

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CAPTAIN COOK AND HIS JOURNAL. 1642-1769.

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“There is no way in which a man strengthens his own judgment and acquires respect in Society so much as by a scrupulous regard to truth.—  
DR. CHANNING.

THE two main islands of New Zealand lie between 34 and 47 degrees S. latitude and between 166 and 179 E. longitude. Although various attempts, both official and unofficial, have been made to give them Maori, Irish, and English names, they are still best known as the North and South Island. The North Island has an area of about 28 million acres and the South Island of about 37 million. Of the many small adjacent islands, Stewart Island, at the extreme south is the largest, containing 425,000 acres. A very large proportion of both Islands is mountainous; several large mountain ranges are perpetually covered with snow. The highest, Mount Cook, is 12,349 feet high. The swamp-land is, for the most part, easily drained and extremely fertile; the land originally covered with flax is almost invariably good; the soil of the lowland forests is usually good but very costly to clear. The land covered with low fern or tea tree is commonly poor dry soil; but often convertible into healthy sheep runs.

The islands are clearly of volcanic origin, and are still subject to earthquakes and to volcanic eruptions. Natural harbours are numerous and capacious; but are not well distributed, and are seldom found where they would be most useful. Rain is usually abundant, and the rivers are

liable to heavy floods ; but few of them are navigable, as their fall is usually too great. Hot springs abound in those parts of the islands where active volcanoes are still in existence. Icebergs, waterfalls, lofty precipices and snow-capped mountains present a great variety and novelty of scenery. No quadrupeds but rats and dogs were seen by Cook, and even these were not abundant, and both were eagerly sought by the natives as their most dainty food. The dogs were not wild, nor do they appear to have been used for hunting or any useful purpose except for food. Very large eels abound in the rivers, swamps and estuaries ; but no poisonous reptiles exist on the islands. There is a great variety of birds, many of which are unknown elsewhere : the most useful of them are too tame to prolong their existence against the destructive propensities of European sportsmen, and, unless specially protected, will disappear as the great moa has done. The annual multiplication of the imported rabbits, larks, linnets, sparrows, and blackbirds threatens dire calamity to the pastoral, agricultural and horticultural interests.

The oral traditions of the Maoris can in no sense be regarded as trustworthy, but their language clearly confirms their claim to have descended from the wide-spread Polynesian race ; and many circumstances support their tradition that the ancestors of the predominating race which Cook found in New Zealand came, some five centuries previous to Cook's visit, in considerable numbers from an island called by them Hawaiki, which is supposed to be the island now known as Raratonga.

The prehistoric age of New Zealand comes much nearer to the present time than that of most other countries. Nor can we wonder that a country so distant from Europe, with a coast so ruggedly precipitous and unproductive, with no valuable indigenous vegetables, with its mineral wealth undeveloped and unknown, with a population hardy, bold, strong and pugnacious, which had nothing to export and which declared, both by word and by deed, its intention to kill and to eat all invaders, should be one of the latest countries to become intimately and accurately known to the geographers and historians of Europe.

Prior to the long visit of the great navigator, Cook, in 1769-70, the civilized world knew very little of the geography and hardly anything of the population, the flora, or the fauna of this mountainous, temperate and well-watered country, so well adapted to maintain without degeneration the strongest and noblest specimens of the human form and character.

The descendants of the South Sea Islanders found on the coast of New Zealand, and only on the coast, by Captain Cook, had undoubtedly displaced, rather than amalgamated with, the race or races that preceded them. The language of their ancestors had been mixed with no other, and yet they appear to have reached New Zealand at a date at which they brought with them no knowledge of pottery, of iron, or even of the bow and arrow, or of any kind of projectile weapon. Their strong physique, their robust health, their daring courage, their matchless cunning, the perfection of all their senses, and the ample development of their brains, were entirely inconsistent with the state of ignorance, depravity, privation and shiftlessness in which they were found by Cook. With no recognised government, with no controlling religious belief, with no saving code of morals, with no legally recognised rights in land, with no domestic animals to educate and protect, with no grain to cultivate, with no veneration for human life, with no respect and with little affection for women or children, there was nothing to elevate their aspirations or to cultivate their nobler powers; whilst their habit of eating each other debased every moral sense and inflamed every savage, selfish propensity. They thus exhibited the unusual spectacle of a race whose natural powers fitted them to attain the highest degree of civilization, but whose habits and surroundings had, for centuries, been leading them through a downward evolution to the lowest depths of dark, debasing, destructive, unrestrained cruelty, in which individual gratification was qualified by no sense of shame, by no regard for social welfare, by no conception of a golden rule, nor even by any belief in, or consideration for, present or future collective advantage. Might, not right, had long prevailed. The

kindhearted Islanders, of the same race and language, whose training in Tahiti had taught them to weep in agony at the sight of a foreigner's back being lacerated with the British cat-o'-nine-tails, had learned, in New Zealand, to delight in the torture of their own countrymen, and to roast and devour their own slaves. They were, in fact, the survivors, in a long and selfish contest, where strength, hardihood, courage and cunning were the only possible successful factors.

Although it is probable that New Zealand was seen by Portuguese, Spanish, or French navigators at some earlier dates, we find nothing satisfactorily authentic upon the subject prior to the visit of Captain Abel Jansen Tasman, the commander of two Dutch vessels, the yacht *Heemskirk* and the fly-boat *Zeehaan*. These vessels sailed from Batavia on August 14th, 1642.

Tasman sighted what is now called Cape Farewell on December 13th, 1642, and, on the 14th, he anchored in what we now know as Golden Bay. On the 19th, one of the *Zeehaan's* boats, in which were seven unarmed men, was attacked by the Maoris, in two canoes, in full sight of both ships. Four of the Dutchmen were killed, and three saved their lives by jumping over-board and swimming towards the *Heemskirk*, from which a boat was sent to rescue them, and they were taken up alive.

Such a proof of the bold and unfriendly character of the natives put an end to all further attempts by Tasman to hold any intercourse with them, and even caused him to leave the whole country without discovering that Cook's Strait divided the land into two main Islands, and without landing to obtain the wood, water and fresh green food which he had hoped to procure. In consequence of this too hasty abandonment of the fine country he had merely sighted, Tasman lost a great opportunity of enlightening the civilized world as to the value of his discovery ; nor did he improve in the slightest degree, the ignorant and deplorable condition of the brave and able race who were thus left for many generations still to prey upon each other, and to add to the dark tale of human misery by their inhuman and savage cruelties.

After the discovery by Tasman, no less than 127 years were allowed to pass before the world gained any further light as to the character of the country or of its inhabitants. It was reserved for our great English navigator, Captain Cook, to first give us minute and reliable information of the country, and of the natives he found occupying some portions of it.

Perhaps a more sincere tribute was never paid to simple truth and accuracy than was paid, more than a century after his death, to the veracity of Captain Cook, by the demand which has lately been made for the publication of his own journal, with all its grammatical defects, in order that the present generation might have the satisfaction of reading the narrative in his own simple, truthful, unadorned and unexaggerated language. His contemporaries and employers, knowing how little of his laborious life had been spent in studying the English Grammar, thought it necessary to hand his journal, with those of Banks and Dr. Solander, to a Dr. Hawkesworth who produced from them a book which, though very readable, was perhaps too much embellished, or shall we say adulterated, with language, and sometimes with ideas, which were certainly not Cook's. The simple, unexcited manner in which Cook had recorded the truly formidable dangers and hardships encountered, was often lost in the high-flown language of Dr. Hawkesworth and, what is still more unsatisfactory, we do not always know whether the Doctor is giving his own ideas, or whether he is translating the language of Cook, Banks or Solander. Our readers will therefore quite understand the great advantage the public has lately received in being able to read Cook's own words as recorded in one of the three original copies of his own journal, which was purchased by Mr. John Corner in 1890, and was published, in 1893 by Mr. Corner's son, in compliance with the expressed wish of his father, who had not lived to carry out his own intentions. The remarkably reliable character of the information we thus obtain, could not be duly appreciated without some knowledge of the antecedents of the man to whom the investigation of New Zealand and its inhabitants was so happily entrusted. No apology will be needed if we here

devote even a few pages to a description of the origin, the early character and the great practical preparation of the remarkable man, to whom we are so exclusively indebted for nearly all that is known to be reliable and valuable in the history of New Zealand during the eighteenth century. The long period of seventy years which elapsed between Cook's great work in New Zealand and the systematic settlement of the colony by Europeans, is the only explanation we can give of the fact that his services have received less public recognition in New Zealand than they have done in the older and far less indebted colony of New South Wales.

James Cook was born at the village of Marton in Yorkshire on the 27th of October, 1728. His father was an industrious, clever agricultural labourer, married to a highly respected and trustworthy woman in his own station of life. Their son, the great navigator, had three brothers and five sisters. Though put to work at a very early age, the child appears to have been taught his letters by his employer's wife, and subsequently the gentleman for whom his father acted as farm-bailiff, Mr. Skottowe, paid for his instruction in a village school for two or three years, during which he is said to have been instructed in writing and in the first simple rules of arithmetic. Before he was thirteen he had the misfortune to be apprenticed to a drunken and cruel storekeeper, from whose brutality he soon escaped by running away in the night to Whitby, and at once entered upon the usually hard and ill-used life of a boy on board a coasting collier. Whatever his usage may have been, he soon became known, both on board and on shore, as an active, clever and obliging boy, who, in due time, took the place of an able seaman, and, at an early age, the coveted position of the Captain's Mate.

In the beginning of 1755, war was declared against France, and James Cook, then 27 years of age, volunteered to serve before the mast in the "Eagle" man-of-war, a ship of 60 guns, soon afterwards commanded by Captain Palliser. Here, we are told, that "all the officers spoke highly in his favour and the Captain was so much pleased with his services that he gave him every encouragement which lay in his power." His old friends at Whitby proved to be so

numerous and influential that they were able to bring pressure to bear upon their representative in Parliament, Mr. Osbaldeston, M.P. for Scarborough. Mr. Osbaldeston was accordingly induced to write to Captain Palliser, stating that "several neighbours of his had solicited him to write in favour of one Cook, on board the Captain's ship." In reply to this request, Captain Palliser informed Mr. Osbaldeston that he might safely recommend Mr. Cook to receive a Master's warrant, "by which he would be raised to a station that he was well qualified to discharge with ability and and credit." This warrant he received on May 10th, 1759, and, on May 15th, he was appointed to the *Mercury*. In this vessel he was soon taking part in the Siege of Quebec. It was necessary to take soundings, in the Channel of the river St. Lawrence, directly in front of the French fortified camp, and we are told "Captain Palliser in consequence of his acquaintance with Mr. Cook's sagacity and resolution, recommended him to the service." In this night work he ran great risk of his life and, on one occasion, was surrounded by Indian canoes and lost his boat; but, nevertheless, we are told that "he furnished the Admiral with as correct and complete a draft of the Channel and soundings as could have been made after our countrymen were in possession of Quebec." No danger or difficulty ever tempted Cook to leave to guess work what he was employed to ascertain. No service could have proved this more quickly and conclusively than it was proved by the success of the naval attack on Quebec by the ships guided by Mr. Cook's chart. As a natural consequence, he was immediately employed in the same kind of important and responsible work, first, to prepare a chart of the soundings in the river St. Lawrence, and afterwards, on and around, the coast of Newfoundland, In both cases his work proved equally trustworthy, and both the English and the French authorities accepted his surveys, long after his death, as entirely reliable.

On the 22nd September, James Cook was appointed by Lord Colvil to be master of the *Northumberland*, the ship in which his Lordship commanded the squadron at Halifax. During the forced leisure of the severe Canadian winter, Mr. Cook first read Euclid, and so assiduously studied

mathematics, astronomy and other sciences that he was ultimately acknowledged to be the "highest authority upon the art of scientific navigation in the employment of the British Navy."

In September, 1762, he played a most useful part in the *Northumberland*, which came with Lord Colvil to assist in the recapture, from the French, of the island of Newfoundland. After that successful attack, his assiduity and intelligence attracted the notice of Admiral Graves, commander of the *Antelope* and Governor of Newfoundland.

Soon after this, Mr. Cook returned to England, and, on December 21st, 1762, was married to Miss Elizabeth Batts, of Barking, in Essex—a lady fourteen years younger than himself, who lived to adore his memory, and to reverence all that was identified with it, for no less than 56 years after his death. She was the daughter of a successful tradesman, had received a good education, and her manners and appearance are described as having been "dignified and attractive." But, notwithstanding his excellent choice of a devoted wife, and the love and confidence which existed between them, Mr. Cook was never long to enjoy the felicities of his well-chosen and well-deserved home. In April, 1763, he was persuaded by Captain Graves to go again with him to North America, and give his valuable assistance as a marine surveyor during the summer, returning to his home in the winter months.

In 1764, his steady friend and patron, now Sir Hugh Palliser, was appointed Governor and Commodore of Newfoundland and Labrador, and invited Cook to accompany him. This Cook consented to do, and pursued his marine and land surveys with his wonted accuracy and success. In 1766, he observed in Newfoundland an eclipse of the sun which occurred on August 5th, and reported the result of his observations in the 57th volume of *Philosophical Transactions*.

The comparison of Cook's work with that of other astronomers gave him another lift in the estimation of the most competent judges, and prepared the way to his being chosen to conduct an expedition which was destined to do

so much for geography, for astronomy, for science, for navigation, for physiology and for humanity.

His good work as a marine surveyor in North America was completed in the autumn of 1767, when he returned home, valued, respected, and trusted by the influential men in whose service he had given so many proofs of his integrity and capacity. Such a man, known as he was by men of so much influence, was soon wanted for a position at once arduous, dangerous, and important.

As a transit of Venus over the sun's disc was expected to occur on June 1st, 1769, the Royal Society addressed a memorial to George III., advising that the transit would be best observed from the South Pacific Ocean, and that competent scientific men should be sent from England for that purpose. The Lords of the Admiralty approved of the suggestion, and the King consented to furnish a suitable ship, manned and provisioned, not only for that object but also to extend our knowledge of places and people in the Southern Ocean, and especially of New Zealand and its then unknown inhabitants. The selection of a suitable ship and a suitable commander appears to have been principally left to Sir Hugh Palliser. As might have been expected, Sir Hugh emphatically and successfully recommended the appointment of James Cook, and took Cook with him to select a ship. They chose a strong collier of 370 tons, which was named the *Endeavour*.

Thus, on May 25th, 1768, James Cook became Lieutenant Cook, and went on board the *Endeavour* with all the terrible authority over the lives and liberties of all on board which that title in those days carried with it. The scientific men taken on board were Mr. Green, assistant to the Astronomer Royal, Sir Joseph Banks, Dr. Solander, an assistant naturalist, and Mr. Sydney Parkinson, a draughtsman. The ship's company consisted of the Lieutenant and of two lieutenants under him, three midshipmen, a master, a surgeon, a boatswain, a carpenter, eight petty officers, forty-one able seamen, twelve marines and nine servants—eighty-five in all.

With all these souls on board, thirty-eight of whom were never to return, and with eighteen months provisions,

our newly made Lieutenant sailed from Plymouth on August 20th, 1768.

After calling at Madeira and Rio Janeiro and rounding Cape Horn, he discovered and named several islands and groups of islands on his way to Tahiti, the island upon which the observation of the eclipse was to be taken. On April 13th, 1769, he anchored in Port Royal Bay. Every necessary preparation being made for observing the great event on June 1st, and, the weather proving favourable, the primary object of the expedition was accomplished to the entire satisfaction of all concerned, and Cook was free to use his own judgment as to what other valuable information should be sought by himself and the brave men entrusted to his care. On July 13th the English left Tahiti, with many pleasant recollections of the intercourse they had enjoyed with its friendly and gentle inhabitants, two of whom volunteered to accompany them. One of these, named Tupia, was a remarkably well informed man, who had filled the offices of Prime Minister and Chief Priest. Under date July 13th, 1769, when off Tahiti, Cook thus writes in his journal of Tupia:—

“ For some time before we left this island several of the natives were daily offering themselves to go away with us; and as it was thought they must be of use to us in our future discoveries, we resolved to bring away one whose name was Tupia, a Chief and a Priest. This man had been with us most part of the time we had been upon the island, which gave us an opportunity to know something of him. We found him to be a very intelligent person, and to know more of the geography of the islands situated in these seas, their produce and the religions, laws and customs of the inhabitants than any one we had met with, and was the likeliest person to answer our purpose. For these reasons, and at the request of Mr. Banks, I received him on board together with a young boy, his servant.”

This servant, Tayeto, was a bright lad of thirteen years.

In making his way from Tahiti to New Zealand, Cook discovered many small islands, at some of which he landed and obtained fresh provisions, and, through Tupia, was able to hold some kind of conversation with the natives.

Indeed it would be difficult to over-estimate the value of Tupia's assistance to Cook, especially in New Zealand. He was not only a well-informed interpreter, but a most valuable and faithful adviser, almost as courageous and prudent as Cook himself. We never hear of his objecting to go anywhere himself if wanted, although he sometimes advised Cook not to venture, and was often cognisant of danger unknown to those who did not understand the indications of designs so evident to him. It was greatly due to such assistance that Cook was able to form a more just estimate of the real character of a race, the worst side of whose nature was so much in evidence to more superficial observers, and thus to avoid the wanton waste of life which so often results from ignorance or selfish, groundless fear on both sides.

On October 6th, the north-east coast of New Zealand was sighted, and, on the 8th, the *Endeavour* was anchored in what Cook named, and what is still known as Poverty Bay. With the narrative of Tasman's encounter with the natives of New Zealand before him, it is impossible not to wonder that even Lieutenant Cook should have dared to land immediately and to have ventured up to their very huts, without any reasonable precaution for his own safety. But, vigilant as he was for the safety of others, he was always too careless of his own personal preservation. There can be no doubt that his experience with the mild unsuspecting natives of Tahiti had put him off his guard. Indeed we can only account for the trusting gentleness of the one, and the ever vigilant suspicion of the other, on the ground of natural selection of the boldest and most daring spirits in the first instance, venturing on such a voyage in a canoe followed by some centuries of evolution in a more bracing climate, in the practice of cannibalism, perhaps first made a necessity on such a voyage, and fostered by centuries of constant predatory warfare.

In considering such a naturally brave, benevolent, unselfish character as that of Captain Cook, we must not forget what his education had been. The stick which drove him from his miserable nightly retreat under the shop counter at Staithes, the rope's end so freely used on a boy

by the petty authorities on the collier in the German Ocean, his experience before the mast, on board a man-of-war, his boat encounters with the North American savages, the ever ready cat-o'-nine-tails with which, in those days, he was expected to maintain an undisputed discipline on board the *Endeavour*, were not calculated to bring out the mildest side of his really fine character, and leave us something to regret in his first introduction to the Maoris, and in his last and fatal encounter with the Hawaiians. In estimating the true character of a man who had been dragged through such hardening ordeals, we must not be too ready to contrast his conduct with that of the equally courageous, but more happily educated, Samuel Marsden. Compared with the navigators who followed him, or even with some of the other members of his own ship's company, Cook's general forbearance and justice to the natives are pleasant to contemplate, and his sincere regret for, and candid admission of his own mistakes, wherever he was wrong, are quite in harmony with the natural justice and benevolence of his character. His apologies for each act of rashness are humble and noble, and, as Commander, he grew every year more wisely thoughtful for the health and happiness of all under his care, more patient with the pugnacious Maoris, more anxious to supply them with seeds and animals, and more ready to acknowledge all that he could find noble in their very heterogeneous character.

Our narrative will here be best continued by extracts from Cook's own journal.

"Friday, October 6th, 1769. Gentle breezes and settled weather. At 2 p.m. saw land from the masthead bearing west by north, which we stood directly for, and could just see it off the deck at sunset. At midnight brought to and sounded, but had no ground with 170 fathoms.

Saturday, October 7th. At daylight made sail for the land. Gentle breezes and clear weather at 5 p.m. Seeing the opening of a bay that appeared to run pretty far inland, stood for it.

Sunday, October 8th. We saw in the bay several canoes, people upon the shore and some houses in the country. The land on the sea coast is high with steep cliffs; and

back inland are very high mountains. The face of the country is of a hilly surface and appears to be clothed with wood and verdure. Stood into the bay and anchored on the north-east side before the entrance of a small river; in ten fathoms, a fine sandy bottom." (The river here mentioned is the Tauranga Nui river, on the east bank of which the town of Gisborne now stands). "After this I went ashore with a party of men in the pinnace and yawl, accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander. We landed abreast of the ship and on the east side of the river; but seeing some of the natives on the other side of the river whom I was desirous of speaking with, and finding that we could not ford the river, I ordered the yawl in to carry us over and the pinnace to lay at the entrance. In the meantime the Indians made off. However we went as far as their huts, which lay about 200 or 300 yards from the water side, leaving four boys to take care of the yawl, which we had no sooner left than four men came out of the woods on the other side of the river, and would certainly have cut her off had not the people in the pinnace discovered them and called to her to drop down the stream, which they did, being closely pursued by the Indians. The coxswain of the pinnace, who had charge of the boats, fired two muskets over their heads; the first made them stop and look round them, but the second they took no notice of; upon which a third was fired, and killed one of them upon the spot, just as he was going to dart his spear at the boat. At this the other three stood motionless for a minute or two, but as soon as they recovered themselves they made off, dragging the dead body a little way and then left it. Upon hearing the report of the muskets we immediately repaired to the boats, and after viewing the dead body we returned on board.

Monday, October 9th. In the morning, seeing a number of the natives at the same place where we saw them last night, I went on shore with the boats, manned and armed, and landed on the opposite side of the river. At first only Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander and myself landed and went to the side of the river, the natives being gotten together on the opposite side. We called to them in the Georges

Island language, but they answered us by flourishing their weapons over their heads and dancing as we supposed the war dance. Upon this we retired until the Marines were landed which I ordered to be drawn up about 200 yards behind us. We went again to the river side, having Tupia, Mr. Green, and Dr. Monkhouse along with us. Tupia spoke to them in his own language, and it was an agreeable surprise to us to find that they perfectly understood him. After some little conversation had passed one of them swam over to us, and after him 20 or 30 more. These last brought their arms which the first man did not. We made them everyone presents but this did not satisfy them. They wanted everything we had about us, particularly our arms, and made several attempts to snatch them out of our hands. Tupia told us several times, as soon as they came over to take care of ourselves, as they were not our friends, and this we very soon found, as one of them snatched Mr. Green's hanger from him, and would not give it up. This encouraged the rest to be more insolent, and seeing others coming over to join them I ordered the man who had taken the hanger to be fired at, which was accordingly done; and he was wounded in such a manner that he died soon after. Upon the first fire, which was only two muskets, the others retired to a rock which lay nearly in the middle of the river; but on seeing the man fall they returned, probably to carry him off or his arms, the last of which they accomplished, and this we could not prevent unless we had run our bayonettes through them, for upon their returning from off the rock, we had discharged off our pieces which were loaded with small shot and wounded three more; but these got over the river and were carried off by the others, who now thought proper to retire.

Finding nothing was to be done with the people on this side, and the water in the river being salt, I embarked with an intent to row round the head of the bay, in search of fresh water, and if possible to surprise some of the natives and to take them on board, and by good treatment and presents endeavour to gain their friendship.

With this view I rowed round the head of the bay, but could find no place to land on account of the great surf which beat everywhere upon the shore.

Seeing two boats or canoes, I rowed to one of them in order to seize upon the people, and came so near, before they took notice of us, that Tupia called to them to come alongside and we would not hurt them; but instead of doing this they endeavoured to get away, upon which I ordered a musket to be fired over their heads, thinking this would either make them surrender or jump overboard. But here I was mistaken for they immediately took to their arms or whatever they had in the boat and began to attack us. This obliged us to fire upon them and, unfortunately, either two or three were killed, and one wounded and three jumped overboard. These last we took up and brought on board where they were clothed and treated with all imaginable kindness; and, to the surprise of everybody, became at once as cheerful and as merry as if they had been with their own friends. They were all three young; the eldest not above twenty years of age and the youngest about ten or twelve. I am aware that most humane men who have not experienced things of this nature will censure my conduct in firing upon the people in their boat. Nor do I myself think that the reason I had for seizing upon her will at all justify me, and had I thought that they would have made the least resistance I would not have come near them, but as they did I was not to stand still and suffer either myself or those who were with me to be knocked on the head."

On Tuesday, October 10th, the three young Maoris were taken on shore and set at liberty, against their will, but their representations and presents had very little effect upon the natives.

On Wednesday morning Cook sailed out of the bay, with the intention of sailing about 100 miles south and then returning northward. With gentle breezes and frequent calms the natives had many opportunities to come off to the *Endeavour* in their canoes, and some little traffic with them was accomplished, but no steady trust or confidence on either side was established. On Sunday, October 15th, whilst near what is now known as Napier, another cause of distrust on both sides is thus described in Cook's journal:—

“One of the fishing boats came alongside and offered us some more fish. The Indian boy, Tayeto, Tupia's servant, being over the side, they seized hold of him, pulled him into the boat and endeavoured to carry him off. This obliged us to fire upon them which gave the boy an opportunity to jump overboard. We brought the ship to, lowered a boat into the water and took him up unhurt. Two or three paid for this daring attempt with the loss of their lives and many more would have suffered had it not been for fear of killing the boy. This affair occasioned my giving this point of land the name of Cape Kidnapper. It is remarkable on account of two white rocks, in form of Haystacks, standing very near it.”

On Monday, October 16th, having reached latitude  $40^{\circ} 34'$  south at 1 p.m., Cook tacked and stood to the northward, naming the cape Cape Turnagain. From this point he explored the coast of the North Island as well as unusually bad weather would permit him to do. On Monday, 23rd, he met with friendly natives and put into Tolaga Bay, a convenient cove for wood and water, of which he obtained a full supply and also many specimens of birds, trees and plants. This was in latitude  $38^{\circ} 22' 24''$  south. Of this anchorage he writes, on October 28th :—

“Employed wooding, cutting, and making of brooms ; there being a shrub here very fit for that purpose ; and as I intended to sail in the morning, some hands were employed picking of celery to take to sea with us. This is found here in great plenty, and I have caused it to be boiled with portable soup and oatmeal every morning for the people's breakfast ; and this I design to continue as long as it will last, or any is to be got, and I look upon it to be very wholesome and a great anti-scorbutic.”

On the following day he writes :—

“During our stay in this bay we had every day more or less traffic with the natives, they bringing us fish, and now and then a few sweet potatoes ; and several trifles which we deemed curiosities ; for these we gave them cloth, beads, nails, etc. We saw no four-footed animals, either tame or wild, or signs of any except dogs and rats, and these were very scarce, especially the latter. The flesh of the former

they eat, and ornament their clothing with their skins, as we do ours with furs, etc. The tops and ridges of the hills are for the most part barren, at least little grows on them but fern. But the valleys and sides of many of the hills were luxuriously clothed with woods and verdure; and little plantations of the natives lying dispersed up and down the country. We found in the woods trees of above 20 different sorts. Specimens of which I took on board, all of them were unknown to any of us. The tree which we cut for firing was something like maple and yielded a whitish gum. There was another sort of a deep yellow, which we thought might prove useful in dyeing. The country abounds with a great number of plants, and the woods with as great a variety of beautiful birds, many of them unknown to us. The soil of both the hills and valleys is light and sandy, and very proper for producing all kinds of roots, but saw only sweet potatoes and yams amongst them. These they plant in little round hills, and have plantations of them containing several acres, mostly laid out and kept in good order, and many of them are fenced with low palings, which can only serve for ornament."

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## CHAPTER II.

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CANNIBALS, ROCKS AND SCURVY. 1769-1771.

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“The calm, fretless dignity of the soul amidst the wild tempests and agonising sufferings of this mortal scene.”—DR. DAVIES.

ON Saturday, November 4th, in latitude  $36^{\circ} 47'$  he put into a bight, now called Cook's Bay, and make preparations to observe the transit of Mercury on November 9th, for which the weather was fine and the observation was successfully made and recorded. The natives, after making some hostile demonstrations which were not resented, became on the following morning “very fair and friendly; two came on board the ship. To each I gave a piece of English cloth and some spike nails.”

On the day of the transit the captain's journal tell us—

“As soon as it was daylight the natives began to bring off mackerel and more than we knew what to do with; notwithstanding I ordered all they brought to be purchased in order to encourage them in this kind of traffic.”

Whilst the Commander and the Astronomers were on shore devoting their attention to the transit of Mercury which came on at 7.21 a.m., Mr. Gore, the officer left in charge of the ship, committed one of those thoughtless acts of cruelty which are so often allowed to destroy the budding confidence of an uncivilized race. It is pleasant to note the progress of the Commander's own views as to the folly and

injustice of such harsh cruelty. In his journal the event is thus described :—

“ One man offered to sell a ‘hadhow,’ that is a square piece of cloth such as they wear. Lieutenant Gore, who at this time was commanding officer, sent into the canoe a piece of cloth which the man had agreed to take in exchange for his. But as soon as he had got Mr. Gore’s cloth in his possession, he would not part with his own, but put off the canoe from along side and the occupants then shook their paddles at the people in the ship. Upon this Mr. Gore fired a musket at them, and from what I can learn killed the man who took the cloth. After this they soon went away.”

“ I have here inserted the account of this affair just as I had it from Mr. Gore, but I must own that it did not meet with my approbation because I thought the punishment a little too severe for the crime, and we had now been long enough acquainted with these people to know how to chastise trifling faults like this, without taking away their lives.”

The next day we are told that “ none of the natives came off to the ship this morning,” and although the ship remained there five days longer, we hear nothing more of supplies of fish.

The ship’s boats however obtained wood, water, and loads of celery and rock-oysters, and the Commander and passengers visited fortifications and villages with great boldness and confidence, and were everywhere well treated.

On the 15th, at 7 a.m., he weighed anchor with a light breeze, and hugging the coast and closely observing all they passed, reached the mouth of the Thames River. On the morning of the 20th, Cook started with two boats up the river twelve or fourteen miles. Cook says, “ We saw a number of natives and landed at one of their villages, the inhabitants of which received us with open arms.”

He found trees girthing 19 ft. 8 in., 6 ft. above the ground, and 89 ft. long to first branch. He did not get back to the ship until 7 on the following morning. Harbours he found in plenty here, including the one now known as Auckland.

The daring courage with which Cook, quite unnecessarily, encountered the most imminent danger from the natives, and the remarkable coolness which never forsook him, will be seen from an incident which occurred here. It is a fine illustration both of the safety and of the humanity of true courage, as contrasted with the danger and cruelty of fear and panic, which would so certainly have resulted with a less intrepid commander. Only those who know the natural, savage courage of the Maoris, as since demonstrated in so many sad catastrophes, can truly estimate how great the danger was. The encounter is described with fascinating simplicity and modesty, by the chief actor himself, in his journal for Thursday, November 30th:—

“After the ship was moved into deeper water I went with the pinnace and yawl, manned and armed, and landed upon the island, accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander. We had scarce landed before all the canoes left the ship and landed at different parts of the island, and before we could well look around us, we were surrounded by 200 or 300 people and, notwithstanding that they were all armed, they came upon us in such a confused straggling manner that we hardly suspected that they meant us any harm. But in this we were very soon undeceived, for, on our endeavouring to draw a line upon the sand between us and them they set up the war dance, and immediately some of them attempted to seize the two boats. Being disappointed in this, they next attempted to break in upon us, upon which I fired a musket loaded with small shot at one of the most forward of them, and Mr. Banks and two of the men fired immediately after. This made them retire back a little, but in less than a minute one of the chiefs rallied them again.

“Dr. Solander, seeing this, gave him a peppering with small shot, which sent him off and made them retire a second time. They attempted to rally several times after and only seemed to want someone of resolution to head them; but they were at last entirely dispersed by the ship firing a few shots over their heads, and by a musket now and then from us. In this skirmish only one or two of them were hurt with small shot, for I avoided killing any

one of them, as much as possible, and for that reason withheld our people from firing. We had observed that some had hid themselves in a cave in one of the rocks, and, sometime after the skirmish was over, went towards them. The chief, whom I have mentioned to have been on board the ship, happened to have been one of these. He, his wife, and another, came out to meet us but the rest made off. Those three people came and sat down by us and we gave them of such things as we had about us. After this we went to another part of the island where some of the inhabitants came to us and were as meek as lambs."

At noon on the 14th December, Cook was in latitude  $34^{\circ} 6'$ , and saw land bearing south west, which he rightly considered the northern extremity of New Zealand. This point he named North Cape, and rightly described it as lying in Latitude  $34^{\circ} 22'$  south, and Longitude  $186^{\circ} 55'$  west. He also discovered that past this cape there was a strong current setting eastward.

Although in the middle of summer, the weather was so tempestuous after this that Cook says, "for strength and continuance I was hardly ever in such before. Fortunately we were a good distance from land, otherwise it would have proved fatal to us." They were thus, with wind and current against them, five weeks in getting fifty leagues to the westward. Notwithstanding the violent winds blowing so dangerously on shore, Cook would not leave the North-West Cape, called by Tasman Cape Maria Van Dieman, until he had fixed its latitude and longitude, which, under the unfavourable conditions of wind and weather, he settled with extraordinary accuracy. His latitude is exact and his longitude only three miles in error. One of Harrison's chronometers, invented in 1764, was carried by Cook on this voyage for observation of the transit of Venus. It was purchased for £100.

In coming down the west coast of the North Island, he found no harbour; but contrived to sail very directly to one of the best harbours for his purpose to be found in New Zealand, and one which he did not then know to be in a separate island. Here he anchored in what he calls "a very snug cove," ever since known as "Ship Cove,"

in Queen Charlotte's Sound. In this spot he had perfect shelter, with deep water close to shore, where he could tie his ship to a tree ; with excellent water, a forest of wood, and where, with a few hauls of the seine, they at once caught 300 lbs of fish.

Here the natives were not very numerous but distinctly unfriendly at first, and made no secret of their desire to kill and eat their visitors. Cook says :—

“ They gave us to understand that but a few days before, they had killed and eaten a boat's crew of their enemies—or strangers, for I believe that they look upon all strangers as enemies.”

As Cook's chief object here was to careen his ship for cleaning, caulking, and repairing, in which position she would be little capable of defence, he considered it improvident to allow these man-eaters to surround her in any large numbers. But with due caution and forbearance, a better understanding was soon obtained by the assistance of Tupia, and the visitors freely explored the bays and hills with which they were now surrounded, with the result that Cook was soon led to believe that he was now on a separate island, around which he resolved to sail.

Ten days after his arrival we have this entry in his journal :—

“ I made an excursion into one of the bays which lie on the east side of the inlet accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander. Upon our landing we ascended a very high hill, from which we had a full view of the passage I had before discovered, and the land on the opposite shore, which appeared to be about four leagues from us, but as it was hazy near the horizon, we could not see far to the south-east. However I had now seen enough of this passage to convince me that there was the greatest possibility in the world of its running into the Eastern Sea, as the distance of that sea from this place cannot exceed twenty leagues, even to where we were. Upon this I resolved, after putting to sea, to search this passage with the ship. We found on the top of the hill a parcel of loose stones of which we built a pyramid and left in it some musket balls, small shot, beads, and whatever we had about

us that was likely to stand the test of time. After this we descended the hill and found along with Tupia and the boat's crew several of the natives, sitting in the most free and friendly manner imaginable. Tupia always accompanies us in every excursion we make, and proves of infinite service."

On Tuesday, February 6th, the ship being greatly improved in her condition, and the crew refreshed by their fresh fish and boatloads of wild celery, the ship was warped out of the cove and got under sail. Cook soon found that he was right as to the complete separation of the two islands by what we now know as Cook Strait.

The next forty-nine days were spent in sailing completely round the two south islands, which Cook took to be one island, believing that Stewart Island was not completely separated from the large island. In this voyage he again encountered very rough weather, and missed seeing several good harbours, but again succeeded in laying down the latitude and longitude of several prominent points with great accuracy. He prudently avoided entering harbours from which he would only be able to get out by a wind which he found to blow only once a month, although as he says, "there were some on board that wanted me to harbour at any rate, without in the least considering either the present or future consequences."

Having circumnavigated both islands, he anchored, on March 27th, in Admiralty Bay, a convenient harbour about twenty miles north-west of the Ship Cove, from which he had started on the 6th of the previous month. Here his water-casks were filled, for the last time, with New Zealand water; and, on the 31st of March, he left New Zealand to explore the coast of Australia.

Before leaving New Zealand, Cook inserts in his journal a most valuable account of the impressions he had formed of the Maoris, after the six months he had so boldly spent among them, on so many different parts of the coast. It is the only reliable record we have of the Maoris of that period. He saw them as they were, before they had been pulled down by escaped convicts from Australia, or lifted up by the missionaries of Marsden; and he brought to the investigation

of their character an amount of courage, of coolness, of simple truth and purity, of penetration and impartiality which made him the most trustworthy of historians, as he was at once the boldest and most vigilant of navigators. His description of the natives was as minute and accurate as his geography of the country in which he found them; and what he said of both has been amply verified by subsequent investigators. All now agree that he found a fine country, with a naturally fine race of men upon it; but that both the country and the men were suffering from a combination of unfavourable influences which effectually suppressed all evidence of their value, and all probability of their improvement.

Cook writes:—

“The natives of this country are a strong, raw-boned, well-made, active people; rather above than under the common size, especially the men..... and such as do not disfigure their faces by tattooing have in general very good features..... They seem to enjoy a good state of health, and many of them live to a good old age. Whatever place we put in at, or whatever people we spoke with upon the coast, they generally told us that those that were at a little distance from them were their enemies; from which it appears that they were very much divided into parties which make war one with another, and all their actions and behaviour towards us tended to prove that they are a brave, open, war-like people and void of treachery. Whenever we were visited by any number of them, that had never heard or seen anything of us before, they generally came off in the largest canoe they had, some of which will carry 60, 80, or 100 people. They always brought their best clothes with them, which they put on as soon as they came near the ship..... As soon as they came within about a stone's throw of the ship, they would lie there and call out “Horomoi harenta a patoo ago,” that is “Come here, come ashore with us and we will kill you with our patoo patoos,” and at the same time would shake them at us. At times they would dance the war dance; and at other times they would trade with us and talk with us, and answer such questions as were put to them with all the calmness imaginable, and then again begin the war

dance, shaking their paddles, patoo patoos, and make strange contortions at the same time. As soon as they had worked themselves up to a proper pitch, they would begin to attack us with stones and darts, and oblige us, whether we would or no, to fire upon them. Musketry they never regarded unless they felt the effect, but great guns they did, because they threw stones farther than they could comprehend. After they found that our arms were so much superior to theirs, and that we took no advantage of that superiority, and a little time had been given them to reflect upon it, they were often our very good friends. We never had an instance of their attempting to surprise or cut off any of our people when they were ashore. Opportunity for so doing they must have had at one time or another.

“It is hard to account for what we have everywhere been told of their eating their enemies killed in battle, which they most certainly do. Circumstances enough we have seen to convince us of the truth of this. Tupia, who holds the custom in great aversion, has very often argued with them against it, but they have always as strenuously supported it, and never would own that it was wrong. It is reasonable to suppose that men with whom this custom is found, seldom, if ever, give quarter to those whom they overcome in battle, and if so they must fight desperately to the very last. A strong proof of this supposition we heard from the people of Queen Charlotte’s Sound, who told us that but a few days before we arrived they had killed and eaten a whole boat’s crew. The heads of these unfortunate people they preserved as trophies. In the article of food these people have no great variety. Fern-roots, dogs, fish, and wild fowl are their chief diet. For cocos, yams, and sweet potatoes are not cultivated everywhere.”

“With respect to religion, I believe these people trouble themselves very little about it. They however believe that there is one supreme God, whom they call Tane Makuta (the Creator of animal and vegetable life), and likewise a number of other inferior deities; but whether or not they worship or pray to either one or the other we know not with any degree of certainty.

“ I never saw the least action or thing amongst them that tended to prove it. They have the same notions of the creation of the world, mankind, etc., as the people of the South Sea Islands have ; indeed many of their notions and customs are the very same. But nothing is so great a proof of their all having had one source as their languages, which differed but in a very few words the one from the other.

“ There are some small differences in the language spoken by the natives of the North and South Islands, but this difference seemed to me to be only in the pronunciation, and is no more than what we find between one part of England and another. We have always been told that the same language is universally spoken by all South Sea Islanders, and that this is a sufficient proof that both they and the New Zealanders have had one origin or source ; but where this is, even time perhaps may never discover. The women have all very soft voices, and may by that alone be known from the men.”

Whilst Lieutenant Cook, after his long stay amongst the natives of the North Island, was battling in the *Endeavour* against the unusually tempestuous weather which he met off the North Cape, a French vessel came to anchor in Manganui Harbour, on December 16th, 1769. This vessel was the *St. Jean Baptiste*, commanded by M. De Serville—a name honoured neither in New Zealand nor in France. He probably profited by the reputation which Cook had earned for Europeans, and received much kindness from the Maoris, which kindness he returned by kidnapping the chief, Künui, under whose direction his sick had been kindly nursed in a village which he afterwards burned. Under his brutal treatment, poor Künui died in a few weeks, and the ungrateful commander was drowned when off Callao, twelve days afterwards.

In April, 1771, two French ships, the *Mascarin* and the *Marquis de Castries*, commanded by Captain Marion anchored in the Bay of Islands. On the 12th of June, Captain Marion with sixteen of his ship's company went on shore for a day's fishing. They did not return at night ; but, as the intercourse between the sailors and the Maoris

had so far been of the most intimate and apparently friendly character, no apprehension was entertained as to their fate, and another party of twelve was sent off in the morning. Four hours after the departure of the twelve, one of them swam back to the ship they had left and gave the information that all his companions had been killed.

The command now devolved upon Crozet who seems to have had no difficulty in learning that all the missing men had been killed and eaten.

Doubts have been expressed as to whether the too-trusting Maoris at Manganui had heard of the general humanity and justice of Cook, and again whether the revengers at the Bay of Islands had ever heard of the atrocities of De Serville. But it is a great mistake to suppose that, because each tribe was frequently aggressively hostile to its neighbour, or because the Maoris had no post-offices and no newspapers they were, therefore, not good news carriers and good news collectors. The Maoris of the North Island knew about the defective muskets that were successfully used to intimidate the Maoris at Golden Bay, and took care not to be similarly deluded at the Wairau, and the natives at Wakapuake heard of the Wairau massacre before the news reached the Europeans in the town of Nelson. Their dangerous hostility to each other keeps them constantly on the alert, and both their private and their public habits are better calculated to keep them correctly informed on questions of public interest than are the absorbing occupations of civilisation. Crozet himself had no doubt whatever as to De Serville's treachery being the cause of the massacre of his countrymen.

Crozet's own description of his retaliation reflects more honour upon the patriotic courage of the Maoris than it does upon the humanity or justice of the French commander. Crozet wanted some spars for his ships, and in order to obtain them he proceeded to drive away or to destroy the whole community of the Maoris whom he found in possession. The Maoris fled to their own fortified home, resolved to defend it against all his overwhelmingly superior weapons. We must bear in mind that they had not only no firearms, they had no arrows, poisoned or

unpoisoned, and no effective projectiles of any kind except stones. So that their assailants had little or nothing to fear, and appear to have suffered nothing.

On the authority, not of the defenders but of the assailants, we are told that the firearms of the French sailors shot down the defending Maoris from their elevated stages, so that the carpenters were able to approach without danger, and in a few minutes effected a breach by cutting down some palisades. As soon as a breach was apparent, a Maori chief stepped into it and defied his assailants with his long spear. He was instantly shot dead—another stepped upon his dead body and shared his fate—another and another climbed to the post of honour and certain death—until eight dead bodies choked up the breach! In the defence of their island homes, by our own ancestors, is anything more heroic than this recorded of them by the Romans?

But, notwithstanding their amazing courage and the fact that “not one could be taken alive,” it was as easy to shoot them all down, flying or standing, with firearms, when thus collected together, as it would have been to shoot a covey of partridges, and we are told that, “after accomplishing this enterprise,” Crozet was able to complete the repair of his ships without interruption, and to proceed on his voyage after a stay of sixty-four days in the Bay of Islands.

With such records before them, can we wonder that the Maoris, even to the present day, are not in love with the Wee Wees?

We must not enlarge on the great Navigator's work after leaving New Zealand; interesting and useful, exciting and sad as that work undoubtedly was, it hardly belongs to the history of New Zealand. In exploring the north-east coast of Australia, he ran on to a sunken coral rock, which very nearly destroyed his vessel, and from which he escaped with great difficulty. He was only saved from foundering by the singular fact that a point of the coral rock, which had penetrated the ship's bottom, had broken off from the rock and remained in the hole it had made. The ship was temporarily repaired in a small harbour near at hand, now

known as Cook's town; after which she proceeded to Batavia, which was reached on October 10th, 1770. Here she was found to be in a condition which is thus described by Cook in his journal of Friday, November 9th.

"Hove the larboard side of the ship's keel out, and found her bottom to be in a far worse condition than we expected. The false keel was gone to within twenty feet of the stern post, the main keel wounded in many places very considerably, a great quantity of sheathing off, and several planks much damaged, especially under the main channel near the keel, where two planks and a half, near six feet in length, were within one eighth of an inch of being cut through; and here the worms had made their way quite into the timbers, so that it was a matter of surprise to everyone who saw her bottom, how we had kept her above water. And yet, in this condition, we had sailed some hundreds of leagues in as dangerous a navigation as in any part of the world, happy in being ignorant of the continual danger we were in."

The repairs were executed to Cook's entire satisfaction by the Dutch shipwrights, and the Governor kindly arranged to make such advances as were necessary to supply Cook's pecuniary requirements out of the Dutch Company's treasury.

From the time the *Endeavour* left New Zealand until her arrival in Batavia, 193 days, the ship's company had not been supplied with any adequate quantity of vegetable or fresh animal food, and were consequently in no condition to resist the fevers and malaria of that unhealthy tropical climate. Forty of them were soon placed on the sick list, and many died including the ship's doctor, Monkhouse, and poor Tupia and his juvenile companion. We are told that:

"Tupia, being desirous of breathing a freer air than among the numerous houses which obstructed it ashore, had a tent erected for him on Cooper's Island to which he was accompanied by Mr. Banks, who attended this poor Indian with the greatest humanity, until he was rendered incapable of doing it by the violent increase of his own disorder..... Tayeto died on the 9th, and Tupia, who loved him with the tenderness of a parent, sank at once after the loss of the boy, and survived him only a few days....."

At length Lieutenant Cook was himself taken ill, and out of the whole ship's company not more than ten were able to do duty....." Tupia did not entirely fall a sacrifice to the unwholesome, stagnant and putrid air of the country. As he had been accustomed from his birth to subsist chiefly on vegetable food, and particularly on ripe fruit, he soon contracted the disorders which are incident to a sea life, and would probably have sunk under them before the voyage of the English could have been completed, even if they had not been obliged to go to Batavia to refit their vessel.

On Thursday, December 27th, the *Endeavour* put to sea. On the 5th of January, 1771, she reached Princes' Island, where she stayed for ten days, procuring water, turtles, and fresh provisions for her sickly company. Between Batavia and the Cape 23 persons died, seven having died at Batavia. On Friday, the 15th of March, the *Endeavour* arrived at Capetown, where they received every kindness and attention from the authorities. On the 12th of June, 1771, she anchored in the Downs, having lost 38 of the 85 brave souls who had left Plymouth on August 26th, 1768.

Three days afterwards Lieutenant Cook was appointed to be a Commander in her Majesty's Navy.

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## CHAPTER III.

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### A CONTINENT OF ICE. 1771-1775.

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“On he pressed—serene amidst the tempest—full of hope when all around seemed to tell only of despair—the discoverer of lands whose discovery has changed the history of the world.”—TWEEDIE.

IN Cook's first voyage New Zealand has a deep interest. Although not the primary object of that expedition, yet, considering the time spent, and the successful work accomplished on her shores, and around her coast, it is not too much to say that Cook's greatest work on that great voyage was performed in New Zealand. In his after voyages New Zealand was visited, not so much for her own sake, as for the convenient refuge which her harbours offered to his ship's company in the winter. The mild winters of New Zealand were well spent by him in preparing to renew in the summer his arduous and perilous search amongst the antarctic ice for a continent which had no existence except in the maps of imaginative geographers. Whilst Tahiti, with its far more attractive population and its less bracing climate, offered its seductive attractions to his crew, Cook himself placed a higher value upon the wholesome water, the abundant wood, and the wild celery of New Zealand. Nor did he fail to feel a parental interest in the islands and in the people which he had made known to the world. The fish, the plants, the fuel, which abounded there, constituted a very important part of the armoury with which he had now discovered that the

longest of voyages could be prosecuted without that fearful destruction of health and life which, up to his time, had been so invariably associated with them. The calamities of the last sad year of his first voyage, chiefly forced upon him by the arid climate and the hidden coral rocks of north-east Australia, gave a lesson to the wise commander which never required repetition to him, and taught him, ever after, that scurvy was an enemy which could be avoided, and which must be kept out of his ships at any cost. Never, after that one long voyage, did he lose a single man from the same cause, and his visits to New Zealand were not a little conducive to his complete success, and to his able mastery of the science of health under difficulties previously called insurmountable. What most strikes the enquirer into Cook's life, and calls most strongly for our admiration, is the completeness of his knowledge in everything connected with his duties, contrasted with the meagreness of his educational advantages. The infant who learnt his letters from Mary Walker, after he had been scaring birds from the corn from daylight to dark, and who was not to see Euclid until a quarter of a century later, was, seven years after his first sight of that work, to be sending articles to the Fifty-seventh volume of the Philosophical Transactions, which command the respectful attention of the astronomers of Europe. The boy who, at thirteen, was accused by his drunken master of stealing the "new shilling" from his till at Straithes, which had really been carried by the tippling accuser himself to the till of the publican across the way, is to be venerated, a century after his death, for the time-proved completeness of his truth and accuracy in everything he said or wrote. The apprentice who slept under the dirty counter in that drunkard's shop and on the coal in the ship's hold at Whitby, is to prove that the sufferers in the ships of Drake and Anson, Byron, Wallis and Carteret, were the victims not of necessity but of neglect and uncleanness.

The valuable information which Cook had collected in his first three years' work could have no other effect upon a maritime nation than to set them wondering why such important knowledge had not been obtained long ago. The

demand for more naturally arose ; and, as they saw how nearly all had been lost on the coast of Australia by trusting everything to the accidents attendant on one small barque, it was not reasonable to ask that the same evident uncertainty should again be encountered. Two newer and larger ships were at once purchased, still of the collier build, and again selected by Cook, from the Whitby fleet, which he so well knew. The gentlemen of the first voyage, plucky as they had been, were not prepared for a repetition of the hardships, dangers, and privations of the last three years, but several of Cook's seamen and some valuable officers were ready to again encounter all, under the well tried capacity and consideration of Lieutenant, now Commander Cook. The ships chosen were named the *Resolution* (462 tons, 112 souls) and the *Adventure* (336 tons, 81 souls). They left Plymouth on the 17th of July, 1772.

The proclaimed object of the expedition was to prove, beyond doubt, whether there was, or was not, a great southern continent yet undiscovered. This Cook settled beyond all reasonable doubt by sailing eastward in the highest obtainable south latitude. The naturalists who sailed with him had nothing to do in such a climate, and they describe, in the most gloomy language, the dangers by which they were surrounded, the "planks of ice" into which the sails were converted, and the ropes which benumbed and lacerated the sailors' hands, whilst the frightful gales produced more frightful seas, dashing on the frightful mountains of ice.

Cook says nothing about hardships, but mentions that the ice supplied him with such good water that he was not obliged to return for a supply until he had made the most of the short summer and reached the longitude of Van Dieman's Land.

On the 19th of February, the *Adventure* is nowhere to be found. She gets lost in a fog, and goes off to the far more pleasant work of investigating Van Dieman's Land, but does not even discover that that island is not connected with Australia. Cook still pushed on, in above 60° south latitude ; but, on the seventeenth of March, the lowering sun warned him that he too must leave the polar regions

and make for New Zealand. He reached Dusky Bay on March 26th, 1774, after having been 117 days out of sight of land, and sailing, since he left land at the Cape of Good Hope, over 11,000 miles.

Cook was well aware that such diet and such hardships as had now been suffered for four months could no longer be endured with impunity, and, in New Zealand, without much luxury, he found a bracing climate, and much that was necessary to recruit the long tried strength of himself and his companions. On the south-east side of Dusky Bay they easily caught fish enough for all hands. Wood for fuel and other purposes was immediately at hand, and a fine stream of fresh water was not above a hundred yards from the stern of the vessel. Seals, too, were in abundance, and, besides the healthy excitement of catching them, their skins were useful for rigging, the fat for the lamps, and the flesh for food. No wild celery was found, but a tree said to resemble the American spruce, was used for their anti-scorbutic drink, and seems well to have answered that purpose.

Two days after their arrival, several natives were seen; but they kept very shy of the English, and the commander, profiting by his experience in the north, avoided all forcible intercourse. There was now no Tupia to facilitate an introduction; but, on the 6th of April, Cook met in his travels one man and two women whose confidence he was able to gain, although few words were understood on either side. The younger lady appeared to Cook to be exceedingly talkative and she ultimately obliged him with a dance. On the 18th of April, a chief and his daughter were induced to come on board, which they did with much caution, and with some ceremony which Cook supposed to be religious or superstitious. Presents were freely distributed; but, with the exceptions of hatchets and spike nails, were not much appreciated, and the chief, on whom most were bestowed, was the first to take his departure.

Cook's mode of leaving live stock in New Zealand was very different and very much less likely to be successful than Marsden's. It is difficult to understand how Cook could have brought any live animal through an Arctic

voyage of such duration and severity, but Kippis tells us that :—

“On the 24th April, the captain, having five geese remaining of those he had brought with him from the Cape of Good Hope, went and left them at a place to which he gave the name of Goose Cove. This place he fixed upon, first because there were no inhabitants to disturb them and secondly because there was the greatest supply of proper food.”

We cannot see what chance there was of any such animals being preserved unless placed under the care of some influential chief. Certainly the concealment of a flock of tame geese from the eyes and ears of a Maori would be a very hopeless speculation.

His gardening, though less costly, was scarcely more secure Kippis tells us :—

“Some days afterwards, when everything belonging to the ship had been removed from the shore, he set fire to the top wood in order to dry a piece of ground which he dug up and sowed with several sorts of garden seeds.”

Sand flies were abundant and were not patiently endured even by these hard-skinned mariners. Rain was frequent, but no harm came from it : “On the contrary such of the men as were sick and complaining when we entered the Bay recovered daily, and the whole crew soon became strong and vigorous. So happy a circumstance could only be attributed to the healthiness of the place and the fresh provisions it afforded; amongst which the spruce beer (used instead of grog) was a very material article.

“The inhabitants of Dusky Bay (almost the extreme south-west of the Middle Island) are of the same race with the other natives of New Zealand, speak the same language, and adhere nearly to the same customs. Their mode of life appears to be a wandering one. Although they were few in number no traces were observed of their families being connected together in any close bands of union or friendship.”

On the 11th of May, Cook sailed north to the appointed rendezvous in Queen Charlotte's Sound, where he arrived on the 18th, and found the *Adventure* comfortably at anchor.

No search had been made for wild celery or scurvy grass—a defect which Cook himself started, before daybreak next morning, to remedy. The only “discoveries” which Captain Furneaux had to communicate as the result of his fourteen weeks’ researches in a comfortable climate were that the “New Zealand natives are eaters of human flesh, and that Van Dieman’s Land is joined to the mainland of Australia.” Strange as it may appear, this careless error does not appear to have been rectified until 1797, when Lieutenant Bass sailed through the straits called after him, in an open boat.

The same mistake was committed here, with the goats and pigs, as was committed at Dusky Bay with the geese. They were put in no one’s charge, but “it was hoped that it might be sometime before they would be discovered.” The pigs did escape but not the goats. And the only ewe and ram were found dead the next morning, having no doubt eaten tu-tu, a kind of native currant, the seeds of which are very poisonous, especially to newly imported animals.

Such, however, was the total change of natives at the Sound since the first visit of Cook, that he no doubt felt there was no security in any other course than the one he adopted. We are told that their stronghold was deserted, and that not one of the many natives he had met in 1770 was now to be found, nor one who remembered him or any of his ship’s company. Hence it appeared very probable that his old friends had either been driven away or killed and eaten. Nor was the number of natives found altogether one-third of what had been seen on his first visit. Still he had no reason to believe that the place had ever been very populous.

Cook also records a great change for the worse in the conduct of the women, and something more than carelessness of the women’s conduct on the part of the men, which did not exist during his former voyage. Both numerically and morally there had been a great declension.

On the 7th of June both the ships started for Tahiti, where they arrived on the 15th of August—Cook’s crew in the best of health and spirits; Furneaux’s with the cook

dead and twenty of the best men disabled by scurvy and flux. The men who had been kept in the Antarctic Ocean till it was impossible to stay there longer, and had then come to New Zealand to be attended to by Cook were strong and well; the men who had been fourteen weeks absent from their duty in the most healthy and enjoyable of climates were suffering from the neglect of Cook's orders and vigilant precautions. Cook has not a word to say against Furneaux; he simply maintains his own vigilance and "orders the same for the *Adventure*." But it is not mere "ordering" that will drive such an enemy away, and Furneaux was evidently not the man to be "getting up himself before daylight on the first morning after his arrival to look for scurvy grass and wild celery, to boil with the ground wheat for the sailors."

At Tahiti, which was reached on August 15th, a good supply of pigs and fruit was obtained, and the sick crew of the *Adventure* rapidly recovered.

On September 1st they started again, discovering a number of islands and visiting others. In several of these islands good fresh provisions were obtained, and a large supply of pigs, and they were everywhere well received by the gentle and trusting natives.

As they approached New Zealand, near Table Bay on the 21st of October, 1773, Cook gave to a chief, who had come off in a canoe, two boars, two sows, four hens, and two cocks, as well as a quantity of garden seeds.

As the ships proceeded down the east coast of the North Island, on their way to Queen Charlotte's Sound, they encountered bad weather, in which the *Adventure* separated from the *Resolution*, and met her no more. The reasons given by Furneaux in his narrative handed to Cook after his arrival in England, some 21 months after the separation, are practically a confession of criminal neglect and childish helplessness. He had the same wind to encounter as the *Resolution*; but the *Resolution* reached their appointed rendezvous on November 3rd, and stayed there until the 26th. Furneaux said it rained, and his decks let in the water and "gave the people colds." He went into harbour about 60 miles away from Ship's Cove, where they could

buy plenty of fish and fruit, and there he remained. Cook was obliged to start alone upon the only part of his work upon which the security of a second vessel was distinctly demanded. At last Furneaux's ship was made sufficiently comfortable and the weather was sufficiently fine for him to venture 50 miles, and he arrived at the rendezvous twenty-seven days after Cook's arrival and three days subsequent to his departure from it. There a boat's crew of ten was massacred and eaten, and then he took the *Adventure* home without having discovered or accomplished anything. Cook was thus left alone to his dangers, his suffering, and his glory.

On his arrival at his old quarters in Ship's Cove, Cook's ship and his provisions were subjected to a complete overhaul, and everything prepared for another battle with King Frost in the Antarctic regions. The biscuit, the staff of life, was found to be in a deplorable condition—4000 lbs. entirely useless, and 3000 lbs. only eatable by hungry men after being baked over again.

He found that the goats he had left in Queen Charlotte's Sound had "been destroyed by a rascally native named Goubiak;" but some of the pigs were seen alive, flourishing and tame, as if cared for. To the residents at the cove he now gave a boar and sow, two cocks and two hens; and turned out at the end of the West Bay one boar and three sows, two cocks and two hens. Another pair of goats, which he had brought, died in a fit, as animals do when poisoned with tu-tu. During the 23 days which Cook stayed on this visit to the Cove, the natives supplied him plentifully with fish, the land with wild celery and scurvy grass, and the gardens planted on their last visit, although entirely neglected, produced some vegetables; so that, when the *Resolution* sailed for her encounter with the ice, there was not a sick man on board.

On this occasion the men knew, from their last year's experience, the dangers and the suffering they would have to encounter, and they now knew that they would not have the reasonable and common protection of a second vessel in case of being crushed with the ice; but they made no objection and expressed not a single doubt. Their



CAPTAIN COOK.



trust was not in the *Adventure* which was never to be found when most wanted, but in the leader who manfully shared all their privations, skilfully provided for every danger, and made the preservation of their health a matter of hourly care.

Much the same difficulties and dangers and discomforts were encountered this season as had been experienced in the last, but they reached nearly four degrees higher latitude,  $71^{\circ} 10'$  instead of  $67^{\circ} 15'$ . This was on the 30th of January. What Cook there saw, for the second time, cannot be more concisely described than in his own words; and the conclusion he came to in consequence of that sight will certainly be challenged by no one.

“On the 30th, at four o'clock in the morning, we perceived the clouds, over the horizon to the south, to be of an unusual snow-white brightness, which we knew announced our approach to field ice. Soon after it was seen from the top-masthead, and at eight o'clock we were close to its edge. It extended east and west far beyond the reach of our sight. In the situation we were in, just the southern half of our horizon was illuminated by the rays of light, reflected from the ice to a considerable height. Ninety-seven ice-hills were distinctly seen within the field, besides those on the outside—many of them very large, and looking like a ridge of mountains rising one above another till they were lost in the clouds. The outer or northern edge of this immense field was composed of loose or broken ice packed close together, so that it was not possible for anything to enter it. This was about a mile broad, within which was solid ice in one continued compact body. It was rather low and flat (except the hills) but seemed to increase in height as you traced it to the south, in which direction it extended beyond our sight. Such mountains of ice as these, I think, were never seen in the Greenland seas, at least not that I ever heard or read of, so that we cannot draw a comparison between the ice here and there. It must be allowed that these prodigious ice-mountains must add such additional weight to the ice-fields which enclose them, as cannot but make a great difference between the navigating this icy sea and that of

Greenland..... I think that there must be some land to the south behind this ice ; but if there is, it can afford no better retreat for birds or any other animals than the ice itself, with which it must be wholly covered..... Since, therefore, we could not proceed one inch further to the south, no other reason need be assigned for my tacking and standing back to the north."

The ship was turned to the north and made her way to Tahiti, looking, not unsuccessfully, for new islands and fresh fare. Tahiti was reached on April 22nd, and left on the 14th of May. Many small islands were visited and Ship's Cove again reached on the 18th of October.

Here he found that the bottle which he had left for Furneaux had been taken, and he heard the natives' version of the massacre of the *Adventure's* boat's crew, which left the blame chiefly on one of the men who had been eaten. After a few days, the natives were quite friendly and helpful. They supplied him with fish, not only to consume on the spot, but dried, as a substitute for the ship's rotten biscuit, which was hardly eatable. The ice unavoidably shipped in the Antarctic storms had made everything in the hold damp, in defiance of all the care devoted to drying it. The gardens had been neglected, and the live stock little appreciated by the natives ; but some vegetables had produced a little return, and, in the state of their stores, the smallest contributions, of anything wholesome, were thankfully received. Good health was still maintained, and the resolute navigators again proceeded to the cold regions to clear up certain doubts about the fictitious continent, and make their way to the Cape of Good Hope *via* Cape Horn. There their wants were relieved, and they all reached England on the 13th of July, 1775. After an absence of three years and eighteen days, they had lost but one man from disease, and that disease did not originate in the ship.

The facts of such a voyage spoke to the nation in a voice which could not be misunderstood. Not Britain alone, but the leading statesmen and warriors in France and America came forward to lift their hats to such a hero. The debilitating red tape, which had accumulated since the days of Cromwell, was now compelled to give way. Common

sense and common justice would no longer submit to be told "that a man who had served before the mast could not safely be appointed to the position of Post Captain in His Majesty's Service." Men had now been roused to compare the work of Cook with the failure of Furneaux, and with the comparatively small results obtained by the titled commanders who had gone before him. The strong and healthy crew, which he had returned in full tale to their native shore, were contrasted with the sickly remnant of scurvy-stricken invalids, who had so barely escaped with their lives from shorter and far less arduous voyages. Cook's courage, Cook's intelligence, Cook's iron constitution, Cook's conscientious discharge of duty, had at last compelled the recognition they deserved. In the mastery of his business as a whole—as a sailor, as a commander, as a navigator, as a surveyor, as an astronomer, and, more than all, as the first successful marine physiologist—Cook had no equal and no rival in his profession, and could no longer be treated as unfit for promotion to any position which that profession could command. The barriers, so long, and so selfishly maintained against merit, must for once be lowered. His humble birth, his humble education, and his once humble occupations, must all be forgiven. The son of the toiling peasant and of the thrifty Grace Cook, the pupil of the simple-hearted Mary Walker, the apprentice of the Whitby Quaker Brothers, the protégé of Sir Hugh Palliser, who had once said, in all kindness, that "he could not be promoted as a Commission Officer," was, after all, to be made a Post Captain in His Majesty's Navy. No one was now more sure than Sir Hugh Palliser, that even that exalted position was very far from being beyond the deserts of his favourite and faithful assistant on the *Mercury*.

Other honours followed—Captain Cook was appointed a Captain of Greenwich Hospital, unanimously elected a member of the Royal Society, and was awarded their golden medal for the best experimental paper of the year. The medal never reached the Captain's hands; but for two years it brought light to his father's humble home; it brightened the last twelve years of Mary Walker's life; and was treasured, for nearly sixty years, by his adoring

widow. Even the naval officers, whom his great work had thrown into the shade, could not fail to acknowledge that the labourer's son had secured for his country a new world in Australasia, whilst the King and his pampered favourites had been losing America.

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## CHAPTER IV.

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COOK'S LAST VOYAGE. 1773-1777.

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“ An Earthquake may be bid to spare  
The man who's strangled by a hair.”

ONCE more Cook was to visit New Zealand, and though only a short visit, it was more important than it would otherwise have been to the history of New Zealand, because he was accompanied, as on his first visit, by a competent interpreter, which enabled him more easily to avoid mistakes in his communications with the natives. He had also with him a Mr. Anderson, a linguist, and careful observer of human nature.

A few days after leaving Tahiti, in September, 1773, Captain Furneaux had taken on board the *Adventure* a young man, named Omai, a native of Ulietea. Cook did not approve of Furneaux's choice, and after the sad fate of Tupia was unwilling to incur the responsibility ; but he did not interfere with Furneaux in the matter, and Omai lived, flourished and was lionized in England, and was of great use as an interpreter. He was nearly a year on board the *Adventure*, and two years in England before he sailed with Cook on his third voyage to return to his native land. He had thus probably attained a better knowledge of the English language than Tupia had done, and was far more cheerful and healthy, and very good natured ; but there was not the same steadiness and reliability of character about him.

After all that Cook had ventured, endured and accomplished, and with all the wealth, comfort and honour which now surrounded him, no one thought of asking him to return again to the dangers and privations he had passed through; but he was respectfully consulted as to preparations for a voyage in search of a North-West Passage, which was now to be explored from west to east instead of from east to west. As the preparations proceeded under Cook's advice, his spirit of enterprise and adventure carried him away, so that his services were offered and gladly accepted. In less than a year after his return he was again afloat, and now commanding an expedition to Hudson's Bay *via* New Zealand, with which Omai was to return to his native island with all the wealth of presents and knowledge and wonders, with which he was to astonish his own relatives.

On the 12th of February, 1777, Cook was for the last time at anchor in Ship's Cove, and went at once to work in his old style in supplying all hands with wood, water, wild celery and fresh provisions. The Maoris were at first shy. The devourers of the ten men from the *Adventure's* boat were there, and Omai had been on the *Adventure* when the conflict occurred, and was very strongly incensed against the cannibals.

In a few days some confidence was restored, and an enquiry through the efficient, although prejudiced, interpreter, convinced Captain Cook that provocation had come from both sides, that it was a conflict, rather than a massacre, and that revenge would be neither justifiable nor politic. With this decision Omai was not at all satisfied, as he and most of the Maoris very much wanted the Captain to kill a chief named Kahoora, who had admittedly led the attack, and had himself killed Mr. Rowe, the leader of the boat's crew. This man was often on board, and placed himself entirely in the Captain's power, but no one was allowed to hurt him. The confidence of the natives daily increased, and resulted in a full supply of excellent fish; and the natives, lodging as they did close to the ships, were at hand for many useful services.

The confidence of the Europeans was, however, not so complete. Besides the destruction of the *Adventure's*

boat's crew, Captain Cook had heard of the fate of Marion and his two boats' crews ; so that he took precautions which he had never taken before, although very clearly expressing the opinion that he did not himself believe them to be necessary. He had, no doubt, been convinced that what was not necessary for the wise and thoughtful might be rendered very necessary by the occasional follies of Jack on shore. Such follies were, no doubt, the cause of what happened here to the boat's crew. Although Omai evidently felt the greatest disgust for cannibalism, and was most anxious to get Kahoorā killed, he was quite positive that the outrage had not been a premeditated massacre, but a quarrel and a fight, in which the Europeans were overwhelmed by numbers.

There is a striking difference in Mr. Anderson's account of the Maoris as he saw them on this voyage, and that which we read of the imbeciles met with in Van Dieman's Land, who seemed incapable of constructing a canoe or any kind of useful habitation. Of the Maoris, Mr. Anderson says :—

“ In the arts with which they are acquainted they show much ingenuity, both in invention and in execution. Without any tools formed of metals they make everything that is necessary to procure their sustenance, clothing and military weapons ; and all this is done by them with a neatness, a strength, and a convenience that are well adapted to procure the accomplishment of the object.

No people can have a quicker sense of an injury done to them than the New Zealanders, or be more ready to resent it. . . . From the number of their weapons, and their dexterity in using them, it appears that war is their principal profession. Indeed their public contentions are so frequent, or rather perpetual, that they must live in continual apprehension of being destroyed by each other. From their horrid custom of eating the flesh of their enemies, not only without reluctance, but with peculiar satisfaction, it would be natural to suppose that they must be destitute of every humane feeling even with regard to their own party. This, however, is not the case, for they lament the loss of their friends with a violence of expression

which argues the most tender remembrance of them. With respect to their language, it is far from being harsh or disagreeable. Of its identity with the language of the other islands, through the south seas, fresh proofs were exhibited during the present voyage."

At the request of Omai, Captain Cook consented to take with him two youths from New Zealand, aged 18 and 10. The father of the younger boy parted from him with more complete indifference than a man usually parts with his dog, and delivered him perfectly naked; but the mother came with the elder boy, and mothers are mothers even in New Zealand.

After getting to sea, on February 25th, the boys were very seasick and, for a few days, sadly repented their bargain; but after that they were lively and cheerful and became so much in love with their ship life that they were very unwilling to be left at Huaehine, the home of Omai. They were witty, smart boys, and had become great favourites on board. A house was built for Omai by the ship's carpenter, and these boys became a part of his family. The Captain kindly arranged with the Chief of the island for a small grant of land to be secured to Omai, who was almost overwhelmed with the live stock, and other presents, he had brought from England.

Having parted with these two boys we have no excuse for following the *Resolution* further on her voyage; nor are we called upon to record the lamentable events which brought about the too early death of one who had come scatheless through so many evident dangers, through perils in battles, in tempests, in ice, and amongst the most savage of ignorant men; but destined to perish at last in a needless skirmish with those mild natives whom he had so long, and so deservedly trusted, with so much impunity.

The fatal encounter was an inglorious mistake on both sides. Cook had ventured and had provoked too much. The jealous loyalty of the usually mild and friendly natives to their beloved king, Terreeboo, can never be recorded against them as a crime. The first blood was not drawn by them—even justice was not on the side of the English.

Cook perished, and his comrades wept, and England wept with them.

Even his bones could not be returned to his native land. Both in his death, and in the manner of his death, there was very much to lament, and the sadness was the deeper because there was in them no grounds for glory, no justification for national revenge. The loss to the Islanders of the Pacific was soon felt, even by Terreeboo, to be almost as great as that sustained by England herself.

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## CHAPTER V.

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MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN. 1777-1815.

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“These are the moral conquerors; and belong  
To them the palm branch and triumphal song,  
Conquerors—and yet the harbingers of peace.”

—LAUDON.

DURING the ten years in which Cook was discovering islands, testing the character of their population, and exploring latitudes beyond which no land could be useful, another Yorkshire man, of a different, but not of an inferior stamp, was being trained by Dr. Joseph Miller in the free Grammar School at Hull, and by his pious Wesleyan parents in their humble home, for the great work he was destined to accomplish in the elevation of both races in New Zealand. At the time of Cook's death, and for some years afterwards, Samuel Marsden was engaged in acquiring useful experiences and industrious habits in his uncle's business. As he advanced to manhood, his fine character, and his strong common sense attracted the attention of the Elland Society—a society formed for the purpose of assisting poor, promising young men to qualify as clergymen in the Church of England. By this society he was sent to St. John's College, and received there an addition to his education for which he conscientiously repaid the Elland Society as soon as he was in a position to do so.

On January 1st, 1793, when in his thirtieth year, he was appointed by Royal commission to a second Chaplaincy in the then convict settlement of New South Wales, and sailed for that colony in the convict ship *William* on the 30th of September, reaching Sydney Cove on March 10th, 1794. There, and even before he reached that colony, his righteous soul was vexed from day to day; not so much by the expected depravity and profanity of the pitiable convicts, as by the unexpected brutality and unfaithfulness of the government officials, whose conduct was often more reprehensible and inexcusable than that of the victims, who, by a system of corruption, had been placed at their mercy.

About five months before leaving England Mr. Marsden was married to Miss Elizabeth Tristram.

The first part of the thirteen years which he spent in Sydney, prior to his visit to England in 1807, was, probably, the darkest period in the dark early history of New South Wales. The military officers were the principal traffickers in male and female convicts. Rum was practically their medium of exchange. By its use the avaricious were able to keep the victims of their own appetites in a state of hopeless degradation and dependence. The commissioned officers were allowed to take first pick of the female convicts on their arrival, followed in rotation by non-commissioned officers, privates, and successful or artful convicts. The victims, thus claimed, without any voice in their own destiny, were often employed as rum sellers and decoys, and soon completed an education in crime far surpassing anything they had learned in their native land. Against all this, Samuel Marsden and his wife made a firm and noble stand, and incurred, at first, the usual penalty, and, ultimately, the usual reward.

Painful as all this must have been, it was, no doubt, a good preparation for the great work which lay before Samuel Marsden; the very difficulty of which seems to have been one of its chief attractions to him. Brought up by beloved Wesleyan parents, whose daily life had adorned their religious profession, and afterwards taken in hand by the great Episcopalian philanthropist, Wilberforce, and by the Elland Society, he brought to his clerical duties no

prejudice against either denomination, but an admiration of all that was good in both, and a wholesome contempt for the mere sectarian traditions of men, which had divided the Christian world into hostile camps, and which were so often mistaken, by narrower minds, for Christianity itself. The theology which he taught is thus described by himself, during his third visit to New Zealand:—

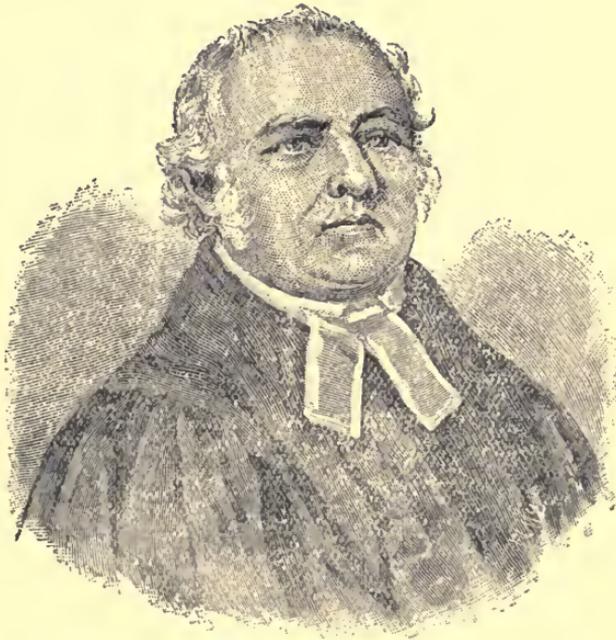
“In every place I endeavoured to explain to the natives that there is but one true and living God, who made all things, and that our God is therefore their God. That the tapping of their houses, themselves, their servants, their food and their fires, and all other things, could neither heal their wounds, preserve them from danger, restore them to health nor save them from death; but that our God, though they knew Him not, could do all these things for them.”

Nothing—not even twenty years' experience as a chaplain in New South Wales—could make a misanthrope of a man like Marsden; but his intense natural benevolence and his overwhelming sympathy for the suffering and oppressed was no doubt tempered and protected by all that he had seen and felt at Sydney Cove. At any rate it is a very rare thing to find a man whose natural benevolence made him always so ready to make any personal sacrifice for the good of others, approaching his work with such a clear foresight of all its difficulties and dangers. His letters to the Church Missionary Society are marvels of matured sagacity, of searching insight into human nature in all its forms—never building on human perfection—never despairing of something good to be brought out in the degraded convict or the ferocious savage.

He had not long been settled in New South Wales before he developed an active interest in mission work at Tahiti; but his sympathies for the wrong-suffering, and his indignation with wrong-doers, were soon to point his energies to a mission field much nearer home.

In 1793, the discoverer, Vancouver, sent a store ship from Nootka Sound to New Zealand, commanded by a Lieutenant Hansen, with instructions to procure two Maoris who could teach the residents at Norfolk Island the art of

dressing the native flax. Hansen, anchoring off the Bay of Islands, made no attempt to procure such instructors by fair means, but simply kidnapped and sailed off with two young chiefs, or heirs apparent, who had too confidently trusted themselves on board his ship. Their names were Tookee and Woodoo. But what made the crime far more important and distressing to Marsden's sense of justice, was the fact that these chiefs were at Sydney handed over to the acting Governor of New South Wales, Grose, and regardless of their tears and entreaties, were by him sent on to Norfolk Island.



SAMUEL MARSDEN.

On their arrival at Norfolk Island the sorrowing Tookee and Woodoo naturally said that flax-dressing in New Zealand was the work of women and slaves, not of chiefs' sons such as they were, and that consequently they knew nothing about it. This was true, so far as it went, but the fact was that flax in New Zealand had never been dressed by any skilled process, but simply by patient, tedious hand work on each separate leaf, which produced a very good

article but would pay no wages, and was very distinctly a work of the hands not of the head. Fortunately for these young men, and for the credit of England, the Governor at Norfolk Island was King, a just and humane man, who afterwards became Governor of New South Wales. He treated the distressed young men kindly, entertained them at his own table, obtained all the information they could give him about flax; and in November, 1793, went with them to the Bay of Islands, where he found that they were what they professed to be, and that they were gladly recognised as such by their own countrymen. In performing this act of common justice, or rather of tardy restoration, King was absent from Norfolk Island only ten days, for which absence, however, he was severely reprimanded by Grose for "such an unwarrantable proceeding," and for "delaying a ship for such a trifling purpose," which Grose hoped and expected "would meet with the highest disapprobation in England."

On their restoration to their own land, the young chiefs impressed the tale of their wrongs, and of their kind treatment by Governor King upon the senior chief named Tipahe.

In 1800, their friend, King, who was also a friend of Marsden, and whose "conduct was to meet with the highest disapprobation in England," had been made Governor of New South Wales. He ordered the Commandant at Norfolk Island to send a selection of useful live stock to Tipahe, at the Bay of Islands.

In 1806, Tipahe went to Sydney with four of his sons, who were most hospitably entertained for three months by the Governor and by the Chaplain, Samuel Marsden. Of this visit Governor King writes:—

"This worthy and respectable chief—for so we found him in every sense of the word, after residing among us three months." On the four sons, as well as upon the father, Marsden began his work of qualifying Maori Chiefs to carry civilization and the Sermon on the Mount to the "Nation sitting in darkness." And from them he learned a great deal that fitted him to advise the Church Missionary Society, with such good effect, in the following year.

When he returned to England on a visit in 1807, he was consulted by the Church Missionary Society on the subject of missions in New Zealand. The views which he then put in writing, at the request of that Society, are a valuable record of ideas he had so early matured, and afterwards so patiently put in practice. He writes :—

“Nothing in my opinion can pave the way for the introduction of the gospel but civilization, and that can only be accomplished among the heathen by the arts. I would recommend that three mechanics be appointed to make the first attempt, should the Society come to a determination to form an establishment in New Zealand—a carpenter, a blacksmith, and a twine spinner..... Till their attention is gained, and moral and industrious habits are induced, little or no progress can be made in teaching them the gospel.

“A missionary should also be naturally of an industrious turn..... Great difficulties will always be surmounted by an industrious man, while very small ones will overwhelm an idle man with despair. It is worthy of remark that, in all my observations on mankind, I have rarely ever known an industrious man become an idle one, or an idle one industrious.

“It will also require great prudence and circumspection in a missionary to govern a savage mind, upon which his own very existence will depend. His difficulties will many of them be new and much greater and more numerous than he can possibly imagine or foresee. On this account he will require great patience and perseverance to bear up under them.

“I should not conceive that it would be necessary for them to take much wearing apparel, or any other article of value ; as whatever they have as well as themselves must be placed under the care of the Chief ; the less they possess the safer they will be at first. It is not possible to know what will be really necessary for them until they arrive and are settled upon the Island. It would be proper for them to take from Port Jackson or Norfolk Island, hogs, poultry, grain, and flour ; as these would contribute not only to their comfort, but would be acceptable to the Chief.”

Two men were found willing to return with Mr. Marsden, who were supposed to possess the high qualifications demanded, and were prepared to brave the dangers and endure the privations so unreservedly depicted in the faithful letter of their conductor. They were Mr. William Hall, educated as a carpenter and shipwright, and Mr. John King, recently instructed in the art of dressing and spinning flax. No suitable blacksmith could be met with willing to accept the untempting dangers and conditions. They left England, with Mr. Marsden, in the transport ship, *Ann*, bound to Port Jackson, in August, 1809.

Soon after sailing, Mr. Marsden saw on the forecastle, amongst the sailors, a dark, dirty, ragged, sickly man, coughing and spitting blood, evidently needing the help, compassion and attention which the chaplain was always so ready to give to any fellow-creature in distress. His surprise was great to find that even on that ship a deeply wronged native of New Zealand was sadly needing all the consolation and assistance he could supply. Not only was the man a New Zealander, he was a New Zealand Chief of high degree, an equal and a relative to Governor King's friend, Tipahe. More than all, here was another New Zealand Chief dying from the ill-usage of a deceiver and a robber, who was deemed fit to be trusted with an English ship.

By good clothing, good food, and a taste of that human sympathy to which he had so long been a stranger, Ruatara soon recovered a moderate share of his lost health, and lived for some years to show his gratitude to his preserver, and to give his great influence, his local knowledge, and his excellent judgment to the mission work in which his benefactor was so deeply interested.

But a sad tale awaited Mr. Marsden and his valuable Maori agent on their arrival in Sydney. A ship's crew had been massacred at Whangaroa, very near Ruatara's residence, in New Zealand, and the ship plundered and burned, and, more shocking than all, Governor King's late guest, and Ruatara's friend and relative, Tipahe, was said to be the leader in that tragedy. Feeling ran so high in Sydney that it was not safe for a Maori to be seen in the streets, and Ruatara had to be taken away to Mr.

Marsden's asylum for Maoris at Paramatta, and remained there six months.

By the laws of a convict settlement, no one could leave the colony without the permission of the Governor, and the Governor declared that he would not allow the chief Chaplain "to sacrifice his valuable life in teaching cannibals."

Hall and King, who were not called missionaries but agents, found at once profitable employment in Sydney, and are said to have earned as much as £400 a year at their respective trades.

Neither Mr. Marsden nor Ruatara believed that Tipahe had been accessory to, much less a leader in, the massacre; but the evidence that he was there, and that he was afterwards killed by the avengers of the murders seemed to be placed beyond all doubt.

It was years before the whole truth was elicited; but Tipahe was eventually satisfactorily cleared of all blame.

The master of the *Boyd*, going to New Zealand for timber, had engaged some Maoris in Sydney. One of these was a chief named Tara, long known in Sydney as George. He complained of being too ill to work, and, upon two occasions, the Captain, Thompson, tied him to a gangway and flogged him. Tara appeared to soon forget the insult, and persuaded Thompson to put into his native harbour, Whangaroa. There he showed his friends the stripes he had received, and explained the circumstances under which they had been so cruelly inflicted. The Captain soon came on shore with several sailors, and all of them were killed. Dressing themselves in the clothes of the murdered men, the Maoris in that disguise contrived to get on board in the dark, and slaughtered all they could find except one woman, two children, and a boy. Sixty-six Europeans were thus slain.

Five sailors had taken refuge in the rigging, where they remained till morning. Tipahe was on a visit to Whangaroa, to trade for dried fish, and, seeing the position of the five sailors, went early in the morning and took them off in the hope of rescuing them. He landed them safely, but Tara and his friends pursued and killed them.

Soon afterwards, the crews of five whaling ships met at the Bay of Islands, and, believing Tipahe to have joined in the attack, came upon his village at night, slew nearly all the unsuspecting inhabitants, and burned their village and growing crops. Tipahe escaped, wounded, but was soon afterwards killed by the men of Whangaroa, because he had endeavoured to save the lives of the five sailors.

Whilst Tipahe was staying at Sydney with Governor King, he took great pains to impress upon the Governor that he would never be able to restrain his countrymen from inflicting cruel outrages upon the Europeans unless the Governor could put a stop to the practice, which roving sea captains had adopted, of flogging Maori chiefs; as that was an indignity which no Maori chief would ever lose an opportunity to revenge. In accordance with Tipahe's wish, the Governor issued a proclamation, warning Europeans against this or any similar acts of cruelty.

The cause of Maori civilization received a very severe blow by the rash, ignorant impetuosity of these avenging whalers. The judicious humanity of Governor King had completely won Tipahe to earnestly desire the introduction of European law and civilization amongst his subjects, and he and his sons had been able to draw their neighbours so far in that direction as to make the village, now burned, the model village of New Zealand.

Besides the destruction of such needed allies as Marsden had now lost, the Maoris of New Zealand had witnessed an act of injustice, of ingratitude, and of wholesale cruelty such as Tipahe had taught them to believe that European law would never tolerate, and that Europeans would never practice. Even if Tipahe had been guilty, destroying a whole village of his innocent countrymen for his sin would have been an exhibition of savage injustice as impolitic as it was barbarous. But, whatever confusion existed at the time in the minds of Europeans as to Tipahe's guilt, no such doubts ever entered into the mind of the Maoris who killed him after his supporters had been destroyed, because they knew that he condemned their action in murdering the *Boyd's* crew, and had tried to rescue the last five sailors from their indiscriminating vengeance. In writing to

England, at this time, well might Marsden say, "they are a much-injured people, notwithstanding all that has been advanced against them."

It was not until towards the end of the year, 1813, that Mr. Marsden could obtain permission from the Governor to proceed with his plans for the education of the New Zealanders, and even then he was not allowed to go himself. Early in 1814, he purchased a brig of 110 tons for the Mission, and, on March 10th, Messrs. Kendall and Hall were sent with a Captain Dillon to observe and report, and, especially, to communicate with Ruatara.

On the 22nd of August, the *Active* returned to Sydney with Kendall and Hall; and six Maoris, three of them Chiefs, accompanied them. The Chiefs were duly introduced to the Governor and kindly received by him, and then the six Maoris went on to Paramatta, where they monopolised the greater part of the Chaplain's time, very much to his and to their satisfaction.

The reports of the pioneers were encouraging and Ruatara thought Mr. Marsden would be well received. So Mr. Marsden got leave of absence for four months, and the *Active* steered for New Zealand with no less than 35 souls on board. In the ship's manifest, Messrs. Hall, King, and Kendall were now called missionaries, and were all accompanied by their wives. Mr. Kendall had three sons, and the other two had one each. Notwithstanding the number of passengers, room was found in the little brig for three horses, two cows, and a bull; besides goats, poultry, cats, and dogs in abundance.

The vessel was a slow one, and it was the 22nd of December before they reached their destination, Rangihoua, the residence of Ruatara, in the Bay of Islands. Here they were soon in a position to appreciate the value of Ruatara's protection, and his kind, thoughtful consideration for all their wants; although himself dying from the ill-usage he had received in England. The ladies at once called upon Mrs. Ruatara, and found her an affectionate, dutiful wife; but there was, of course, some awkwardness, in their eyes, in the fact that she was not the only Mrs. Ruatara. The sense of propriety, however, was not all on one side.

Nothing would induce Mrs. Ruatara to wear the fashionable clothes which Mrs. Marsden had sent for her. Like Jenny Wren she declared that :—

“She would wear her own brown suit,  
And never dress too fine.”

There is no doubt that by this determination she saved her husband from an awkward dilemma, and prevented a breach in the harmony of Ruatara's domestic arrangements. She was yet to prove her devotion to her husband in a manner they little suspected.

The first Sunday in their new field of labour was also Christmas Day, and Mr. Marsden was to preach his first sermon and to lay the foundation of the simplest gospel teaching which was so slowly, so fitfully, but so surely, to lift the dreaded, grovelling, untaught, and uncared for savage into a higher, nobler, happier position in the scale of God's creation.

Ruatara had made every preparation for the truly interesting and even great event. We cannot tell how much he was influenced by gratitude to his friend, Marsden, or how much he expected from the doctrine which Marsden preached; but he could well estimate the gulf which separated the robbers who had left him naked and wounded, from the Good Samaritan who had poured in oil and wine; and thus he believed in the sincerity of the man who told him, on that propitious day, that he had come with “glad tidings of great joy.”

We are told that on the Saturday Ruatara had fenced in half an acre, arranged seats for the Europeans, and transformed an old canoe into a pulpit. Marsden preached peace and goodwill, both in and out of the pulpit, and Ruatara nobly aimed to give practical effect to all he said in that direction. The murderer, Tara, and not a few of those who had assisted him, were there; the mourners for the innocent Tipahe and his slaughtered tribe were there; Ruatara's great warrior uncle, Hongi, was there. All had some insult or some deed of blood to revenge; but the message for that day was “peace and goodwill.” All had sinned—all had suffered—let them all forgive.

There seems to have been no formal interpreter, but Mr. Marsden says, "When I had done preaching Ruatara informed them what I had been talking about." Mr. Marsden felt fully rewarded for all his efforts by seeing many red-handed warriors rubbing noses in token of reconciliation, and uniting in their promise to protect the missionaries. He simply says, "I was much gratified to see these men at peace, once more."

Mr. Marsden started on his return voyage February 25th, and reached Sydney on March 23rd, 1815.

Four days after his departure, his valuable friend, Ruatara, died; and the faithful wife who would not wear the fine clothes, hanged herself, in the fond hope that she could thus again stand in the presence of the husband she had loved so well. Her mother as she laid her out for burial by the side of her husband, poured tears on her beloved daughter, but said she was proud to know that she had been brave enough to go with him.

The tangi which followed was not merely a formal one. Ruatara had been loved, not feared. He had literally taught his people to convert their spears into pruning hooks, and to concentrate their energies on the cultivation of wheat, not on the destruction of their neighbours. Even his uncle, Hongi, had been restrained whilst Ruatara lived, and "wept at his death like a child."

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## CHAPTER VI.

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GOSPEL OR GUNPOWDER. 1815-1828.

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“Do your duty and leave the rest to God.”—R. CECIL.

ON the 28th of March, Mr. Marsden gave a passage in the *Active* to a Wesleyan Minister, Mr. Leigh, who wished to visit New Zealand, seeking information and health. He arrived at the Mission Station on May 5th, and stayed there until June 17th, when he returned in the *Active* to Sydney. He seems to have been very kindly received, and to have proved a peacemaker rather than a disturber of harmony or a teacher of new doctrines.

Very soon after Mr. Leigh's return, Mr. Marsden left Sydney and arrived at the Bay of Islands on August 2nd, bringing with him twenty-two settlers.

In his first settlement Mr. Marsden had purchased for the Church Missionary Society only 200 acres, for which he gave twelve axes. For his new settlement he saw the necessity for a much larger purchase, and found no difficulty in effecting it with the great fighting chief, Hongi. Thirteen thousand acres of land, in the best situation for a seaport township, were purchased, from the one chief, for 48 axes, and a satisfactory deed signed and forwarded at once to the Society for whom it was purchased. The land is thus described by one who resided on it :—

“It is a beautiful and picturesque spot situated at the confluence of the tide and of the fresh water stream from which it takes its name, Kerikeri. The vale is an amphitheatre of small extent but well situated, sheltered from the

prevailing westerly winds by the hills at the back, and from the east and north-east gales by those in front. The waters of the Kerikeri fall over a rock about nine feet high at ebb tide into a beautiful and extensive basin, and then pass on with the tide to the Bay of Islands."

Mr. Marsden says :—"I have purchased a large lot of land from Hongi, and have sent you the deed. It is in a fine situation—rich land and well watered, convenient for the harbour, as large ships can lie within five miles of the settlement in safety, and small vessels can go up to it and land or receive any goods."

The particulars of this purchase are important, as they put the self-denial of Marsden and his missionaries at that time in a clear light, and show the market value of the best native title before value had been given by British settlement and British law. Marsden had the pick of all Hongi's immense estate, and he took a beautiful, sheltered valley of well-watered land, with a good harbour and an excellent natural mill power, for which he paid about half a farthing per acre. There can be no mistake about it—there is not a word about tribal rights, the contracting parties were well known and above suspicion, and Marsden did not buy an acre for himself nor allow one of his missionaries to do so.

The Maoris were, no doubt, agreeably surprised to find that land could be sold at any price, and soon afterwards proposed to be paid for the use of the sea, from which the settlers were making salt. Marsden settlers were at a premium, and Marsden himself was believed and trusted, even by tribes bitterly hostile to each other.

Hongi's own residence adjoined this fine missionary estate, so that the purchase of this block of land from him brought more closely into contact and into contrast, two men who were both making New Zealand history, but in two very different ways. Marsden's course was always straight and beneficent. After Ruatara's death Hongi's course was too often crooked and fearfully bloodstained.

Hongi had received much kindness and much information from Mr. Marsden, and, with all his deeds of blood, he constantly and ably protected the missionaries. Even in his absence his known favour was a protection, as his

vengeance was justly dreaded throughout the whole island. Later on Marsden must have felt that his instruction and his association with Hongi had enabled that chief to impose upon the benevolence of English philanthropists, and helped to make them unwittingly contribute to that warrior's destructive career. But Marsden's sagacity was seldom at fault, whilst the purity of his motives and the consistency of his actions were so transparent that they were never misunderstood either by Maoris or by Europeans. This was the secret of his safety. The shrewd Maoris could appreciate his consistency quite as fully as his own countrymen — he never wavered, and therefore he was never lost.

It required great courage to firmly resist the resort to firearms for the protection of himself and his settlers. A hundred muskets placed in Hongi's keeping would, at one critical period, have been far the easiest way to insure the safety of the missionaries; but, once placed there, they would have been beyond Marsden's control, and their use would not have been confined to defensive, or to morally defensible operations. Marsden took the bold and clean-handed course of forbidding the sale or distribution of firearms to friend or foe. His mission blacksmith was not allowed to mend a musket-lock, a bayonet, or a sword. His settlement was defenceless, but it offered not the overwhelming temptation of a supply of arms and ammunition to those who were strong enough to take them.

On his first visit to the Bay of Islands, after the massacre of some 66 Europeans in the *Boyd*, he went with two unarmed Europeans into the camp of the murderers to learn the true particulars of that event. He slept on the ground with the host of armed assassins around him, and waked in the morning to reflect "how completely all hearts were in the hand of God." He says, "Around us were innumerable spears, stuck upright in the ground, and groups of natives lying in all directions, like a flock of sheep, upon the grass, as there were neither tents nor huts to cover them. I viewed our present situation with sensations and feelings I cannot express, surrounded by

cannibals who had massacred and devoured our countrymen. I wondered much at the mysteries of Providence, and how these things could be. Never did I behold the blessed advantages of civilization in a more grateful light than now."

With 28 of these red-handed warriors, and seven of his own unarmed countrymen, he went for a coasting cruise in the *Active*.

One of the Englishmen says :—" We are wholly in their power, and what is there to hinder them from abusing it? Next to the over-ruling providence of God, there is nothing but the character of the ship, which seems to have something almost sacred in their eyes, and the influence of Mr. Marsden's name, which acts as a talisman amongst them."

On one occasion he succeeded in persuading Hongi to give up a contemplated attack upon his countrymen, even after Hongi had made his preparations and collected his men and war-canoes. But his effective influence with Hongi did not long survive Ruatara's death. Hongi listened with outward signs of respect to what Marsden said, but he listened as the Emperor Nicholas of Russia listened to the delegates of the Peace Society, and might have adopted that Emperor's language when he said to the men of peace, " You have shaken my hand, but you have not shaken my resolution."

Hongi saw and admired Marsden's consistent efforts for peace, but he also saw the steady, invariable effect of the all-destroying musket. The battle was no longer to the swift, nor to the strong, nor even to the brave, but to the rich—to the chief who could put the greatest number of muskets into the field, and keep them supplied with ammunition. Temorenga, a Ngapui chief, with 35 muskets, was driving all before him—hundreds were slain, far more were enslaved, and those who escaped were taking refuge in the forest. Hongi's turn would certainly come soon—was he to await it in helpless indifference, or was he at any cost to obtain what he knew would alone give him the upper hand? Marsden could get him what he wanted—could he force him to do it?

A decree went forth from Hongi that no work was to be done, no food supplied, no timber sawn to load the brig, no exchange of any kind to be permitted, except for muskets and gunpowder.

“When Greek meets Greek  
Then comes the tug of war.”

Would Marsden give way? Would he not be wise enough to see that his friends must be eaten or enslaved without muskets?

Though only just returned from New Zealand, Marsden flew back at this news, and appealed in person to the natives, to the settlers, and to the missionaries; and then wrote to the Church Missionary Society:—

“I think it much more to the honour of religion and the good of New Zealand, even to give up the mission, for the present, than to trade with the natives on these terms.”

Hongi replied, “If you can keep your firearms out of the country altogether, I am satisfied; but, having allowed them to reach your enemies and mine, why do you so foolishly insist upon keeping your friends without them?”

Without further argument, and without enlightening either Marsden or any one else as to his intentions, Hongi sailed for England whilst Mr. Marsden was still preaching peace in New Zealand. He went to England in the same ship as the missionary, Kendal, and both on board and at Cambridge assisted him and Professor Lee in the preparation of a Maori vocabulary and grammar.

Hongi's manners and appearance at this time are thus described by two of his fellow passengers:—

“This man had the reputation of being one of the greatest warriors in his country, yet his natural disposition was mild and inoffensive, and he would appear to the attentive observer much more inclined to peaceful habits than to strife or enterprise..... There was something particularly respectable in the appearance of Hongi. In person he was a fine-looking man, and was dressed in the uniform coat of a British officer. Though one of the most powerful chiefs in the Bay of Islands, and its bravest and most enterprising warrior, he was by far the least assuming of those who had been permitted to

come on board, and, whilst many of the others tried to force their way into the cabin, he remained on deck. Nor did he attempt to go anywhere without invitation.

When introduced to George the Fourth he is reported to have said, "How do you do, Mr. King George?" To which that polite monarch replied, "How do you do, Mr. King Hongi?"

His Majesty treated him with the greatest courtesy, conducted him to his armory, and gave him many presents and a suit of armour to protect him. The professors gave him money for his assistance with the Maori Grammar; Mr. Marsden's friends gave him watches, tools, boots and shoes, furniture and clothes in abundance; the Quakers gave him ploughs and harrows; so that, when he reached Sydney on his return, he had enough worldly goods to purchase 300 muskets with the necessary supply of ammunition

Hurrying back to New Zealand, he did not wait to be attacked, but at once carried the war into the enemy's country. The war-canoes and men which Marsden had persuaded him to take home, were brought into savage service now. With an irresistible fleet of canoes, men and muskets, he first went to the mouth of the Thames River. In the night Totara was surprised; a thousand Ngati-marus were slain, and an augmented fleet of canoes returned to Kerikeri crowded with captives.

The Ngati-marus, thus weakened, became an easy prey to the ferocious and now stronger Te Waharoa. Several small tribes were mown down like grass, and the muskets were carried against the Waikato tribes, who had united at Matakitaiki to resist the great destroyer. Here at least a thousand more were slain, and Hongi calculated that he had killed fifteen hundred.

Turning his attention further south, he came down the east coast and attacked the collected Lake tribes on the Island of Mokoia, in Lake Rotorua, where he succeeded in slaughtering another thousand of his countrymen.

After such exhibitions of the power of Hongi's muskets, of his own skill as a commander, of his truth as an ally,

and of his cruelty as a victor, an alliance with his conquering Ngapuhi tribes was eagerly sought. It was readily granted, and overwhelmed as Hongi now was with land of no use to him, he freely gave back some of his vast territorial possessions to the humbled tribes from whom he had taken them.

In estimating the generalship of Hongi—the promptness, the impetuosity and the invariable success of his attacks—we shall appreciate his skill and courage best by comparing his march on the combined Waikato tribes, collected in their chosen fortress of great natural and artificial strength at Matakītaki, with General Cameron's absurd waste of time and money in preparing for four months with 5000 men and 1500 horses to attack Merimeri, and then letting the whole of the Maoris escape unhurt; or with the similar exhibition which he made so needlessly around the Weraroa Pah in 1865. Like Cyrus, Alexander, Nelson, and all other uniformly successful leaders, Hongi must have inspired his followers with enthusiasm and confidence in him; as in the fight itself he left them to imitate his actions rather than to seek his directions. He employed four men to load muskets for him, which he discharged with deadly certainty wherever they were likely to have the best effect. He was always faithful to his friends; and kept his promises as certainly as he carried out his threats. He was an undoubted cannibal even after he had seen and learned so much of English morality. His avowed object in fighting was to revenge every insult or injury, real or imaginary, and to weaken those who were likely to injure him or his friends if left in power. Fighting, as he usually did, against numbers vastly superior to his own, and with no baggage, waggons, or extensive food supplies, he could not at all times have encumbered his army with prisoners, nor have taught his enraged followers to respect the life of an enemy, even if he had so far abandoned the savage practice of his countrymen as to be inclined to make the attempt. He gave reasonable terms of peace to those who were reduced to seek it; he was in his own way a good father and a good husband; he was respected and trusted by his friends; and he made no professions of humanity or

purity such as Marsden would so gladly have kept before him, and such as would have entitled us to expect more consideration for the sufferings of his reputed enemies.

If the Wesleyans had known him better, they would probably not have fled from Whangaroa at the beginning of 1827, nor during Hongi's life; as, both before and after their departure, he distinctly expressed his intention to protect the Wesleyans as well as Marsden's missionaries, and we have seen that he kept his promises. The missionary and translator for Marsden, Mr. Richard Davis, who knew Hongi well, writes of him:—

“He was ever the missionaries' friend; a shrewd, thoughtful man, very superior to any other native I have yet seen; the greatest man who has ever lived in these islands.”

But fighting, no longer necessary or excusable, had become his favourite pastime. For about five years after his return from England he continued at intervals his destructive wars.

He perished by the hand of one of his own people, and by a ball from his own muskets. One of his sons had proved an Absalom, but shot himself, and died without any assistance from a revenging Joab. An unfaithful wife hanged herself. Domestic strife followed, and, in January, 1827, Hongi was mortally wounded by his own people at Whangaroa. His lungs were injured, but he lingered on, and even fought on, until March 6th, 1828, when he died; exhorting his people that, regardless of life, they should retain their muskets, their liberty, and their pre-eminence, at any cost, and against any numbers, or any combinations.

Through all his wily appropriation and perversion of the liberal gifts of the friends of peace, through all his disregard of Marsden's restraining admonitions, through all his revolting deeds of blood, Hongi revered Marsden and protected his missionaries. He used his firearms savagely, and appropriately perished by them; but he sent his children to Marsden's schools, and, on his deathbed, he discarded the incantations of idolators, forbade the customary sacrifice of slaves on his grave, and reminded all around him that the missionaries had always been “doers of good,” and should continue to receive their protection.



## CHAPTER VII.

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RAUPARAHA. 1815-1839.

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“Truly the dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty. Let such as philosophize on the happiness enjoyed by man in his savage state, visit such scenes and hear the ten thousand sighs and groans which echo in these gloomy shades, and shudder at the innocent blood shed through the length and breadth of heathen lands—and then, if they can, tell the world that such are happy.”—REV. ROBERT MOFFAT, *writing, in 1829, of African savages.*

THE thoughtful, far seeing, reflective Hongi, no doubt shot down his enemies, as most soldiers do, under the conviction that, if he did not kill them, they would kill him. He was perfectly correct in his calculation, made before he went to England, that the chief who first obtained a sufficient supply of firearms would at once kill or enslave all his less successful rivals. This was the inevitable result of the Maori code of morality, which exalted the never-dying desire for revenge to the position of a cardinal virtue, and regarded any deficiency of its manifestation, or any sense of discriminating justice as to the objects upon which vengeance was to fall as an evidence of spiritless insensibility, unworthy of anything but a slave. Comparing him with his contemporaries—with those who had been educated in the same moral atmosphere—we see very much to admire in Hongi. The scrupulous exactness with which he kept his promise to his dying uncle, Ruatara, the steady respect with which he always treated Mr. Marsden and approved of his work, the restoration of their land and liberty to so many of his conquered captives, his dying directions

prohibiting any sacrifice of slaves on his grave, and enjoining protection to those "whose work had always been good," distinguished him not a little from those of his countrymen whose ruffianly thirst for blood, unchecked by a particle of sympathy even for the most undeserved suffering, leaves us at a loss for any carnivorous animal with which to compare their cruelty.

It would be a relief to avoid any detailed narrative of the cruel work of destruction of their own race, the records of which so deeply stain the pages of New Zealand history at this period ; but it would be unjust to the by no means perfect work of civilisation which has since been accomplished if we were entirely to omit all the revolting records of the results of savage lawlessness, unameliorated by the teachings of the missionary, the precautions of philanthropy, or the restraints of legislation. Nothing that philanthropy could devise or accomplish would have kept back the firearms, the fire water, the diseases, or the convicts from New Zealand ; and our only consolation must lie in the hope that the antidotes have minimised the poison, or that the blessings of civilisation have more than outweighed the calamities which have everywhere proved so inseparable from the introduction of the powers, the indulgences, and the diseases which attend so constantly on our more complicated and less limited methods of existence.

The more concentrated population on the east coast of New Zealand, the extent of civilization which the missionaries had there accomplished, the greater number of flax dressers, the extensive and useful Kauri forests, and the greater number of accessible natural harbours, all tended to attract shipping in that direction. With shipping and commerce came firearms and gunpowder, and any unequal distribution of these could not fail to disturb the balance of military power amongst tribes so fond of fighting, so prone to regard each other as enemies, and with whom the superior power to defend or to destroy was practically the only surety for life or liberty. We have seen how Hongi foresaw what must result from this change, and how he contrived to take the first extensive advantage to be gained by precedence in the acquisition of firearms.

The powerful Waikato tribes were not slow to profit by the severe experience they had suffered at the hands of the Ngapuhi, under the leadership of Hongi. The acquisition of firearms became the one great object of all their dealings and industries, and they soon found themselves in a position to turn the tables upon the Taranaki tribes from whom they had often suffered so much. Although admitted on all hands to be amongst the bravest of the brave fighters in New Zealand, the absence of good harbours on the west coast had left the Ngatiawa tribes without any adequate supply of European weapons; so that they were soon attacked by the now well-armed tribes who had so often been worsted by them. After holding out in their strongest pah for some months, they were eventually starved into submission, and were immediately butchered or enslaved. The Waikato chief, Te Wherowhero, is said to have secured to himself the luxury of driving his heavy greenstone axe into the brains of 250 of the captured victims, brought to him and their heads placed within his reach as he sat upon the ground. The instrument of this atrocity is said to be preserved as a trophy by the descendants of this wholesale executioner.

Another chief, whose life extended to a later date, and whose deeds have been more continuously recorded, must be noticed here, although the last and the least eventful part of his life would take us some twenty years further on than that of Hongi. Te Rauparaha had more of the fox and the wolf, and less of the lion, in his composition than either Hongi or Wherowhero. Morally, there is really nothing to admire in his character. Most of his success was due to treachery and extreme cunning, although he was not without cool courage in emergencies. Neither friend nor foe could trust him; and nothing was too dishonourable or too cruel for him to practice, if likely to accomplish any selfish purpose of his own. His first warlike expedition was avowedly undertaken against a friendly tribe for no other purpose than to procure for himself and his boyhood wife a more luxurious table than that supplied by his parents, and was made successful by cunningly putting his young comrades where they would be

chased by the enemy, whilst he lay concealed to kill the disordered pursuers. But, in those days, cunning was more essential to success than even courage in a leader, and the stratagem being successful, and procuring a good supply of prisoners for the table of his relatives, at once placed the young cannibal in a position superior to that of his elder brothers, and soon brought him congenial employment in the same direction.

Rauparaha watched the success of Temarenga, of Hongi, and of Wherowhero with his suspicious and reflective mind, and came to a very distinct and, no doubt, to a very correct conclusion, that he and his tribe would not be allowed to retain their attractive inland home at Kawhia, amidst powerful neighbours whose anger he had so often provoked, and who had many opportunities to procure supplies of the weapons which everywhere commanded success.

Having failed in his attempt to form an alliance against the Waikatos, he joined Tamati Waka Nene in a destructive raid against the southern tribes, in which he helped to annihilate a large number of the Maoris in the south of the North Island. In the course of this expedition, he visited the Island of Kapiti, from which he saw passing ships which filled him with a desire to reside where the only effectual means of destruction and of defence could be procured. He made himself well acquainted with Kapiti and the adjacent country, and seems to have fixed upon it as the spot which he would be able to defend against all enemies, and from which he could, by commerce, by stratagem, or by force, procure the indispensable firearms.

Having decided that this should be his next great object, he at once began to provide for it with characteristic secrecy and steadiness of purpose. The residents on the Island were treated with special leniency and liberality, and every effort made to assure them of his friendship and good-will. Wherever it was found practicable, arrangements were made for kumara or potatoes to be grown where there were friends to protect them, on the route which he expected to take; and not a few weak tribes were marked out as the easiest means of obtaining a supply

of animal food for the long migration he contemplated. The powerful Waikatos were restrained from attacking him before his departure by the assurance that the fair land he was forsaking should be theirs on his leaving it. He burned the buildings to which his own people were most attached, and, choosing 170 picked warriors, with 230 women and children, he entered upon this remarkable exodus. He led them from their own beautiful birth-place, not to Canaan but to Kapiti—not through a wilderness but through a longer path of blood—to be fed, not on manna, but on potatoes and potato growers—not to a more lovely and fertile country, but to a more defensible home. He was probably leading them from the slavery and destruction which so soon overtook those who were left behind; but, whether any slave driver would have been more inhuman than himself, or whether more of those who followed him would have perished in the one case than in the other may well be doubted. Still, he led and they followed, weeping, but with even more faith than the Israelites accorded to Moses. He was not a Moses by any means, but the Maoris of those days would not have appreciated Moses, and they did appreciate the man who was always able to deceive their enemies, or to sacrifice friends for their sustenance, and who ultimately accomplished all that he undertook to perform. Long halts were made where supplies could be obtained, and the women and children were sometimes left behind to be brought on when the warriors had cleared the way for their reception. Sometimes the women were dressed so as to appear as warriors. Parties were sent forward to kill friends or foes for a supply of meat, just as Stanley sent his men forward to shoot buffaloes or collect bananas, and a mother was successfully ordered to strangle a crying infant whose noise was likely to betray them to an enemy.

The Waikato chiefs, Wherowhero and Waiharoa had determined to exterminate Rauparaha and his small band at Taranaki, and had concealed their preparations so well that Rauparaha knew nothing of their approach until they were close upon him. But, even then, his superior knowledge of the country, and the complete discipline of

both the men and women of his party enabled him to make such an unexpected attack upon those who had intended to annihilate him, that he completely routed them, and made them supply more than 100 dead bodies to his commissariat. His complete success, against such superior numbers, gave him a reputation, both with his followers and with his enemies, which contributed much to his safety for the rest of the journey, and practically overburdened him with followers.

On leaving Taranaki, the women and children travelled much in canoes, as did Rauparaha himself; so that only the warriors, now nearly 400, travelled by land. They were fairly well supplied with kumara, and excuses were never long wanting for obtaining a supply of Rauparaha's favourite food. At Patea six of Rauparaha's men were murdered, which gave him an opportunity to make a wholesale slaughter of the natives of Waitotara, and to take from them a large canoe in which Rauparaha travelled himself.

His desire for large canoes had now become so strong that they were used to bait a trap, in which he was very nearly caught, by the combined efforts of the Wanganui and the Muaupoko tribes. He was induced to visit a Muaupoko chief named Toheriri, on the promise of receiving a number of fine canoes. His son-in-law, Rangihaeata, suspected treachery, and did his best to persuade Rauparaha from accepting the invitation; but canoes were just then such an important factor in Rauparaha's designs that he went, with several of his friends and children, without any protection. The members of his party were accommodated in various paha for the night, Rauparaha alone remaining with Toheriri. When Rauparaha was believed to be fast asleep, Toheriri went out to order the assassins to begin their work. Before he returned Rauparaha had escaped, naked, unarmed, and alone. He succeeded in eluding all pursuit, and reached his army, now at Ohau.

This very plain indication of the intentions of his mainland neighbours towards him, of course compelled Rauparaha to turn his attention to them before attempting Kapiti.

This he did, with the usual result. His table was long and amply supplied with Muaupoko carcasses, and Toheriri himself, after being duly tortured, was also devoured in triumph.

Kapiti was not so easily captured as he had expected. His force was not exactly a marine force, and the islanders had not been deluded as to his intentions. After several repulses, he succeeded, as usual, by one of his stratagems. He went off with a large war party in another direction, leaving his uncle, Te Pehi Kupe, to cross the straits at night, and attack the islanders when sleeping soundly under the impression that there was nothing to apprehend, whilst Rauparaha and his warriors were engaged elsewhere. The surprise was complete, and the defeat easy. Those of the islanders who were not slain became fugitives in the forests and swamps of the Manawatu. Thus Kapiti became the naturally fortified home from which the great destroyer of his race could emerge at his pleasure to engage in the captivating occupation of depopulating the great South Island as well as the North.

Their attempt to murder Rauparaha, and the actual murder of his friends and children, long supplied a never-failing reason for attacking the tribes of Wanganui and Muaupoko, who vainly sought refuge in their lake pahs. Wherever they went they were constantly harassed, defeated, and devoured by the Ngatitōa, led by Rauparaha and Rangihāeta. Many combinations were attempted against these destroyers, but none were effectual. Soon after Rauparaha had settled down at Kapiti, a large pah was erected at Hotuiti, on the north bank of the Manawatu, in which were collected remnants of the Muaupoko, Rangitane, and Ngatiapa tribes.

Rauparaha sent messengers to the Rangitane, proposing peace, and suggesting that chiefs should be sent to his camp to settle the terms. This proposal was complied with; the leaders of the allies were sent to Rauparaha's camp, where they were at once murdered, and, whilst the allies were entirely off their guard, expecting the return of their chiefs with the terms of peace, their pah was rushed by the Ngatitōa, and those who were not killed on the spot

were marched off to be reserved for the future supply of their conquerors' ovens.

But a far more formidable combination was next completed. Ratu, a great Muaupoko chief who had been made a slave to Rauparaha's uncle, Pehi, escaped from Kapiti to the South Island, where he greatly enlightened the natives as to Rauparaha's designs upon them; and ultimately succeeded in forming a combination of some fifteen tribes from the North and South Islands, supplying more than 2000 warriors with ample means of transport to Kapiti. At four o'clock in the morning, some three years after Rauparaha had been settled in Kapiti, a large force of able warriors was landed at Rangatira, at the north of Kapiti, whilst Rauparaha and the main body of the Ngatitōa were further south at Taepiro. The small force of Rauparaha's warriors, under Pokitara, were soon worsted and pushed to the extreme north; but their leader contrived to get the attacking commander to agree to a truce which saved his men. Almost immediately after the truce had been concluded, and whilst canoes were still swarming towards the island, Rauparaha arrived with the main body of the Ngatitōa; and utterly disregarding the truce which had served his purpose so well, he instantly attacked the invaders, leaving 170 of their bodies on the beach, whilst the remainder were forced into the sea, where most of them were drowned in the attempt to reach the still approaching canoes. A great harvest of canoes and dead bodies was collected by the triumphant Ngatitōa, and Rauparaha composed and sang a song to commemorate the event.

Such a complete repulse of such a formidable combination against him, made Rauparaha undisputed ruler of Kapiti, and left him free to wreak his vengeance on all the tribes within his reach. His many victories and his constant plundering had given him a wide choice of allies and warriors, and supplied him with nearly all the arms he could desire. In 1828 Pehi returned from England, and brought a considerable accession of strength to Rauparaha in more ways than one.

A powerful chief of Ngaitahu, named Rerewhaka, was known to have expressed his indignation of Rauparaha's

treachery, and at his killing and devouring propensities. One of his escaped slaves told Rauparaha that Rerewhake had said, that if Rauparaha dared to set a foot in his territory, he would rip him open with a shark's tooth. This was quite enough to put in motion what was now the most powerful army in New Zealand, and with terrible effect. With abundance of canoes, arms and ammunition, and with 350 chosen warriors, Rauparaha sailed for Kaikoura, where Rerewhake maintained his largest establishment. The voyage occupied four days from D'Urville Island. Arriving at night, they anchored near the landing place, and in the morning were mistaken by the Ngaitahu for some friends they were expecting to pay them a visit—a mistake that was at once perceived and made the most of by Rauparaha. His men were landed without opposition, and at once commenced to slaughter the unarmed Ngaitahu, who had come in large numbers to welcome their expected friends. As these unarmed men rushed to their pah they were mixed with the murdering invaders, who thus got possession of the stronghold without a struggle. The strongest men and the weakest women and children were killed on the spot, and consumed in the usual manner, whilst many hundreds were conveyed to Kapiti to contribute in various ways to the gratification of their captors there. The killed and captured are said to have amounted to over 1400. Poor Rerewhake was not fortunate enough to be slain at Kaikoura, but was tortured and afterwards eaten at Kapiti.

In the following year Rauparaha paid another visit to Kaikoura, and, although the remnant of the inhabitants fled at his approach, they were overtaken and exterminated, their destroyer passing on to attack a section of the same tribe at Kaiapoi.

Red-handed as they were, with the slaughter of the Ngaitahus at Kaikoura and at Omihi, Rauparaha and his warriors had yet the audacity to pretend that they had come to the same tribe at Kaiapoi with friendly intentions, and for the purposes of trade. Without placing much faith in his professions, the Kaiapoi chiefs admitted a number of Rauparaha's chiefs inside their pah. The insolent and

imprudent conduct of Rauparaha's uncle, Pehi, soon confirmed their worst suspicions, especially as the wily old commander took care not to put his own person in their power. A threatening speech from Pehi was the cause, not only of his own death, but of the death of a great part of Rauparaha's leading warriors; by which Rauparaha felt himself so weakened that he decided to postpone his vengeance. After killing his prisoners, he returned to Kapiti.

Tamaiharanui, the principal chief of the Ngaitahus, was at Kaiapoi at the time Rauparaha's chiefs were slain, and probably took a leading part in advising a step which had postponed the destruction of his people. Rauparaha was not long in contriving to torture the brave old Spartan who had thwarted his murderous intentions at Kaiapoi. For this purpose he met with a European scoundrel as cruel and as unscrupulous as himself. An English brig, named *Elizabeth*, called at Kapiti, commanded by a Captain Stewart. By promising him a cargo of dressed flax as freight to Sydney, Rauparaha found no difficulty in engaging him as an accomplice in a series of the most cruel murders on record. Stuart engaged to proceed to Akaroa with Rauparaha and a party of warriors, or rather assassins in the brig. Arrived at Akaroa, Rauparaha and his assassins remained concealed in the hold, whilst Stewart went on shore and invited Tamaiharanui to come on board with his wife and daughter to purchase firearms from him. As soon as they came on board they were seized by the Maoris, and Tamaiharanui's torture began in earnest. He was put in irons, which soon cut into his ankles, whilst his wife and daughter were insulted in his presence. Although in irons he contrived, with the assistance of his wife to strangle his daughter to save her from a worse fate.

The many accounts of what actually took place are various and conflicting, but we are inclined to think that the most reliable record is that given in the *Story of New Zealand*, by Arthur S. Thomson, M.D., Surgeon-Major, 58th Regiment, page 264. It will be seen that he met with the Englishman who acted as interpreter between Rauparaha and Stewart, and was shown the ramrod with

which Tamaiharanui's last torture was inflicted. He thus writes in 1859:

“In 1829 Te Pahi, a chief, of whom an account is subsequently given, was murdered by the natives living about Bank's Peninsula during a friendly visit which that travelled warrior made to barter muskets for greenstone. No satisfaction was deemed sufficient for such a man but the head of Tamaiharanui, the chief of the tribe, and it devolved on Rauparaha and Rangihaeata, his nearest relatives, to avenge his death. For this purpose, Captain Stewart, on the promise of a cargo of flax, conveyed Rauparaha and eighty warriors, in the brig *Elizabeth*, from Kapiti in Cook's Strait to Bank's Peninsula in the Middle Island. When the ship cast anchor, Rauparaha's party hid below, while Stewart falsely represented himself to those who came on board as a flax trader. Unsuspicious of treachery from white men, the natives told Stewart that their chief was living in the Wainui Valley, a short day's journey from Akaroa. Stewart invited him to visit the ship, and, three days afterwards, Tamaiharanui, his wife, son, daughter, and several of his tribe came on board. Descending into the cabin, Tamaiharanui met Rauparaha face to face. Te Pahi's son drew up the upper lip of Tamaiharanui, and cried, ‘These are the teeth which eat my father.’ A massacre ensued, and all were slain save Tamaiharanui, his wife, and his daughter, who were kept to grace the victor's return. Then Rauparaha's warriors landed, and slew every native they met.

“Captain Stewart immediately returned to the island of Kapiti. During the voyage, human flesh, brought on board in baskets, was frequently devoured amidst singing and war-dancing, the violence of which shook the ship. Tamaiharanui, his wife and daughter, a girl aged sixteen, named Nga Roimata, or the Tears, witnessed these cannibal orgies over the flesh of their relatives and friends. The chief, bound hand and foot, allowed no sign of sorrow to steal over his tattooed face; but the mother, who was not manacled, strangled her daughter by her husband's orders. Rauparaha, enraged that this beautiful and high-born maiden should thus be lost, sucked Tamaiharanui's blood,

being a murderer, from a flowing vein, ran a red-hot ramrod through his body, and aggravated the anguish of the poor man's awful situation by his bitter jests; but Tamaiharanui died in extreme mental and bodily agony without affording his tormentor the satisfaction of seeing on his countenance an indication of either. His wife was afterwards killed at Otaki. The instrument which slew Tamaiharanui was shown to me in 1849, stained with the chief's blood, by the Englishman who acted as interpreter to the expedition. Captain Stewart never got the promised flax freight from Rauparaha. He was tried before the Supreme Court of New South Wales for the part he acted in the massacre, and only escaped punishment from want of evidence. Like that of De Surville, Stewart's death was sudden and violent, and occurred not long after his murderous cruise to Akaroa. He dropped dead on the deck of the *Elizabeth* rounding the iceberg promontory of Cape Horn, and his body, reeking of rum, was pitched overboard by his own crew with little ceremony and no regret."

About a year after this highly savoured taste of blood, Rauparaha's plans for a more deliberate and wholesale revenge appear to have been completed, and were carried out with great skill and determination, notwithstanding the recent loss of so many of his ablest chiefs. There can be no doubt that Kapiti abounded in a large supply of good fighting material, and that the long experience and resourceful powers of Rauparaha made him a very able selector of men to be trusted for what he wanted them to do.

Dividing his large force into two, sending one by the cold highlands, through Tarndale, and taking a larger number under his own command down the east coast, he contrived, as usual, to arrive at his object of attack just when he was least expected. A great proportion of the Kaiapoi warriors were away at Port Cooper (now Lyttelton) leaving the pah chiefly occupied with old men and women. But the few who were at home did their duty well, and repulsed Rauparaha's warriors again and again until the absent defenders returned, and, with desperate

courage, forced their way through a deep swamp into the pah. When this had been effected, Rauparaha saw that his men could never take the pah by storm, and he prepared to destroy it in a way from which no courage could defend it. He approached the palisade by a regular military sap, and, when near enough, piled up an immense quantity of dry brushwood, which he intended to fire as soon as the wind blew on to the pah. The daring defenders fired it whilst the wind blew off the pah, but the wind changing soon afterwards, they found that, like the Indian widow, they had lighted their own funeral pile. Their only choice lay between burning, drowning, or landing on the opposite bank to be tomahawked by their enemies. Few, indeed, escaped, and the destruction might have been considered as complete as even Rauparaha could desire; but he did not return until he had divided his forces into small detachments, and sent them fifty miles south to destroy every village, and to capture as much human game as they could find to take home with them. When this had been accomplished, he returned laden with spoil, often carried by the doomed captives from whom it had been taken.

The tribes on the Wanganui River next occupied his attention, and many willing allies were found ready to assist in their destruction—by which another thousand are said to have been added to his victims.

After this, his too numerous and now less ably controlled allies broke out into deadly hostility amongst themselves, which weakened Rauparaha so much that he never again recovered the same undisputed power that he held prior to the attack on the Wanganuis. After desperate encounters between these veteran warriors, now well supplied with fire-arms in which the destruction on all sides was enormous, they appear to have come to the conclusion, that, if any of them were to be left alive, fighting must cease. With much difficulty, and with the aid of better heads than Rauparaha now possessed, a peace was at length arranged, and the country divided amongst the ablest warriors, in what may be called the last great struggle prior to the systematic settlement of Europeans in New Zealand, which effectually terminated Rauparaha's career as a wholesale exterminator of his race.

Although Rauparaha lived for ten years after the arrival of Colonel Wakefield in the *Tory*, in 1839, we need not follow him further, as he was no longer a factor of first importance in New Zealand history. He had, even before that date, lost the power which alone made him respectable in the eyes of those who had so often combined to serve under him. His residence at Kapiti had given him facilities, not only for the acquisition of firearms, but also for the constant supply of firewater; so that, whilst age was undermining his physical power, alcohol had wholly destroyed that even flow of mental resource which his followers admired so much, and which had never failed him in his more temperate years. The Rauparaha who was so easily captured by Sir George Grey, at Porirua, was no longer the same Rauparaha who could not be captured or killed in their own house by all his designing entertainers at Papaitanga.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

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UNITED MISSION WORK. 1821-1840.

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No partial, selfish purpose breaks  
The simple beauty of your plan,  
No voice from throne or altar shakes  
Your steady faith in man.

Press bravely onward—not in vain  
Your generous trust in human kind,  
The good, which bloodshed could not gain,  
Your peaceful zeal shall find. —WHITTIER.

ALTHOUGH Hongi was both a protector and an admirer of Mr. Marsden, he was by no means a comforter. The five years during which Hongi figured most prominently in New Zealand history were probably the most trying through which Marsden and his missionaries were called upon to pass. But just as Hongi's cruel victories in New Zealand were trying Marsden most severely, he was triumphantly relieved from annoyances and accusations in New South Wales which had long been very hard to bear.

The relief was nothing less than the substitution, in 1821, of a friendly Governor, in the person of Sir Thomas Brisbane in the place of a powerful and unjust accuser, in the person of Governor Macquarie, who had struck his name off the list of Justices of the Peace, and accused him to the Home Government of several crimes, amongst which was that of wishing to lessen the number of dram sellers at Parramatta, because he was

getting a profit by selling spirits himself. In consequence of such accusations from such a high authority, Lord Bathurst, to the great satisfaction of Mr. Marsden, sent out a Commissioner to enquire on the spot, with the result that not a particle of truth was found in any of the accusations. Governor Macquarie withdrew his charges and indirectly apologized. He was removed, whilst Marsden was restored against his will to the Commission of the Peace, handsomely commended, and his salary raised.

When Mr. Marsden first called upon the new Governor he received the assurance "of his countenance and support, not only as colonial chaplain, but also as the representative of the great missionary work going forward in New Zealand." He was thus placed in a far more happy position in reference to his New Zealand work than he had ever occupied before.

It is quite easy to understand that with Hongi's contempt for Mr. Marsden's peace policy, and with that chief's trust in firearms and deeds of blood, the missionaries were justified in not feeling quite so secure under his protection as they might have done had they known, what we now know, of the faithful manner in which he kept his promise to Ruatara, that Marsden and his missionaries should always be protected by him. But making every allowance for this sense of insecurity which was felt by undoubtedly brave men, it is impossible not to see that Marsden's personal influence and example, and the very considerable amount of education given in the missionary schools, were the only bright features of the first ten years' mission work in New Zealand.

The annual reports of the missionaries themselves are entirely free from exaggeration. There is nothing high-flown or sensational or egotistical about them; but they reveal an astounding lack of method, of wisdom of success in common indispensable undertakings, upon which the comfort, economy, peace and happiness of a new settlement must everywhere depend. Marsden himself was unfortunately brought up and educated in a city. In his otherwise excellent advice to the Church Missionary Society, he advises them to send to New Zealand a carpenter, a

blacksmith and a flax-dresser, and says not a word about a farmer or farm labourer. His views in that direction were evidently the common views of a city resident. He no doubt thought that any person could farm, that a farm labourer was not a skilled labourer; and that a cow was always a useful domestic animal, whether she had been fed from a pail by an Ayrshire dairy-maid, or had been hunted down on the trackless plains of Australia. He had evidently no natural taste for agriculture; as we are told by himself that Mrs. Marsden attended to the farm at Parramatta, and that he never visited the place where most of his cattle were kept.

This was the weakest point with his early mission establishments; as the first mission station was formed on land that "would grow nothing," the first cow which was landed "became unmanageable" and drove the Maoris before her, and hoes only were used long after the plough ought to have been at work. The first cattle to be imported should have been a pair of well-broken leading oxen. The bull, and even the cows, should also have been taught to work quietly in the yoke, and only animals which had been pail-fed should have been sent to give milk and to find their own living in a forest.

As the result of sending animals which had not been handled in their infancy, we hear nothing about butter, cheese, or even milk, and we hear a good deal about semi-starvation. When "daily importuned for comforts for the sick and the starving," we are told, by Mr. King, that they made a point of supplying them with tea and white bread, made from flour imported from Sydney—a demand which might have been so much better supplied by milk and maize grown on their own place.

Ten years after Marsden landed the first bull and two cows, Mr. Kemp writes:—

"We have about 30 head of cattle, which we keep together in one herd; several, however, have left the herd and are running wild. The natives have not hitherto molested them, but many chiefs have requested to have a male and a female, which I think we should do well to let

them have, in order that they might soon stock the island, which would be a great blessing to the country."

Mr. Kemp evidently had no idea that cattle would multiply quite as fast if kept milked or worked as if given in pairs to the natives. If properly cared for, the herd, from cattle imported by Marsden alone, should have reached about 100 at that date, and working bullocks should have been plentiful.

Again, ten years after the first three cattle and three horses had been imported by Mr. Marsden, Mr. Williams writes in mid-winter :—

"We shall be enabled by the new vessel to obtain food which has been very scarce of late, both for ourselves and the natives about us. We shall this day cook our last potatoes, and have been out of pork for some length of time. Indeed, the provisions for all the settlements are short, and should not a vessel arrive in a little time we shall be driven to eat fern-root."

All this sounds very wrong on "rich land," in a climate that would grow either potatoes, wheat or maize, and with a nine foot waterfall as a part of the Kerikeri station property. We hear also of two horses and a colt being killed by the natives, for trespassing on their sweet potato ground, and that at a station where they had fencing and sawn timber to export to Sydney. In the same way the dying New Zealanders at Parramatta College might easily have been saved by giving them the natural food of Australia—maize, plantains and peaches, instead of meat, white bread and tea.

But, whilst the bodies of the Maoris, both in New Zealand and at Parramatta were suffering from the agricultural and physiological ignorance of their teachers, their minds were being fed with a far more wholesome material than had ever entered them before; and the really good mental and moral capacity of the race was being demonstrated on a small scale by actual experience. The first conversion to Christianity, after ten year's teaching, is thus recorded :—

"Rangi was a chief of some rank in his tribe, and he, with his small party, took up their abode about a mile from Paihia, where they came under the frequent instruction of

the missionaries. While indifference marked the character of most of his friends, old Rangi listened with attention to the new instruction. This was during the year 1824. He impressed upon the people the necessity of observing the Sabbath day, and he was in the habit of hoisting a piece of red cloth for a flag as a signal to his neighbours that it was the sacred day. He came ultimately to renounce his paganism, and to profess Christianity, and on his profession became baptised, and was the first Christian convert."

Marsden's resident missionaries do not appear to have been members of the Peace Society. We are told by Mr. Mair that "on one occasion, while he and the Rev. H. Williams were employed building a sixty-ton schooner, they were surrounded by a large party of Maoris, who, for some fancied grievance, were in a furious rage, and with wild gestures and threats declared their intention of burning the vessel and annihilating the builders. Nothing daunted, Mr. Williams seized a stout stake and Mr. Mair a broken oar, which they used so vigorously as to soon put the dusky warriors to flight, but not before Mr. Mair's left arm was broken in two places."

In the schools some solid progress was being made; a very considerable number of Maoris of all ages were at this time able to read and write their own language, and the residents around the schools were improving in their attitude to the missionaries, and their children in the schools were more amenable to something like order and discipline. Portions of the Bible were translated and printed in Sydney, and Marsden's visits were always hailed by the Maoris with delight, whilst he never failed to command their confidence and respect.

As a peacemaker he was not always successful, but he ventured with impunity into either army, and was never harmed or even insulted. The slowness of any reformation achieved, or the manifest imperfection of some of his workers, disheartened him not. His confidence of ultimate success increased as he saw more of the Maori character and capacity, as compared with the hopeless imbecility of the Australian aborigines, which he had been forced to recognise.

His visits were as welcome to the Wesleyan missionaries struggling against great difficulties at Whangaroa as they were to his own denomination at Keri-keri, and were indeed quite as much needed. Poor Mr. Leigh's spirit was very willing, but his want of health entirely disqualified him for the privations and dangers attending the task he had undertaken. Mr. Marsden treated him not only as a fellow-worker, but as if he had been his own son in need of a father's care. Mr. Leigh writes "The Christian world will never be able fully to appreciate the valuable labours of the Rev. Samuel Marsden. His fervent zeal, his abundant toil and extensive charity in the cause of missions are beyond estimation."

The kidnapping of Tookee and Woodoo at Doubtless Bay; the publicity which Mr. Marsden had given to the heartless brutality and deception inflicted upon Ruatara, by Captain Moody in the *Santa Anna*; the cruel provocation given by Captain Thompson, which led to the massacre of the *Boyd's* crew; the destruction of the innocent Tipahe and a multitude of his subjects, by the whalers, had naturally been used, by philanthropists in Sydney and England, to impress upon the British Government the necessity of passing some law to reach such criminals. In June, 1818, an Act was passed "for the more effectual punishment of murders and manslaughters not committed within His Majesty's dominions." In this Act New Zealand and Otaheiti were specially mentioned. More stringent acts followed, and some little check was put upon the cruelties of those outlaws who had hitherto believed themselves at liberty to follow their own brutal propensities without the danger of punishment.

It would be well if we could say that acts of wanton injustice and savage brutality were committed only by outlaws, by escaped convicts or even by lawless, buccaneering ship masters. In 1834 a most brutal and unjustifiable outrage was committed at Taranaki, by one of His Majesty's ships in command of His Majesty's officers. In that year the barque *Harriet* was wrecked off Taranaki. The Maoris assisted to rescue the crew and the Captain, named Guard, with his wife and two children; and, for six

or seven days, treated both Captain and crew with much kindness and hospitality. But, under no inconsiderable provocation, the natives were led to quarrel with the sailors, and a fight ensued in which twelve sailors and twenty-five Maoris were killed. After that the Captain with his wife and children and the ten surviving sailors were treated as prisoners, but by no means harshly. The Captain was soon allowed to go to Sydney with some of the sailors, leaving his wife and children with the Maoris as hostages for the payment of some gunpowder which the Maoris demanded as compensation for his release, and for the food and necessaries with which they had been and were still to be supplied. Guard gladly agreed to their conditions, which, considering what the Maoris had suffered from the sailors, were quite as good as he had any right to expect. After reaching Sydney and relating, in his own way, what had happened to him and to his family and crew at Taranaki, the Governor sent H.M.S. *Alligator* and a company of the 50th Regiment to rescue the prisoners.

On the arrival of the ship at Taranaki, Guard learned that his wife and family were safe and well, had been kindly treated, and would be given up to him as soon as he gave them the promised gunpowder. The sailors were also in good condition and were given up at once. The powder was promised to be given as soon as the woman and children were delivered on board. The chief who had charge of the woman and children met Guard and rubbed noses with him with apparent friendship, after which the chief was forcibly dragged into the ship's boat in which he was cruelly insulted and knocked about and severely wounded with a bayonet. The woman and one child were given up to Guard and the wounded chief was released. The younger child was brought from her concealment on the shoulders of a Maori to whom she clung as a friend and protector. He was shot dead; the child still clung to his dead body for protection against his ferocious murderers. His head was cut off and kicked about the sandy beach although Mrs. Guard afterwards recognised it as the head of the Maori who had proved the best friend of her children, and from whom she and her children had received the

greatest kindness. The ship's guns then opened fire and destroyed two villages that were within their reach, smashed their canoes to pieces, and killed a large number of Maoris.

In December, 1826, a brig called the *Elizabeth*, was sent from Sydney with convicts for Norfolk Island. The brig was commanded by Captain Harwood, and belonged to Mr. Joseph Underwood. Before leaving Sydney the convicts appear to have agreed to risk their lives in a desperate revolt, and had chosen as their leader a convict named Walton. When not far from Norfolk Island, on the 21st of December, Walton saw and most promptly seized a most favourable opportunity for carrying out his intentions. The Captain's attention was centred upon taking sites of the sun at noon, only two soldiers were parading the deck—all the rest were huddled together in the forecabin—and most of the sailors were below. Six convicts were on deck, and the sergeant in charge went below to bring up six more. The moment he disappeared Walton gave the preconcerted signal, and the hatches were instantly fastened down over the soldiers, the two sentries were knocked down and disarmed, the captain was seized, any sailors on deck were imprisoned, and the ship was, in a few minutes, completely at the mercy of some forty or fifty armed convicts. A convict named Best refused to join in the revolt, and eighteen of the convicts followed his example, and were consequently confined with the crew in the hold. The convict who put on the hatches was seriously wounded by the soldiers; but no one was killed on either side, and considering the presumed desperate character of men condemned to Norfolk Island, there was a marvellous respect for human life. This was even carried to an extent that made the success of the revolt impossible.

Walton took command; but Captain Harwood was compelled to navigate the brig, and he seems to have acted with coolness and good judgment. The convicts were bent upon reaching South America, and could not have contemplated keeping all if any of their prisoners alive. They were already short of water, and Captain Harwood informed them that he could not reach any American port without a nautical almanac and a chart; so that it would be

necessary to put into some New Zealand port where they could get water and the other necessaries they required. This was done. Under the name of the *Wellington*, the brig was taken into the Bay of Islands, at the entrance to which they were met by Captains Duke and Clarke—commanding the whalers the *Sisters* and the *Harriet*, which were both at anchor in the Bay. Walton now saw his danger, and was much less thankful to his volunteer pilots than they thought he ought to be; but he was not desperate and bloodthirsty enough for a successful pirate, and had not the resolution to turn round and seek for water elsewhere. Captain Harwood convinced him that no force could there be met with that he could not easily resist. Most of the convicts were wearing the soldiers' clothes, but there was no want of suspicious circumstances to convince Captains Duke and Clarke that the *Wellington* was not an honest trader, and Captain Harwood was soon able to give them the hint of how matters stood. At the Bay of Islands the missionaries, Williams and Fairburn, soon put Walton through a catechism that satisfied them of the true character of the ship, and, with the help of the whalers and the Maoris, they put the right men in irons again and sent them in the *Sisters* to Sydney, where five of them were hanged, and about thirty-five sent to work for life in irons at Norfolk Island. Six of the convicts eluded the vigilance of the Maoris, and made good their escape in the New Zealand bush. The Maoris received an enormous stock of gunpowder for their services on this occasion.

In January, 1827, the Wesleyan missionaries finally left Whangaroa. They were received at Keri-keri with the truest sympathy and kindness, but left a few weeks afterwards for Sydney, in the same vessel which carried the convicts re-captured from the *Wellington*. They supplied the Wesleyan mission with a long list of reasons for finally abandoning their work; but none of these reasons appear to be very satisfactory. Perhaps the true reason was that both the men and the women had undertaken a work which required an amount of vigorous health, courage and determination which they did not possess and could not

command. Their difficulties and dangers were undoubtedly great; and their own hesitation, and their oscillation between their own place and Keri-keri naturally made them greater. They were not constituted by nature "to dwell in the midst of alarms," and would have been wiser, as well as happier, if they had never undertaken to do so.

But the timid Mrs. Turner and the delicate Mr. Leigh were not to be mistaken for representatives of the robust disciples of John Wesley. Both in Sydney and in England the directors of that denomination came to the resolution that "the brethren who had left New Zealand should be requested to return to that country without loss of time." As a party they did not return; the result being probably the survival of the fittest in the persons of Messrs. Stack and Hobbs. The locality of their late failure was wisely avoided, and a better side chosen "after consultation with the brethren at the Bay of Islands." This was a place called Mangungu, at Hokianga, where "a ship of 500 tons may be moored within one hundred yards of the dwelling-house." Eight hundred and fifty acres at this fine seaport were purchased from two natives named Ngatume and Wharekana for £190.

Five of their old scholars had found their way from Whangaroa, and offered to work for the missionaries in return for their continued instruction.

Little progress was made during the first two years; but after that their labours were very successful. The staff, the chapels and the congregations rapidly increased, and they employed a printer and a printing press.

On May 26th, 1834, the printer writes from Mangungu: "The native chapel was crowded to excess, and great numbers had to sit outside for want of room. A few years ago only a few obscure individuals attended the means of grace, but now hundreds flock together, and everyone seems anxious about salvation."

On Sunday, July 27th, 1834, fourteen couples were married and eighty-one persons baptized. On the 5th of February, 1855, we are told from Mangungu:—

"From the various out-stations we had on our beach fifty-three canoes, which in all contained, I suppose, about

one thousand persons. Our new chapel, which was not then covered in, was crowded. After the service was over an examination in reading and writing took place, when we had present fifty-eight males who could read the New Testament and write a good hand. The number of females present who could read was twenty, making in all seventy-eight persons."

In 1837 there were fifteen chapels connected with the missions, and printing in the Maori language proceeded rapidly, including 1000 copies of the Church of England Liturgy.

On Sunday, November 8th, 1838, there were a thousand worshippers at Mangungu. After Mr. Hobbs had preached, 138 adults and 46 children were baptized. In August of the same year, Mr. Turner, who had again appeared on the scene, with his delicate wife and nine children, was burnt out. Mr. Turner writes:—"Our natives acted a noble part in endeavouring to save whatever they could and nothing was pilfered. What a contrast between them and those by whom we suffered the loss of all but life in 1827!"

In 1840 there were 1300 accredited members of the society and 600 more who were on trial.

During all this prosperity the kindness of Marsden in their hour of need was never forgotten by the Wesleyans.

"The brethren at the Bay of Islands" were still their trusted advisers in every difficulty, and Marsden's parental visits and admonitions were as joyously and as respectfully received at Mangungu as they were at Keri-keri. The Episcopalian translations of hymns and the marriage service were used until their own printing press was at work, and, even then, that press was employed to print a thousand copies of the Church of England Liturgy. So long as Marsden lived, the faith and trust of the Maoris were never disturbed by senseless, sectarian exaggerations of the importance of any difference existing between the doctrines of Cranmer and Wesley,



## CHAPTER IX.

SELF-RELIANT POLICY. 1829-1838.

The desert blossoms round him, wheat fields rolled  
Beneath the warm wind waves of green and gold.  
One house sufficed for gospel and for law,  
Assured the good, and held the rest in awe.  
One faith alone, so broad that all mankind  
Within themselves its secret witness find,  
Made all men equal, none could rise above,  
Nor sink below, the level of God's love.

—WHITTIER.

IN 1829, fifteen years after Marsden had brought his first missionaries to New Zealand, it seems to have dawned upon Mr. Richard Davies that, with good land, a good climate, with plenty of rain, and cheap labour, the residents in New Zealand ought to grow their own food. He then proceeds formally to give three very cogent reasons for his opinion, which certainly might have called for the action of the residents at Keri-keri some years before. The first was that their friends in England might some day become too poor to feed them any longer. Secondly, "our families are becoming large, and *some* of our children are growing up." Thirdly, "if our sources should fail at Home, we shall have no means of support, and may be obliged at length to leave the island and our work."

These are what Carlyle would call the "old world reasons" why we should work for our own food; and, put in this very plain way, they seem at last to have

commended themselves to those who had so long been content to live upon New South Wales produce. But, after all that had been said of the "rich soil" of the Keri-keri, it was now decided in solemn conclave that the Keri-keri land was not good enough, and that they had no means to purchase good land until Mr. Marsden came to their help. The self-reliant policy was thus postponed for another year.

Marsden arrived on his sixth visit on March 30th, 1830. He at once agreed to Mr. Davies' proposal, and purchased 250 acres of "very good land," nine miles inland from Keri-keri, to which a cart-road had to be made requiring three substantial bridges. Messrs Yate, Clarke, Davis, and Hamlin were to take charge of what was now to be the agricultural station.

On the day of payment, one of the chiefs made a speech which seems to have given satisfaction to the missionaries, although not quite up to the standard of Moses, or of the Sermon on the Mount. He is reported to have said: "Be gentle with the missionaries, for they are gentle with you. Do not steal from them, for they do not steal from you. Though there be many of us—missionaries and native men—let us all be one—all one—all one."

On November 2nd, 1832, Mr. Clark writes:—"The farming establishment will, I have no doubt, fully answer the expectations of the Society, make us in a measure independent of the colony for supplies, as well as be the means of securing for the rising generation all the necessaries of life. It has not a little cheered me to see the plough at work."

A mill was, of course, naturally called for by the farm, and was easily supplied in a country with so many waterfalls. Mr. Davies seems to have been the leader and director in this business also, and, in the course of a little time, we are told that "the mill yields 48,000 lbs. of flour, and corn is ground for distant natives.

Forty acres of wheat were reaped, 100 acres laid down to grass and fenced in for paddocks. The sheep had increased to 180, "miller's pork" was of course plentiful, and we hear no more of flour and salt meat coming from New South Wales.

What was accomplished five years after the farm was fairly started is well described by a disinterested and most reliable witness. The great naturalist, Darwin, visited Waimate at Christmas, 1835, and thus describes what he then saw :—

“After having passed over so many miles of an uninhabited, useless country, the sudden appearance of an English farm-house, and its well-dressed fields, placed there as if by an enchanter’s wand, was exceedingly pleasant. Mr. Williams not being at home, I received in Mr. Davies’ house a cordial welcome. After drinking tea with his family party, we took a stroll about the farm. At Waimate there are three large houses where the missionary gentlemen, Messrs. Williams, Davies, and Clarke, reside ; and near them are the huts of the native labourers. On an adjoining slope fine crops of barley and wheat were standing in full ear ; and in another part, fields of potatoes and clover. But I cannot attempt to describe all I saw ; there were large gardens, with every fruit and vegetable which England produces ; and many belonging to a warmer clime. I may instance asparagus, kidney beans, cucumbers, rhubarb, apples, pears, figs, peaches, apricots, grapes, olives, gooseberries, currants, hops, gorse for fences, and English oaks ; also many kinds of flowers. Around the farm yard there were stables, a thrashing-barn with its winnowing machine, a blacksmith’s forge, and on the ground plough-shares and other tools ; in the middle was that happy mixture of pigs and poultry, lying comfortably together, as in every English farm yard. At the distance of a few hundred yards, where the water of a little rill had been dammed up into a pool, there was a large and substantial water-mill.

“All this is very surprising, when it is considered that five years ago nothing but the fern flourished here. Moreover, native workmanship, taught by the missionaries, has effected this change—the lesson of the missionary is the enchanter’s wand. The house had been built, the windows framed, the fields ploughed, and even the trees grafted by the New Zealander. At the mill, a New Zealander was seen powdered white with flour, like his brother miller in

England. When I looked at this whole scene, I thought it admirable. It was not merely that England was brought vividly before my mind; but as the evening drew to a close, the domestic sounds, the fields of corn, the distant undulating country with its trees might well have been mistaken for our fatherland: nor was it the triumphant feeling at seeing what Englishmen could effect; but rather the high hopes thus inspired for the future progress of this fine island.

“Several young men, redeemed by the missionaries from slavery, were employed on the farm. They were dressed in a shirt, jacket and trousers and had a respectable appearance. Judging from one trifling anecdote, I should think they must be honest. When walking in the fields, a young labourer came up to Mr. Davies and gave him a knife and a gimlet, saying that he had found them on the road, and did not know to whom they belonged. The young men and boys appeared very merry and good humoured. In the evening I saw a party of them at cricket: when I thought of the austerity of which the missionaries have been accused, I was amused by observing one of their own sons taking an active part in the game. A more decided and pleasing change was manifested in the young women, who acted as servants within the houses. Their clean, tidy, and healthy appearance, like that of dairy-maids in England, formed a wonderful contrast with the filthy hovels in Kororadika..... Late in the evening I went to Mr. Williams’s house, where I spent the night. I found there a large party of children collected together for Christmas Day, and all sitting round a table at tea. I never saw a nicer or more merry group; and to think that this was in the centre of the land of cannibalism, murder and all atrocious crimes! The cordiality and happiness so plainly pictured in the faces of the little circle, appeared equally felt by the older persons of the mission..... The children of the missionaries who came when young to the island, understand the language better than their parents, and can get anything more readily done by the natives. A little before noon Messrs. Williams and Davies walked with me to part a neighbouring forest, to show me the

famous kauri pine. I measured one of these noble trees, and found it thirty-one feet in circumference above the roots. There was another close by, which I did not see, thirty-three feet, and I heard of one no less than forty feet..... I took leave of the missionaries with thankfulness for their kind welcome, and with feelings of high respect for their gentlemanlike, useful, and upright characters, I think it would be difficult to find a body of men better adapted for the high office which they fulfil..... 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 refuse of society. Neither is the country itself attractive. I look back to but one bright spot, and that is Waimate, with its Christian inhabitants."

But things were not all smooth when Marsden arrived even on his sixth visit. Hongi was dead; but firearms had multiplied a hundred-fold, and the disgusting sight of a recent battle-field was actually under his own eyes at Keri-keri, and without an hour's loss of time, he set to work as a peacemaker.

It was asserted at about the time of this visit that with firearms, rum, and European diseases, the preceding ten years had reduced the Maori population from 200,000 to 100,000. The assertion is a wild one, based on no reliable data whatever, and undoubtedly overstates the Maori population for both periods; but that Maori life was being sacrificed in a most wholesale manner is a fact which none can dispute. Besides the three powerful agents mentioned in the above assertion, there was the well-known fact, so plainly shown by Mr. Marsden's own establishment at Parramatta, that the South Sea Islanders never changed their simple, natural diet for our artificial preparations without an immediate increase in their rate of mortality. But, unlike most other philanthropists of his day, Marsden never ceased to believe that the Maoris could and would be saved from extermination by the introduction of civilization, good government and Christianity.

When he landed, he found that 1400 Maori warriors had been destroying each other on the beach just opposite to his now prosperous and peaceful schools and chapels. Although now 66 years of age, he went, with Mr. Williams, from camp to camp and was respectfully heard by both parties as he entreated them no longer to shed each other's blood. At last he persuaded each camp to appoint two commissioners, who, with himself and Henry Williams were to arrange terms of peace.

Whilst the negotiation was proceeding, the sabbath intervened and he walked over the battlefield and preached to his civilized flock. Of the loathsome cannibal battlefield he wrote:—"The remains of some of the bodies which have been slain were lying unconsumed upon the fires. The air was extremely offensive and the scene most disgusting."

On reaching the peaceful Keri-keri he wrote:—"The contrast between the east and west side of the bay was very striking. Though only two miles distant, the east shore was crowded with different tribes of fighting men, in a wild savage state, many of them nearly naked, and when exercising entirely naked. Nothing was to be heard but the firing of muskets, the noise, din and commotion of a savage military camp; some mourning the death of their friends, others suffering from their wounds, and not one but whose mind was involved in heathen darkness without one ray of Divine knowledge. On the other side was the pleasant sound of the church-going bell, the natives assembling together for divine worship, clean, orderly and decently dressed—most of them in European clothing. They were carrying the Litany and the greatest part of the Church Service written in their own language, in their hands with their hymns. The Church Service, as far as it has been translated, they can write and read. Their conduct and the general appearance of the whole settlement reminded me of a well-conducted English country parish. In the chapel the natives behaved with the greatest propriety, and joined in the church service. Here might be viewed at one glance the blessings of the Christian religion and the miseries of heathenism with respect to this life; but when we extend our thought over the eternal world how infinite is the difference!"

On the Tuesday morning Mr. Marsden was aroused from his bed, and told that 36 canoes were seen passing, and that a battle was at hand. The missionary boat was immediately launched, and Mr. Marsden proceeded to meet the warriors. Here again we must take Mr. Marsden's own words:—

“The four native commissioners accompanied us in a small canoe, which they paddled themselves. When we came up with the war canoes we found that they had left their women and children on the island, and that they were all fighting men, well-armed and ready for action at a moment's notice. I counted more than 40 men in one war canoe. The native commissioners brought their canoe between our two boats, and in that position we approached the beach. They told us that if they were killed we must be given up to their friends as a sacrifice for the loss of their lives. We were under no apprehension of danger, both parties placed the utmost confidence in us, and we were fully persuaded that the commissioners would be cordially received. The whole day was spent in deliberating; at night, after a long oration, the great chief on one side clove a stick in two to signify that his anger was broken. The terms of peace were ratified, and both sides joined in a hideous war dance together, repeatedly firing their muskets.

“We then took our departure from these savage scenes with much satisfaction as we had attained the object we were labouring for.”

Mr. Marsden had brought his daughter with him, and a chief named “King George” claimed her in marriage for his son. Mr. Marsden tells us that he “declined the honour,” and adds, somewhat significantly: “On one of my former visits to New Zealand, sitting in the room I am at present in, the natives killed and ate a poor young woman just behind the house.”

On the 22nd February, 1836, Mr. Marsden arrived in New Zealand for the seventh and last time. He was accompanied by his youngest daughter, Martha, to whose pen we are indebted for the few interesting glimpses we get of the feeble old patriarch's last reception.

It is pleasant to find him going first to the Wesleyans at Hokianga, and spending a fortnight there. They don't need him now, but the generous old heart is just as willing to go and rejoice with those who do rejoice as he had been to weep with those that wept.

On board the vessel which brought him, he said : " The people in the colony are becoming too fine for me now—I am too old to preach before them, but I can talk to the New Zealanders."

Up to this time there is not a sign of any Paul or Apollos disputes between the brave workers in these two camps, and both equally claimed, not the exclusive, but the joint right to honour and cheer the last days of the noble philanthropist, " who had sheltered them in infancy," and whom they were never likely to see again. In such rivalry we can easily believe it possible that, even in New Zealand, the ever demonstrative Wesleyans may have received him with greater enthusiasm than their more dignified brethren at Keri-keri. But in neither case was anything left undone which either their old, or their more exacting young visitor could expect or desire.

On the first Saturday, February 25th, we are told : " The natives are coming in in great numbers to attend divine worship. Mr. Turner preached, and afterwards my father addressed them. They listened with earnest attention, and were much pleased. Many of the old chiefs were delighted to see my father, and offered to build him a house if he would remain. The whole congregation joined in the responses and singing ; and, although they have not the most pleasing voices, yet it was delightful to hear them sing " From Egypt lately come."

Mr. Marsden says, " I found that many were enquiring after the Saviour, and that a large number attended public worship.

" One principal chief, who had embraced the gospel and been baptized, accompanied us all the way. We had to travel about 40 miles by land and water. He told me he was so unhappy at Hokianga that he could not get to converse with me for the crowds that attended, and that he had come to Waimate to speak with me. I found him a

very intelligent man, and anxious to know the way to heaven." After a fortnight's stay amongst the Wesleyans, Miss Marsden writes, "I took leave of Mrs. Turner and, mounted in a chair on the shoulders of two New Zealanders, I headed the procession. My father, Mr. Wilkinson, and the two children were carried in kaw-shaws, or native biers, on which they carry their sick. We entered a forest of five miles, then stopped to dine. The natives soon cooked their potatoes, corn, etc., in their ovens, which they scoop in the sand, and, after heating a number of stones, the potatoes are put in, covered with grass and leaves, and a quantity of water poured upon them. They were exquisitely steamed.

"Five miles from Waimate I left my chair, mounted on horseback, and reached Waimate for breakfast. The natives carried father the whole way with the greatest cheerfulness, and brought him through the most difficult places with the greatest care. The distance they carried him was about 20 miles."

Wherever he went his New Zealand children rose up and called him blessed; but their modes of blessing were as diversified as their individual characters were varied in their advancing stages on the road to civilization. The half-restrained warriors greeted him with the hideous wardance, or with a scarcely less welcome volley from their destructive muskets. Comfortable settlers were able to kill, not the fatted calf, but a fatted pig, and to roast it, and their now plentiful supply of potatoes, with the stones which had roasted many a slave. Those still more advanced were able to hand him exultingly the staff of life, as produced by their ploughed farm and water-turned mill. The learned read exultingly from their books, and flourished proudly with their pens. The more reticent took a seat where they could feast their eyes on his countenance, and watch well the features they were never to see again. Multitudes crowded to hear the ever kind but now feeble voice, which had so long preached "peace on earth, good will to men"; and not a few fell on his neck and wept in silent acknowledgement of how much

they owed to the good shepherd, who had sought them in the dreary desert of barbarous life, and carried them back in his arms to the fold of humanity and of civilization.

On his arrival at Keri-keri Mr. Marsden writes, with great exultation, "The prospect of success to the Church of England mission is very great. Since my arrival at the missionary station I have not heard one oath spoken by European or native; the schools and church are well attended, and the greatest order is observed amongst all classes. I met with many wherever I went who were anxious after the knowledge of God. Wherever I went I found some who could read and write. They are all fond of reading, and there are many who never had an opportunity of attending the schools, who nevertheless can read. They teach one another from all parts of the country, from the North to the East Cape.

Since my arrival I have visited many stations within the compass of a hundred miles. I observe a wonderful progress; those portions of the sacred scriptures which have been printed have had a most astonishing effect. They are read by the natives in every place where I have been. The natives teach one another, and find great pleasure in the word of God, and carry that sacred treasure with them wherever they go. Great numbers have been baptized, both chiefs and their people. Waimate, once the most warlike place on the islands, is now the most orderly and moral place I was ever in. My own mind has been exceedingly gratified by what I have seen and heard. On the opposite side of the harbour a number of Europeans have settled along with the natives. Several keep public houses and encourage every kind of crime. Here drunkenness, adultery, murder, etc., are committed. There are no laws, judges, or magistrates, so that Satan maintains his dominion without molestation. Some civilized government must take New Zealand under its protection, or the most dreadful evils will be committed by runaway convicts, sailors, and publicans. I shall inform the Europeans in authority how much they are distressed in New Zealand for want of a Governor with power to punish crime. The Bay of Islands is now in a dreadful state."

After a stay of 97 days in New Zealand, Mr. Marsden was, on June 4th, 1837, tenderly placed and most respectfully received on board H.M.S. *Rattlesnake*, in command of Captain Hobson, so soon to be the first resident Governor of New Zealand. The Captain's intercourse with Mr. Marsden, on the voyage to Port Jackson, was of the most friendly and affectionate character, and probably led, in no small degree, to the confidence with which the Lieutenant Governor of New Zealand afterwards placed himself and the Colony in the hands of Marsden's able lieutenant and successor, Henry Williams.

Marsden's work in New Zealand was now done. Although his spirit was still very willing his flesh had become very weak. In less than a year after this last return to Sydney he was numbered with the honoured dead. He was buried at Parramatta, with every mark of respect that good men could pay to his memory. The Wesleyans, with admirable taste and consistent gratitude, closed their own place of worship to go and hear a sermon to his memory in the Episcopal Church. New South Wales, as she advanced from a convict settlement to a leading British Colony, had learnt to honour the man who had, through good and through evil report, done so much to implant on her shores that righteousness which exalteth a nation. And New Zealand, as both races learn to increasingly value all that is noble, and elevating, and truly beneficent, will more and more lovingly cherish the memory of the man whose long and consistent life first brought the Maori race to believe how pure, how benevolent, how unselfish, the oft-stained British character might possibly become.

Marsden's work can be most fairly judged by its results. He was not a great preacher, nor a great writer, nor a great actor, but he was a good man and wrought righteousness. His patience and courage were unbounded; his unselfish purity was brilliant; his benevolence was universal. He obtained no title, he acquired no landed estate, no monument was erected to his memory, his bones rest not in New Zealand soil; but the blessing of those who were ready to perish has come upon him; and the proud, and

secure position which the Maori now holds, in civilized society, is mainly due to the steadfast faith and trust in his ultimate capability which nothing could drive from the breast of Samuel Marsden.

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## CHAPTER X.

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### THE FIRST BRITISH RESIDENT. 1833-1840.

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He'd but one care, and that he strove to hide,  
How best for Master Busby to provide.

—Adapted from CRABBE.

THE first official "British Resident" arrived at the Bay of Islands, in H.M.S. *Imogene*, on Sunday, May 5th, 1833. His official landing, in the ship's cutter, with Captain William Blackmore and other ship's officers, under a salute of seven guns, did not take place until Friday the 17th. A large gathering of natives and a feast had been arranged. The proceedings appear to have been of a very formal nature, Mr. Henry Williams acting as interpreter.

After the inevitable war dance, some six or eight chiefs made speeches of welcome.

What was called the King's letter, introducing Mr. Busby, was read by Mr. Busby himself, and a translation of the letter was read by Mr. Williams.

Mr. Busby's own address was also read by him, and translated by Mr. Williams. It was very long and not very interesting or judicious. After the double reading, fifteen speeches were made, blankets and tobacco were given to the chiefs, and beef, potatoes, and stir-about to all. Mr. Busby and the officers of the *Imogene* were much pleased with the arrangements made by the missionaries,

and with the complete and orderly manner in which they were carried out by the natives, and especially with the ball-room style in which Mrs. Tohitapu led the Europeans to their seats.

The appointment of a British Resident in New Zealand had been suggested by Governor Darling; but it was left to his successor, Sir Richard Bourke, to make the appointment and to draw up instructions for the guidance of the first Resident. The natural consequence resulted. The instructions were framed with an eye to Australia, rather than to New Zealand, and the officer appointed was not a man of the calibre equal to the attainment of a leading position in the counsels of such able men as the foremost New Zealand chiefs undoubtedly were. Any knowledge which Governor Bourke may have possessed of the natives of Australia or Tasmania, would only tend to mislead him in providing for the conciliation of New Zealand chiefs. A few pounds of tobacco might be potent in the one case, but something more would be required in the other.

Mr. Busby was instructed to keep an open eye upon escaped convicts, and to distribute £200 a year among the New Zealand chiefs, who, at that price, were to be both his policemen and his magistrates. But the New Zealand chiefs, who had come to the front in the first great struggle with firearms, were astute as they were brave—they were in fact the Wellingtons, and the Gladstones, and the Nelsons of New Zealand; and were not to be conciliated or cajoled by a few clumsily-scattered sugar plums. Such men as Ruatara, Hongi, and Waharoa were not the men to be employed to arrest, without enquiry, satisfactory settlers, and consign them to what, in their estimation, would be far worse than death, because they may have, in their youthful days, snared a hare or found a pheasant's egg. With the translated New Testament in their hands, these guides of their countrymen would feel as capable, and as much at liberty to judge of the morality of British law as Sir Richard Bourke was to judge of theirs.

With so much of the policemen and so little of the statesman in Sir Richard Bourke's instructions, and with so

little power of adaptation to the difficult circumstances in which he was placed, Mr. Busby's appointment naturally proved by no means a success. No one could form a high opinion of Mr. Busby's judgment, as an adviser of his employers, who has read, in the New Zealand Parliamentary papers, his estimate of the Maoris as soldiers, written after four years' residence in New Zealand, and at a time when the Maoris were fairly well supplied with firearms. He writes:—"With regard to the number of troops which it might be necessary to maintain, I think it would require but little knowledge of military tactics to satisfy anyone who has witnessed anything of the warfare of the natives, that one hundred soldiers would be an overmatch for the united force of the whole islands."

If Mr. Busby possessed any great talent it was not devoted to the service of his country so much as to the acquisition of land on his own account, as after leaving the public service, in which he was receiving £500 a year, we find him going over to New South Wales to support, before the Legislative Council of that Colony, a claim for fifty thousand acres of land, purchased at the Bay of Islands, and a site for a township or seaport, which alone he valued at thirty thousand pounds.

For some months he and his wife resided at the Church of England mission station, whilst a house was being erected for them; after which he removed to his own residence, which was on the northern bank of the Waitangi river, a little more than a mile distant from the mission station.

Mr. Carleton aptly describes Mr. Busby as a "man-of-war without guns." He at once proved that he had not the power to gain the confidence either of European settlers and traders or of the natives. We find the former addressing him with rudeness, and one of the latter shooting at him in his own doorway. The Maori who shot at him was not discovered until five months after the crime had been committed; and then we are not a little surprised to find Mr. Henry Williams successfully advising that the punishment should be the confiscation of the culprit's land to the British Government, or to Mr. Busby himself; a proposal certainly not likely to increase the confidence of the natives

in the pure and disinterested character of British justice or of British Residents.

On the 29th of June, 1835, Lieutenant Thomas McDonnell, R.N., was appointed, by Sir Richard Bourke, to be additional British Resident for New Zealand, to reside at Hokianga. He was appointed on the authority of the Secretary of State, who informs him that "no pay would be attached to the office, as in soliciting the office with a view to the great advantage of himself and other residents, all desire of emolument had been disclaimed by Lieutenant McDonnell." He appears to have been about on a par with Mr. Busby in the celerity with which he acquired land, both for himself and for his friends.

On October 10th, 1835, Mr. Busby announced that he had received "from a person who styles himself Charles, Baron De Thierry, Sovereign Chief of New Zealand and King of Nuhuheva," a formal declaration of his intention to establish in his own person an independent sovereignty in New Zealand; which intention he states he has declared to their Majesties the Kings of Great Britain and France, and to the President of the United States, and that he is now awaiting at Otaheite the arrival of an armed ship, from Panama, to enable him to proceed to the Bay of Islands with strength to maintain his assumed authority." Mr. Busby adds that the Baron's assumed authority is founded on invitations given to him by Hongi and other chiefs, and on purchases made for him, in 1822, by Mr. Kendall, the missionary. The British Resident hopes that the pretender will not be allowed to deceive "the simple-minded natives," and that the "British settlers of all classes will use all the influence they possess with the natives of every rank, to inspire both chiefs and people with a spirit of the most determined resistance to the landing of a person on their shores who comes with the avowed intention of assuming a sovereignty over them."

There was nothing exclusively patriotic in Mr. Busby's composition, and it is difficult to believe that he ever dreamed that, either his Majesty of England or their Majesties of New Zealand, would feel any great anxiety about the arrival or the pretensions of "a person who

styles himself Charles, Baron De Thierry." What had no doubt alarmed Mr. Busby was the advent of a rival land dealer, as even the Bay of Islands could not support an unlimited number of claimants for fifty thousand acres or rural and thirty thousand pounds' worth of town land.

Baron De Thierry, through Mr. Kendall, had obtained a very explicit deed conveying to him 40,000 acres, more or less. The deed was signed by three chiefs—Mudi Wai, Patu One, and Nene, and witnessed by James Kerd, master of the *Providence*; Thomas Kendall, missionary; and William Edward Green, first officer of the *Providence*. The purchase was made on August 7th, 1822. The deed was forwarded to England in care of Mr. F. Hall, missionary, and conveyed to the Baron through the Church Mission House in London, in 1823.

Following up his address, Mr. Busby, on August 28, 1835, convened a meeting of chiefs at Waitangi, to resist the claims of the Baron. At this meeting a Constitution Act for New Zealand was signed by 35 chiefs, and witnessed by two missionaries and two merchants—the missionaries being Mr. Henry Williams and Mr. George Clarke. Like many other oligarchies, these chiefs declare that:—

“All sovereign power and authority within the territories of the United Tribes of New Zealand is hereby declared to reside entirely and exclusively in the hereditary chiefs and heads of tribes, in their collective capacity, who also declare that they will not allow any legislative authority, separate from themselves in their collective capacity, to exist, nor any functions of government to be exercised within the said territories, unless by persons appointed by them and acting under the authority of laws regularly enacted by them in congress assembled.”

Having thus excluded the King of England and every person appointed by him, including Mr. Busby himself, from rights and powers of every kind, they nevertheless go on to express a hope “that the King would continue to be the parent of their infant State, and that he would be its protector from all attempts upon its independence.”

In March, 1837, a petition, in opposition to these views of Mr. Busby and the chiefs, was sent to the King of

England, praying that his Majesty would take the necessary powers on himself, or confer them on some representative of his own, to protect his "humble, faithful, obedient, and loyal subjects;" and adds:—"It has been considered that the confederate tribes of New Zealand were competent to enact laws for the proper government of this land, whereby protection would be afforded in all cases of necessity; but experience evidently shows that in the infant state of the country this cannot be accomplished or expected. It is acknowledged by the chiefs themselves to be impracticable. Your petitioners, therefore, feel persuaded that considerable time must elapse before the chiefs of this land can be capable of exercising the duties of an independent government."

This was signed by 142 settlers, including twenty-two Church of England and four Wesleyan missionaries.

After all, Baron De Thierry did not make his appearance in New Zealand until November 4th, 1837.

He then landed at Hokianga from a vessel trading for timber, with 93 followers, most of whom had been picked up in Sydney. No provision had been made for their retention in his service, nor for their food supply, but nothing serious happened in consequence of the Baron's improvidence, as they soon got food and employment elsewhere, and assisted in the general ridicule of the man who had brought them to New Zealand. He announced himself as "a friend, a brother, and a protector to the settlers." His land claims were of little value, for which he blamed his agent Kendall; but Waka Nene, who was one of the chiefs who signed the 40,000 acre conveyance, gave him about a thousand acres, which the Baron admitted was not a bad return for the 36 axes paid for the 40,000 acres which he expected to receive. On this land he lived a quiet life, although he was always fond of using his pen with more pretence than useful force. The best thing he is reported to have written is some very good advice to the Wesleyans as to the undoubted right of the French Catholic Bishop and his flock to hold any opinions they pleased on the subject of religion, however wrong either he or the Wesleyans might suppose those opinions

to be. In fact, on a nearer sight, Mr. Busby must have seen that the Baron was only one of those common pretenders who are very harmless when simply left alone.

Mr. Busby continued to receive £500, or rather £700 a year from the British Government, and most industriously to bargain with the Maoris for large landed estates for himself at the Bay of Islands, until the arrival of Lieutenant Governor Hobson, in 1840; after which he found his presence necessary in Sydney, where he laboured very boldly, but not with entire success, to convince the Legislative Council of that colony that his land claims in New Zealand were of the most moderate and legitimate character.

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## CHAPTER XI.

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THE WAKEFIELDS. 1838-1840.

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He's true to God who's true to man ; whenever wrong is done  
To the humblest and the weakest 'neath the all-beholding sun,  
That wrong is also done to us ; and low should be their place  
Whose love of right is for themselves, and not for all their race.

—LOWELL (altered.)

ABOUT 1828 Edward Gibbon Wakefield began to write his well-known theories of colonisation. Like Cobbett, he had been writing and reflecting in prison ; but, unlike Cobbett, he had no reason to parade or to be proud of the cause of his residence in Newgate ; so that, for several years, his name was not attached to his theories. But his writings were very able, and his theory of colonisation was attractive to land owners and speculators, and was soon supported by noblemen and members of Parliament to an extent which tempted Wakefield from his concealment and ultimately formed an influential party, in favour of his theories, which had to be reckoned with by the Party Government of the day.

After some experiments in South Australia and Canada, a New Zealand Association was formed, in 1837, in which the names of many public men and members of Parliament appeared. In June 1838, a bill for forming a British Colony in New Zealand was brought into the House of Commons by Mr. Francis Baring. In its early stages, it was not opposed by the Government, and the first reading

was carried, by 74 votes against 23. But the Government soon discovered that they would lose more votes by supporting than by opposing the bill, and consequently it was lost on the second reading by 92 votes against 32.

The bill was strongly opposed by Mr. Dandeson Coates, the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, and the foundation was thus laid for that potent hostility between that Society and the New Zealand Company, which was soon to be blown into a flame by the conduct of Colonel Wakefield. There were many objections to the bill as it stood; but some bill was necessary, and the absence of any legislation left New Zealand to suffer all the natural consequence of rival claims to authority. No country ever suffered so much as New Zealand from merely careless, ignorant, thoughtless vacillation by successive Governments. The English navigator, Cook, was the first to land and to explore and to survey the country, to erect monuments of his formal entry, to fire the usual salutes and to report all his proceedings in that direction to the world without provoking any counter claims. The Government had appointed Mr. Kendall and other magistrates in 1814. Thus the Islands had so far been consistently claimed, and no counter claim had been fabricated; but in 1817, the British Parliament passed a law to punish crimes committed in New Zealand whilst in that very law it declared that New Zealand was not within his Majesty's dominions. In 1832, it appointed a British Resident, and, at the same time, informed him that no power or authority to act could be based on his appointment by them. In 1839 they appointed a Lieutenant-Governor, and, after his appointment, that Lieutenant-Governor, on seeing a French vessel off the coast, thought it necessary to play the French captain a low trick in order to proclaim British sovereignty at Akaroa, before the French Commander should claim the same authority for France.

Mr. E. G. Wakefield was not a timid man nor a great respecter of laws; and, having persuaded Lord Durham to act as Governor, and Mr. Joseph Somes as Deputy-Governor, he determined to form a "New Zealand Company," which, without further consultation with

Ministers or Parliament, should colonize New Zealand and employ him and his relatives in work congenial to their natural tastes.

As so very much has been said both for and against the Wakefields, and as that family were responsible for most of the early actions of the New Zealand Company, it will be well to state something of their family characteristics. It has been usual to call them all clever men. Most persons are clever at something, and none are clever at everything. The family, of which Edward Gibbon Wakefield was the leader, were all clever writers and fairly good public speakers. In executive power they were all deficient, and they all underrated the value of truth and consistency, and the power of other persons to see and to estimate the deficiencies which they thought were completely concealed in their own characters. In the power of self-restraint, the different members of the family differed widely, and ranked accordingly in the estimation of their contemporaries. The clever pens produced documents which were readily signed by wiser and better men than their authors—the want of executive power caused all their plausible theories to be tried at a disadvantage, and their defects to be early exposed; and the revelation of bad faith, which resulted, called forth expressions of indignation, in which the comparatively innocent were often confounded with the guilty.

The Secretary appointed by E. G. Wakefield was a clever youth, under 20 years of age, who signed all documents as "Frances Dillon Bell, Secretary *pro. tem.*" Before an acre of land had been legally acquired by the Company, the capitalists of Britain were invited to hand their cash to the landless Company, and to draw lots for the order of choice in which their demands were to be met. Free cabin passages were offered to the holders of land orders of the value of £300. All these promises were signed by the *pro. tem.* Secretary who was not yet of age.

In April, 1839, the ship *Tory*, 400 tons, was quietly sent off to New Zealand, with a brother and son of E. G. Wakefield, Dr. Ernest Dieffenbach, naturalist, and Mr. Charles Heaphy, draughtsman to the Company. A Maori, named

Neti, who had been residing as a servant in Wakefield's residence for two years, was to act as interpreter. Amongst the ship's crew there was also a Maori. They had instructions to sail for Ship's Cove, in Queen Charlotte's Sound, and to purchase land from the natives as honestly and as expeditiously as possible. The only instructions which Colonel Wakefield is known to have received, and no doubt the only ones for which the New Zealand Company, as a Company, were responsible, were perfectly honorable and straightforward, and contained a condition of far more intrinsic and substantial value to the natives than anything which had ever been offered by any previous purchasers. The Colonel was instructed to be strictly truthful in all his statements to the natives, and to take care that every native interested was consulted, and received a fair share of the payments; and, above all, he was to let them understand, that, for every ten acres appropriated by the Europeans, "one acre was to be returned to the chief families of the tribe by whom the land was originally sold." No negotiation was to be completed until "thoroughly understood by the native proprietor and by the tribe at large." The missionaries especially were to be consulted and treated with every respect.

It was of course far more easy to frame these instructions than it would be to strictly carry them out, especially as Colonel Wakefield was bound to get land, and to get it quickly and Gibbon Wakefield would quite understand that his brother was not the man who would be left behind in the race of purchasers, for the sake of very strictly complying with such instructions. But, what was really the most offensive feature in this part of the Company's transactions, and the one most felt by the most conscientious missionaries, was, that whilst the missionaries and their friends had for many years suffered every disadvantage in all their transactions rather than supply the natives with firearms and ammunition; the *Tory* now came loaded with both, for the avowed purpose of distributing them to the natives in exchange for land. No one can wonder that Gibbon Wakefield's Company chose to bring out the articles most likely to be appreciated by the owners of the land they

came to purchase. Firearms were now common, and in the hands of both races. The New Zealand ports were free for all articles and to all races, and whatever articles were given to the natives for their land could easily have been exchanged by them for firearms and gunpowder. But still we cannot wonder, that, after the long self-denying stand the missionaries had taken against the fatal weapons, they bitterly felt how completely the object of all their heroic forbearance was now defeated. The public instructions which had been given to Colonel Wakefield enjoined him and all his officers to treat the missionaries with the utmost respect, as due to their unselfish efforts for the improvement of the Maoris; but, in this, Colonel Wakefield entirely failed, and, in so doing, he hardened against himself and his Company a powerful and well-informed body of men, whom the Maoris and the most intelligent and well-disposed Europeans, both in England and in New Zealand, were prepared to trust and to believe,

At Queen Charlotte's Sound Colonel Wakefield met with and employed a Pakeha Maori, named Barrett, who shunned the missionaries and was shunned by them, and this connection no doubt gave a very undesirable bias and a one-sidedness to most of the Colonel's transactions with the Maoris, which still further widened the breach between himself and the missionaries. To the superficial observer, nothing could appear more unwise than Colonel Wakefield's disregard of his formal instructions to consult and to conciliate the missionaries; but it was not carelessness nor blindness that drove Wakefield away from the missionaries, and urged him on to his rapid purchases with all their consequent incompleteness. He had a danger to avoid of far more serious consequence to him and to his relatives than defective titles would be. To receive cash in England for land which the Company did not possess, and could not suppose that they did possess, was simply an act of obtaining money under false pretences, for which that Company could be at any time prosecuted; and, although his brother had persuaded men whom no one would like to prosecute, to be President, Vice-President and Directors of his Company, it was clearly altogether too dangerous to remain

any longer without something which might at least be mistaken for a title to the land, for which so much cash had been received by the Company. So that, besides the barrier which existed in the offensive firearms, here was a difficulty which it would not be safe to ask Henry Williams to understand or to appreciate; and a danger in which delay would be more certainly fatal than rashness.

Still Mr. Henry Williams was not justified in representing to the Governor that Barrett was not competent for the work at which Colonel Wakefield employed him, or in saying that "he only understood a few Maori words in the most common way." "The most common way" of understanding Maori was, no doubt, what Colonel Wakefield wanted his interpreter to know. He was not constructing a Maori grammar, and he was justified in believing that a very shrewd man, who had been ten years in Maori society, and married to the daughter of a Maori chief, would understand the meaning of common Maori words even better than one who had learned to talk the language from a book. It must also be remembered that Wakefield had brought out with him two Maoris, and that he found Barrett more competent, and even better understood by the Maoris, than either of them. We can easily believe that Barrett was not more fastidious in his choice of words or means than Wakefield himself; but we cannot believe that, with all his long advantages, "he only understood a few Maori words." Nor can Colonel Wakefield be blamed for seeking the assistance of some interpreter who was not connected with the Church Missionary Society. He knew that the strong hostility of the English President of that Society, Mr. Dandeson Coates, to the New Zealand Company, was more or less reflected by all the officers of that Society; but especially by Mr. Henry Williams, who was not exactly a counterpart of Marsden, nor a member of the Peace Society; and who was also a large rival land purchaser both officially and privately.

By the aid of Barrett, Colonel Wakefield soon succeeded in effecting some very extensive purchases at a very small cost, by simply satisfying the claims of the few reputed owners who happened to be easily found; and entirely

ignoring all the complicated claims which were being multiplied, day by day, as New Zealand land was proved to be, what it had never been considered before, a valuable and saleable article. As to the moral equity of any of the Maori land titles, nothing could be said in their favour—the most recent, the most artful and the most destructive bush-ranger was the present owner of the land, so long as no more successful murderer could take it from him. The most important chief to be dealt with, in the neighbourhood of Cook Strait, the principal and most recent owner, and the recipient of the largest share of Wakefield's firearms, was the inhuman torturer, Rauparaha. Even Colonel Wakefield thinks it necessary to explain the supply of arms to "this old savage." To the Company he writes:—

"In resolving to visit this old savage, however strong my repugnance to his character and practices, I am more led by the hope of acquiring his land, upon which to locate a society which shall put an end to his reign, than by any good wishes to him.....No scruples would have deterred me from putting ever so large a quantity of firearms in their possession, as I feel sure that, in this case, they will not only prevent a war of aggression, on the part of their enemies, but that they will be readily supplied by some party from Sydney, desiring the land in case the owners determine to become the attacking force.....It will be a most fortunate thing for any settlement formed hereabout, when Rauparaha dies, for with his life only will end his mischievous scheming and insatiable cupidity."

On November 8th, 1839, thirty chiefs were induced to sign a conveyance of "The lands on both sides of Cook's Strait bounded on the south by the parallel of the 43rd degree of south latitude and on the north-west and east by the sea, and also comprising all those lands, islands, tenements, &c., situated on the northern shore of the said Cook's Strait, which are bounded on the north-east by a direct line drawn from the southern head of the river or harbour of Mokau, situated on the west coast in latitude of about 38° south, to Titukahare, situated on the east coast, in the latitude of about 41° south and on the east, south and west by the sea, excepting always the island of Kapiti and



EDWARD GIBBON WAKEFIELD.



the small islands adjacent thereto, and the island of Mana, but including Tahukahare, Wairarapa, Port Nicholson, Otaki, Manawatu, Rangitiki, Wanganui, Waitotara, Patea, Ngatiruanui, Taranaki, Moturoa and the several sugar-loaf islands and the river or harbour of Mokau." Amongst the articles given in payment for all this land were 60 muskets, 10 single and 3 double barrel guns, 40 kegs of gunpowder, 2 kegs of lead slabs and 1000 flints; but no rum or other spirits were supplied in any of the Company's purchases.

Colonel Wakefield made no pretence of having completely satisfied every possible or probable claimant. Before he had been a fortnight in New Zealand, he wrote to the Company "The laws of property are very undefined in New Zealand. Neither Rauparaha nor Hiko possesses the power of absolute disposal of any portion of land in the Strait. Great confusion exists respecting vested rights." But all his surroundings compelled him to do the best he could without delay. Swarms of land speculators from Australia were coming to buy up the whole country. Henry Williams had warned the natives not to sell their land at all. Sydney settlers claimed to have already purchased the whole of the South Island and much of the North, and H. Williams was purchasing himself the very little level land adjoining the harbour of Port Nicholson. Wakefield knew also that the action of his Company must soon force the British Government to take some decided steps, which might leave the Company without any land with which to satisfy the just and legal claims of those who were paying cash for it in England. No one can wonder, that, in such circumstances, he preferred an incomplete title to no title at all, or that he was determined to do all he could to obstruct the acquisition of New Zealand by Australian speculators.

Hurrying away from Kapiti, Wakefield proceeded north with Barrett, and finding, as he tells his brother, that as "all the chiefs whose consent was necessary for the transfer of the land extending from Manawatu to Mokau could not be brought together under at least a week," he hurried on to Hokianga, leaving Barrett to carry on that purchase, the incompleteness of which was soon to cost the Colony so much in reputation, blood and treasure.

At Hokianga, a Maori widow sold him a worthless copy of a conveyance, and the Baron de Thierry gave him a list of his wrongs. But land was purchased in great quantity, and Wakefield returned to Taranaki to find that Barrett had given the large number of claimants "a liberal price for their land."

Meantime, the daring activity of the Wakefield Company had forced the hand of the British Government, and compelled them to appoint a Lieutenant-Governor.

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## CHAPTER XII.

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### THE TREATY OF WAITANGI.

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“I have ventured,  
Like little wanton boys that swim on bladders,  
For three short summers in a sea of glory,  
But far beyond my depth.”

—SHAKESPEARE.

On June 13th—two months after the *Tory* had been secretly dispatched by the New Zealand Company—we are told that “circumstances appeared to the Marquis of Normanby and to Viscount Palmerston to force upon her Majesty’s Government the adoption of measures for establishing some British authority in New Zealand.”

On July 30th, Captain William Hobson was appointed Lieutenant Governor of New Zealand. On August 14th he received his instructions. On January 29th, 1840, he arrived at the Bay of Islands in H.M.S. *Herald*. On February 6th, he laid the foundation of some of the worst troubles and disasters of New Zealand by attaching his name, on behalf of the Queen of England, to the never-to-be-forgotten

#### TREATY OF WAITANGI.

“HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA, Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, regarding with her royal favour the native chiefs and tribes of New Zealand, and anxious to protect their just rights and property, and to secure to them the enjoyment of peace and good order, has deemed it necessary in consequence of the great number of Her Majesty’s subjects who have already settled in New Zealand, and the rapid extension of emigration, both from Europe and Australia, which is still in progress, to constitute and appoint a functionary properly authorised

to treat with the aborigines of New Zealand for the recognition of Her Majesty's sovereign authorities over the whole or any part of those islands. Her Majesty, therefore, being desirous to establish a settled form of Civil Government, with a view to avert the evil consequences which must result from the absence of the necessary laws and institutions alike to the native population and to her subjects, has been graciously pleased to empower and to authorise me, William Hobson, a captain in Her Majesty's Royal Navy, Consul and Lieutenant-Governor of such parts of New Zealand as may be, or hereafter shall be, ceded to Her Majesty, to invite the confederated chiefs of New Zealand, to concur in the following articles and conditions:—

“ARTICLE THE FIRST.

“The chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand, and the separate and independent chiefs who have not become members of the Confederation, cede to Her Majesty the Queen of England, absolutely and without reservation, all the rights and powers of sovereignty which the said Confederation or individual chiefs respectively exercise or possess, or may be supposed to exercise or to possess over their territories as the sole sovereigns thereof.”

“ARTICLE THE SECOND.

“Her Majesty the Queen of England confirms and guarantees to the chiefs and tribes of New Zealand, and to the respective families and individuals thereof, the full exclusive and undisputed possession of their lands and estates, forests, fisheries and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess, so long as it is their wish and desire to retain the same in their possession; but the chiefs of the United Tribes and the individual chiefs yield to Her Majesty the exclusive right of pre-emption over such lands as the proprietors thereof may be disposed to alienate, at such prices as may be agreed upon between the respective proprietors and persons appointed by Her Majesty to treat with them in that behalf.”

“ARTICLE THE THIRD.

“In consideration thereof, Her Majesty the Queen of England extends to the natives of New Zealand her royal protection, and imparts to them all the rights and privileges of British subjects.”

W. HOBSON,

“*Lieutenant-Governor.*”

“Now, therefore, we, the chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand, being assembled in Congress at Victoria, in Waitangi, and we, the separate and independent chiefs of New Zealand claiming authority over the tribes and territories which are specified after our respective names, having been made fully to understand the provisions of the foregoing treaty, accept and enter into the same in the full spirit and meaning thereof. In witness of which we have attached our signatures and marks at the places and the dates respectively specified.

“Done at Waitangi, this Sixth day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty.”

Lieutenant-Governor Hobson was a conscientious, aimable, sensitive, simple-minded man, with no force of character, no experience except as a naval officer, and with no natural taste or capacity for public business or for political organization. In the days of responsible governments, such a Governor might have been welcomed, happy and harmless; but to appoint him in the hope that he would, on his own responsibility, be able to hold a steady course through all the baffling forces of a half civilized and wholly disorganized country, was simply to insure disastrous failure, by appointing a Lady Jane Grey to accomplish the work of a Cromwell.

On landing, he at once fell into the hands of Mr. Henry Williams. He might have fallen into worse hands; as Mr. Williams was a very courageous, hard-headed and fairly clear-sighted man; but he was by no means a statesman, nor even a politician, and very far from being an unprejudiced adviser where the New Zealand Company or any other rival land purchaser was concerned, or as to the amount of political power which should be left in the hands of the Church Missionary Society. In fact, he was pretty sure to go as far wrong in one direction as Colonel Wakefield had gone in the other.

The first and the worst effect of Mr. Williams' guidance was perpetuated in the Treaty of Waitangi. By that treaty about 500 chiefs were taught to believe that the whole of the land contained in the islands of New Zealand belonged to them, and to them only. No right to land, in ever so small a quantity, was conveyed or reserved to any Maori, as a Maori, nor to any improver of either race, as an improver. The only title for all future time was to be the fact that, on the sixth day of February, 1840, they or their fathers were the last to have killed, or driven out, or eaten, the former occupants of some small part of the land in question. Nineteen-twentieths of the land thus conveyed had never been utilised in any way, or for any purpose by any of them. The idea of property in land had only been conveyed to their minds within the last few years, and was, at first, very naturally associated by them with an equal right to sell the salt water in the ocean. It was a very rare

thing to see as much as five acres of land cultivated by a whole tribe of Maoris ; and they soon found out that the same land would not bear cropping long ; so that they seldom attempted more than two crops of potatoes from the same land ; and they always feared to grow anything like as much as they could have eaten, lest it should tempt some stronger tribe to come and eat their potatoes and them too. When they found that Marsden would give them 50 axes for 11,000 acres of land, and that Wakefield would give them as many muskets for a million acres, they, of course, began to set a value upon what they found to be a marketable article, and were ready to fight about it ; so that, if the Treaty of Waitangi had been at once followed up by the purchase of all the land by the Government, at the prices which were then so attractive, the harm of the treaty might have ended in making drunkards, for the time being at least, of most of the chiefs. By firmly refusing to give a title to any of the land speculators, who had done and were still doing so much mischief, all the land could at once have been placed in the right hands, and each Maori could have been made secure and comfortable, beyond anything known by his race before, by an inalienable title to fifty acres of land, to himself, his heirs and assigns for ever, for each man, woman, and child.

It would have been too much to expect that the legislators and landlords of England would have supported a policy which declined to recognise the exclusive claims of the strong arm ; and it may be said, with some truth, that the strong arms were what had here to be conciliated. But what might have been done, and what most clearly should have been done, was to draw a very distinct line between land which the Maoris were prepared to use, to cultivate, or at least to beneficially occupy, as distinguished from land which they may or may not have heard of, but for which they may have been taught to entertain that mere greedy desire so common to our acquisitive nature to monopolise, to sell, or to withhold from others.

Both Maoris and Europeans, even though they should be landlords or slaveholders, are, for the most part, quite prepared to admit some difference between the claims of the

starving ox who needs the hay for his subsistence, and that of the surly dog who cannot eat it himself, but who can derive pleasure in withholding it from those who do need it.

But, whilst providing for the Maoris as a whole, and for the present and future immigrants to whom land was a necessity of existence, the 500 chiefs, whom it was so desirable to conciliate, might have been treated with the utmost liberality. They might even have been urged to put themselves in a position to claim all the land for which they could show any useful purpose in view, either for themselves, their dependents, or their slaves. Nor would it have taken long to have shown them how immensely the value of the land so occupied would be increased, and how securely it would be held, by the remainder of the country being ceded to a first-class power, and improved by the industry of a civilised population.

On the same principle, the daring claims of such land-graspers as Clendon, Busby, Fairburn, Wentworth, Rhodes and Henry Williams to have purchased all the seaports or keys of the country, should have been ignored as disastrous in their effect, dishonest in their aim, and unreasonable in their extent.

In reality, the Maori mind was more open to considerations of justice and policy in the regulation of land claims, than the minds of Englishmen are apt to be. Centuries of land monopoly have had a bad effect on our education in that respect. With all the efforts made by the huge land claimants to induce the Maoris to dispute all claims of purchase by the New Zealand Company, the Government, or any firm but their own, the fact remains that hardly any purchases were disputed, except where resistance was provoked by some attempt to insist on the surrender of land which they had in some way occupied and felt to be their own; or which was more or less associated with their ancestors, their subsistence, their comfort or their convenience. This was seen at Port Nicholson, at Taranaki, at the Wairau, at the Grey and at Dunedin. Colonel Wakefield might have avoided most of his difficulties under this head if he had been wise enough never to have claimed that any land honestly occupied by the Maoris had been

included in his wholesale latitude and longitude purchases. Such a concession, under the circumstances, would have been wisely liberal, and would have saved him some of his greatest troubles ; would have guarded his own reputation and that of his employers ; and would have prevented incalculable suffering and injustice to the New Zealand Company's settlers.

Nothing could have been more unwise and impolitic than to refuse the most ready recognition of every claim made by a *bonâ fide* Maori occupier of the soil ; nothing could be more demoralising to the Maoris, or more certain to raise great future difficulties, than any suggestion of a sovereign right in land which they had never seen, and with which they had been in no way associated. Land which was only made accessible by the industry of the European settlers.

Neither the Government nor the Company should have allowed any Maori to be disturbed in the possession of any land which he had cultivated or improved in any way, except in the few cases where they had settled on the only spot required or available for a landing-place or wharf, which could always have been arranged for with liberality, and with great advantage to the improving settlers, whilst their burial-grounds should, of course, have been held at least as sacred as our own.

Such arrangements would have been infinitely ' more humane than the exaggerated recognition of only the blood-stained hands of those who had been most successful in killing, eating, or enslaving their own countrymen ; and would have saved millions which have since been expended in wars, upon Native land-courts, and in the purchase of Native lands. The chiefs could not have quarrelled with the Government for not giving a title to any but their own purchasers, and to the individual Maoris ; and no purchaser from the Maoris would have had any useful title without the recognition of the Government. If Mr. Henry Williams had set his brains to work to devise an agreement which would reward murder, foster and perpetuate tyranny and slavery, demoralise the chiefs, instigate warfare, impoverish the tax-payers of New Zealand, and leave the

main body of the Maoris unprotected and unprovided for, he could have found nothing more effectual than his Treaty of Waitangi.

Even supposing that, under very bad advice from Mr. Williams and his colleagues, the Maori chiefs had refused at the moment to recognise the immense advantages they would derive from living under the protection and security offered by a powerful and civilised Government. The Governor's course should clearly have been to take himself and his Government to the South Island, where the Maoris were too few to be dangerous, and to leave the North Island chiefs to kill each other a few years longer, until the remnant had their eyes sufficiently opened to see that a mere fraction of the New Zealand lands, securely and peacefully owned, would be wealth and comfort indeed compared with the insecurity of constantly driving or being driven from each attempted home at the point of the bayonet, and consequently endeavouring to subsist upon fern-root, for want of the secure tenure necessary to permit cultivation.

The only value which the unoccupied waste land of New Zealand had, in the estimation of these chiefs, at that time, was the power to sell it ; and the power to sell had originated entirely with the prospect of civilised government, which alone could give valuable right of possession. That right of possession no wise Government would have given to any but those who complied with the conditions necessary to secure the peace, order, comfort, and prosperity of its loyal and obedient subjects, of either or of any race.

The vagueness of the Treaty was, perhaps, its most objectionable feature. It is highly probable that neither Governor Hobson nor Mr. Williams ever intended that the words "lands which they may collectively or individually possess" should be extended to mean lands which they never did possess, which they had never seen or heard of, and which they never would have seen or heard of had not the industry and enterprise of a civilised race of settlers, long afterwards, made them accessible and ultimately valuable. All the circumstances and surroundings under which the Treaty of Waitangi was made called for the utmost caution ; and should have precluded the use of any

such vague and undefined expressions in dealing with men, who had, for many generations, been accustomed to settle every dispute or misunderstanding with wholesale and indiscriminate slaughter and midnight assassinations. Bad as was the Treaty itself, we shall see, as we progress with the history of New Zealand, that its effect was made far worse than it need have been by the extreme and inconsistent interpretations put upon it by lawyers, paid by the tax-payers of New Zealand to watch over the interests of the Maoris; and by the vacillating legislation, sometimes swayed by the supposed interests of influential land speculators, and sometimes by the hope of party leaders to obtain the four Maori votes, not unfrequently necessary to secure a majority in the House of Representatives.

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## CHAPTER XIII.

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### THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT. 1840—1841.

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“I could have wished to have been born in a country where the people and the Sovereign have only one interest—where all the movements of the political machine tend to the common good ; which can only happen when the people and the sovereign are one.”—ROUSSEAU.

THE first and ablest Napoleon has told us, that, for the command of the same army, or for the safe accomplishment of any great undertaking, one bad general is better than two good ones. In other words, men often support each other in going further wrong than one man will venture to go alone. We constantly see companies, and corporations, and boards, and committees, doing things more wicked, or more stupid than any one man, however stupid or wicked, would be likely to venture on alone ; but of all the aggregations for the production of bad results we can most safely rely upon the alternate dictates of party governments and party oppositions, or upon men bent, not upon doing good themselves but upon preventing their opponents from doing any, especially when the will of men so placed is carried out through some active subordinate, only responsible to please his employers.

In 1840, the European settlers in New Zealand were dependent for justice upon the New Zealand Company, and

that Company was powerless to do justice to them unless it could itself obtain justice from the Whigs or the Tories who alternately held the government above them, and from the Wakefields below them, who were directed to carry out instructions at the other side of the world, but who sometimes thought that they knew better what should be done than their employers.

The Governor of New Zealand, at that time, both nominally and really, was Sir George Gipps. The nominal Lieutenant-Governor was Captain William Hobson. The Governor's main object was to thwart in every possible way the proposals and wishes of the New Zealand Company. The Lieutenant-Governor's object would have been to comply with the wishes of Sir George Gipps; but naturally weak, laid up, and partially paralyzed, he was induced to leave his duties for a long and very important time, in the hands of a young man appointed by Sir George Gipps, and quite prepared to carry out that Governor's hostile intentions towards the New Zealand Company, and to exhibit his utter indifference to the welfare of the New Zealand Company's settlers. Add to all these contending forces, the honest and open, although mistaken, hostility of Mr. Dandeson Coates, the English President of the Church Missionary Society, and the more effective animosity of the better informed but less disinterested representative of that Society in New Zealand; and we find about as complete a combination of obstacles to anything like wise or salutary administration, as the ingenuity of man could well have brought together. The results of such a combination were what any experienced man would have expected them to be; and to them may be traced, either directly or indirectly, nearly all the great public calamities which were suffered by the early settlers of New Zealand. The appointments of the weak Hobson, the offensive Shortland, and the eccentric Fitzroy; the Treaty of Waitangi; placing the seat of government completely at the mercy of the war-loving Maoris, and out of reach of the European settlers; sending the Wellington immigrants to found a city, and to conduct an agricultural settlement amongst the abrupt mountains of Port Nicholson;

threatening, for years, to confine the New Zealand Company's settlers to 110,000 acres of those mountains; ordering the Nelson surveyors to go to Blind Bay, and to Blind Bay only, to find a block of 221,000 acres of good agricultural land amongst the rocks and precipices which surround that bay; keeping the land purchasers of both the companies first settlements, for years, without the land which they had paid for before leaving England; the Wairoa massacre; the sudden stoppage of payment by the New Zealand Company, and the consequent semi-starvation of the first Nelson settlers; the unlimited supply of arms to the Maoris, and the insolvent condition of the public treasury; were some of the natural products of the chaos which was produced by the contending hostile forces which were so long arrayed against each other, with such dire effect upon the settlement and government of New Zealand.

Unequal as Governor Hobson would have been, under any circumstances, to the arduous duties imposed upon him, there can be no doubt that his surroundings were of a peculiarly unfortunate nature, or that the paralytic stroke which he suffered, before he had been in New Zealand a month, left him without the power to take great responsibilities upon his own shoulders, or to meet with fortitude the violent, and too deeply felt, personal attacks that were made upon him up to the day of his early death. On May 25th, 1840, he has to inform the Secretary of State for the Colonies:—

“On the first of March I was attacked by violent illness, occasioned by harassing duties and by long exposure to wet, which partially paralyzed my right arm and leg.”

For nearly twelve months the Governor resided at the Bay of Islands; but, in September, without having seen the locality to which the main body of European settlers were being sent by the New Zealand Company, he decided to purchase land at Waitemata on which to fix the seat of Government. Some officers were sent to hoist the British flag there, which they did in September, 1840.

Thus, before the important duty of deciding upon the proper site for the seat of Government had been preformed,

the man on whom that great responsibility had been placed, was lying a helpless invalid at Russell, in the Bay of Islands, and apparently, with no one about him connected with his official staff, who was at all qualified to be entrusted to act as his substitute. The men who came to New Zealand with Lieutenant-Governor Hobson were all appointed by his superior, Sir George Gipps.

They were described as George Cooper, Esq., Collector of Customs and Treasurer; salary £600 a year. Felton Matthew, Esq., Acting Surveyor-General, salary £400. Willoughby Shortland, Esq., Police Magistrate; salary £300. Mr. James S. Freeman, second class clerk; Mr. Samuel Edward Grimstone, third class clerk. A Sergeant and four troopers of the mounted police. Considering that bread was sevenpence, beef one shilling and fourpence, cheese two shillings, tea ten shillings per lb., and one small room, unfurnished, twenty shillings a week, Willoughby Shortland, Esq. does not appear to have been paid at all extravagantly for his administration of justice in those days. What the second and third class clerks received we are not told, nor can we judge exactly what they were worth; but first class carpenters were getting twenty shillings a day. It will be seen that the Lieutenant Governor had no secretary, and there was evidently no person suitable, nor at liberty, to do his work when he so early broke down. Nor do we hear that Governor Sir George Gipps made any effort to supply the deficiency, even after the state of the Lieutenant Governor's health became known to him.

Henry Williams was away south, and perhaps his own large-landed interests, being principally in the extreme north, made him feel that he was not the right person to come very prominently forward as an adviser in a business in which he could hardly be supposed to be, either personally or officially, disinterested. Still, Mr. Williams had distinctly given his opinion that the narrow isthmus, lying between the harbours of Waitemata and Manukau, would be the best site for the seat of Government; and, if we could suppose that it was right to fix the seat of Government at the extreme north of the territory to be governed, and where the Government would long be entirely at the mercy of the

Maoris, Mr. Williams was undoubtedly right. The advantage of having a harbour, both on the east and on the west coast, and access by sheltered water carriage to numerous bays and inlets, giving an immense supply of useful timber and every facility for trade with the Maoris and other country settlers, made the present side of Auckland far superior to that of either Russell or Churchill, which the Governor had previously appeared alternately to favour, and at which land speculators had been tempted into some bad investments. This superiority was at once seen by Hobson when he was, after some six months' delay, able to visit the spot himself, and he accordingly directed the construction of the necessary buildings and the prosecution of surveys. The instantaneous manner in which he abandoned his earlier sites, for the better site pointed out by Henry Williams, was creditable to his judgment, where his profession as a naval officer would assist him, and to his openness to conviction by the logic of facts ; but we are still compelled to condemn the prejudice which caused him to decide upon any site so far from the centre of his dominions, without even looking further south. The only reason which could be assigned for such conduct, would be the supposition that he thought it necessary to reside near to the Maori population at any sacrifice to the European settlers. If this was his idea, nothing could be more mistaken.

At the date of the Governor's arrival, the missionaries had got the best part of the Maoris well in hand, and were doing remarkably well with them. A wise man would have interfered as little as possible with them, and would have gladly aimed to concentrate the European population at some favourable centre at a considerable distance from the missionaries and their well-regulated flocks. Common sense and common prudence required that the Europeans in New Zealand should have been settled as compactly together as possible, not in a semi-tropical climate, but on a spot favourable to English constitutions, habits and pursuits. Such a locality would not have been difficult to find, and had in fact been very nearly indicated by Cook himself, and described by him as the best he had ever seen.

It was almost close to Colonel Wakefield when he first came to New Zealand, and should have been chosen by him, as it must have been known to Barrett. In choosing Port Nicholson for a settlement, Wakefield was probably influenced by the opinions expressed to him before leaving England. But, in making such a choice, he sacrificed almost everything else to the one advantage of a capacious harbour; and Hobson was no doubt quite right in refusing to go to a place where there was no room for profitable agricultural settlement. What Port Nicholson has now become, she has been made only by an enormous outlay of borrowed money, connecting the port with land not naturally, or even easily, accessible; and neither Wakefield nor Hobson had any right to calculate upon such an expenditure as that. But the fact of Port Nicholson, with its fine harbour and central position, being the wrong place for the seat of government, did not make the north of Auckland, with its two harbours and out-of-the-way position, the right one; and such a site would never have been chosen but for the miserable antagonism towards Colonel Wakefield and the New Zealand Company so constantly displayed by Governor Gipps, and so eagerly carried out by all his nominees.

What Hobson ought to have done was to go to the Picton Harbour, where he would have found better shelter for shipping than at Port Nicholson, one of the very best climates in the world, thousands of acres of good grain-growing land, immediately accessible by boats, with sheltered water carriage, hundreds of little bays adjacent to timber, coal and gold, and with easy lines for rail or road communication, through some of the best grain-growing land in New Zealand to the extensive plains of Canterbury, Otago and Southland. If such a natural site had been chosen for the seat of Government, in the first instance, no change could ever have been required; millions of wasted public money would have been saved; and a good, paying and useful line of railway would now have existed from the north to the south of the Middle Island. Nothing would have induced any friendly Governor of common foresight and prudence, to divide the European population into a

number of weak, rival settlements ; and to locate the seat of his Government in the midst of 40,000 warlike, hardy savages, careless of their own or any other life, and with nothing else to lose ; where more than 2000 men, women, and children, with all the encumbrances of civilisation, were to be entirely at their mercy. We need not say that, under existing circumstances, it would have been a miracle indeed if the welfare of the New Colony had been consulted at all, in the selection of a site for the seat of Government. Far less could it be hoped that any disinterested and far-seeing intelligence would be brought to bear on a choice so vitally important to the future of New Zealand.

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## CHAPTER XIV.

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### THE FIRST NEW ZEALAND COMPANY'S SETTLEMENT, WELLINGTON. 1840-1842.

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“Let the Government wisely pursue the elevated course which is marked out before it. Let it be deaf to calumny, blind to impediments, and prepared for sacrifices; let it seek not the good of a sect in religion, nor of a party in the state, but the good of the nation as a whole; and it shall be sustained by a nation's will, and enthroned on a nation's devoted affections.”  
—BURKE.

FIVE months after the arrival of Colonel Wakefield in the *Tory*, and ten days before the formal landing of Lieutenant Governor Hobson at the Bay of Islands, the first immigrant ship, the *Aurora*, arrived at Port Nicholson, bringing 148 passengers, being 58 males and 90 females. On January 31st, the *Oriental* arrived with 62 males and 92 females, and, on February 7th, the *Duke of Roxburgh* came in with 80 males and 87 females. This was a large addition to Colonel Wakefield's family, now looking up to him for food and protection, and several more ships were known to be on the way.

Whilst the first settlers were crowding into Wellington, and no one could obtain any secure title to land, flour was

allowed to become so scarce that, at one time, it reached the price of £110 per ton. As flour was reported to be scarce in Sydney, some enterprising settlers chartered the *Brougham* and the *Glenarm* to go to Valparaiso, from whence they returned with flour, horses and mules; all of which were much wanted, although flour had by that time receded to the still enormous price of £45 per ton. A South Australian squatter, who had previously visited New Zealand and afterwards became one of her magistrates and legislators, arrived before them with flour, cattle and horses; so that Wellington was much earlier and better supplied with useful animals than either Taranaki or Nelson, although Nelson soon afterwards excelled her in the quality both of her fast and her heavy horses. The firm of Hopper, Petre and Molesworth were the first to produce a good supply of potatoes; they having ventured—title or no title—upon some very good land in the small Hutt Valley, from the virgin soil of which they obtained enormously heavy crops, and sold them at a fabulous profit.

It will be seen that considerably more than half the immigrants were females, and there was a large proportion of children. It is hardly necessary to say that both the males and the females who had voluntarily come such a distance, to a country with such a reputation as New Zealand then possessed, were not of a very timid class, but their nerves were often severely tried. The country itself, as presented to them in coming through Cook's Straits, was precipitous, rugged and dreary, without a symptom of animal life upon it—the white foam dashing on the surrounding rocks in obedience to winds such as are rarely felt in England,—the absence of fruit, or vegetables, or corn in the height of summer, the harsh voices and the hideous grimaces of the naked Maoris as they performed their war dance, the absence of roads, walks, houses, or shops, all tended to add a sense of insecurity to the bitter disappointment at the appearance of the rugged and uncultivated country to which they had been attracted by such alluring promises. They had come unarmed and uneducated in the use of arms; so that the newly-armed and constantly-fighting natives would find it easy work to

cut them down and cook them to their taste; and there were no soldiers nor policemen, nor even magistrates, judges or juries to protect them.

There can be no doubt that the New Zealand Company had been negligent in not providing for the drilling of these pioneers on the passage out, and certainly no one with common sense or prudence will blame the leading men at Port Nicholson for attempting some kind of organised army drill and government as soon as the immigrants were landed.

Three days after the arrival of the third immigrant ship, and whilst the new arrivals from the three ships were struggling to get with some order into the raupo huts on the beach, muskets were heard in the direction of the native camp, and a general alarm at once ensued. It was evening and Colonel Wakefield rode off in the direction of the firing. Both natives and white men came running to him asking for arms, for direction and for assistance, whilst the screams of the women and children made instruction difficult. Early next morning he returned with the intelligence that it was the murder of a young native chief which had caused the commotion, and that there was no occasion for any general alarm.

But the affair was quite enough to show all prudent and sensible men how necessary it was that some organisation should exist to meet such alarms, whether well-grounded or not.

In England it had been agreed, that, to provide for the protection of the early colonists, and the maintenance of law, order, and justice, until the British Government were in a position to enforce the same, a Committee of twenty, elected annually by manhood suffrage, should be appointed. This Committee was first called together on March 2nd. All the colonists were asked to sign an agreement that they would "submit themselves to be mustered and drilled under the direction of persons to be appointed for that purpose. And that, in case a person shall commit any offence against the law of England, he shall be liable to be punished in the same manner as if the offence had been committed in England."

Doubtful characters were flocking in from Australia and Tasmania, and one of them had set up a grog shop, at which bad characters mustered, and caused much annoyance to the quiet settlers. Two respectable Maori Chiefs gladly lent their influence and power to put down that nuisance, and nothing could be more quiet and inoffensive than the way this Committee had contrived to preserve the peace, and to give confidence to the community.

Meantime nothing had been seen of the sick Lieutenant-Governor, or of the Governor's staff sent from Sydney. No enquiry had been made, nor a single officer employed, to attend to the convenience and safety of the Wellington settlers. Their very existence was ignored except to tax them. But, as soon as Willoughby Shortland, Esq., was informed how well the Wellington settlers had provided for their own good order, and safety, and how little need they had for either a Police Magistrate, or a Colonial Secretary, his energy and his wrath knew no bounds, and a vessel was immediately chartered to carry him, as Colonial Secretary and Acting Governor, to put down such acts of "High Treason" with all the soldiers, officers, and constables which the seat of Government could supply.

A letter was at once addressed to the Secretary for the Colonies, to which the poor sick Lieutenant-Governor's name was attached, which certainly ought to have proved to Lord John Russell how little justice the Company's servants or settlers had to expect from the Government Officers appointed by Sir George Gipps.

This letter stated:—"The settlers who have located themselves at Port Nicholson, under the New Zealand Association have formed themselves into a corporation, have elected a council, have appointed Colonel Wakefield President, and have proceeded to enact laws and to appoint Magistrates. This intelligence demanded my immediate attention. Without an hour's delay I called on the commanding officer of the troops to detach 30 men to Port Nicholson, and appointed the Acting Colonial Secretary, W. Shortland, J.P., in whose firmness and discretion I have the utmost reliance, supported by Lieutenant Smart, J.P., of the 28th Regiment, commanding the mounted police,

with five of his men, who are constables, to proceed with the detachment, for the conveyance of which I have chartered the barque *Integrity*. According to my opinion, unaided by legal advice, the proceedings of the Association at Port Nicholson amount to High Treason."

As soon as the barque *Integrity*, with its cargo of Sydney officials, arrived in Port Nicholson the following proclamation was at once sent on shore :—

"WHEREAS certain persons residing at Port Nicholson, New Zealand, part of the dominions of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, have formed themselves into an illegal association, under the title of a council; and in contempt of Her Majesty's authority, have assumed and attempted to usurp the powers vested in me by Her Majesty's letters patent for the government of the Colony, to the manifest injury and detriment of all Her Majesty's liege subjects in New Zealand.

"Now, therefore, I, William Hobson, Lieutenant-Governor of New Zealand, command all persons connected with such illegal association immediately to withdraw therefrom; and I call upon all persons resident at Port Nicholson or elsewhere within the limits of this government, upon the allegiance they owe to Her Majesty Queen Victoria, to submit to the proper authorities in New Zealand legally appointed, and to aid and assist them in the discharge of their respective duties.

"Given under my hand at Government House, Russell, Bay of Islands, this twenty-third day of May, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and forty.

"WILLIAM HOBSON,

"Lieutenant-Governor-

"By command of His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor.

"WILLOUGHBY SHORTLAND,

"Colonial Secretary."

This insulting and entirely unprovoked document was posted amongst the settlers in Wellington, immediately on the arrival of the *Integrity*, without waiting for any enquiry or confirmation of any reports upon which it professed to be founded; and a letter was sent to Colonel Wakefield informing him that the Acting-Governor would land at a certain hour on the following day. But, notwithstanding this important announcement, the Wellington wind blew quite as strong as usual on the following day; and this great man, who, by his own advice and consent, had just been transformed from a Police Magistrate at £300 to a Colonial Secretary at £600 a year, was far too important a

personage to encounter any danger of that kind. Consequently, three prominent Wellington settlers had to go off to meet him on board. They found just the sort of man they expected to find as the author of such a proclamation; and being all well up in official etiquette, and more amused than provoked at the absurdity of the accusations brought against them, they proceeded to overwhelm him with their extreme politeness, and to astound him with the completeness of the loyalty and obedience they expressed towards the paralyzed Lieutenant Governor.

The afternoon of the next day was so calm that Willoughby Shortland, Esq., with officers and mounted police, was duly landed, and was most politely received by the leading settlers; a politeness which he foolishly made no attempt to return. In his report to the Lieutenant-Governor he writes:—"I told them that the flags must be immediately hauled down, and that any proposal, from any body of persons, assuming to any power or rights, I should consider hostile. I was again assured of the loyalty of the settlers, and that they were actuated in their proceedings solely with a view to preserve the peace and to protect their property."

A public meeting was called for the purpose of agreeing to a "loyal and dutiful address to his Excellency." Colonel Wakefield presided. Dr. Evans said:—"There were periods in men's lives when they ought to sacrifice their feelings, and this was one of them. It was impossible that 1500 people could live together without some sort of authority being established, and, right or wrong, the Council had protected their persons and property, during a period of five months." Colonel Wakefield said that "the Council of Colonists had entitled itself to the approbation of the settlers, if they reflected that, during the period of five months, without the aid of British authority, the peace and order of the settlement had been maintained. But, although, whilst left to themselves, they knew how to maintain law and order, they seized the first opportunity to claim the protection of the Government, whose authority they had never disputed, and in whose support they were

as ready as ever, notwithstanding what had been said to the contrary, to tender their cordial and dutiful services." The following address was moved by Dr. Evans, seconded by Mr. F. A. Molesworth, and carried unanimously:—"That our arrangements for the preservation of order were adopted by us as merely temporary and provisional, is proved by the acclamation with which the British flag was welcomed, as well as by the cordial support which has been rendered by all classes to the Colonial Secretary and the magistrates, of which they themselves are the most competent witnesses. We might add, that in planning the surveys of our future town, we had, as far as possible, anticipated the wants of Government, and set apart the most valuable sections of land for the convenience of the public offices and the personal accommodation of your Excellency, feeling assured, as we do, that sooner or later this must necessarily become the seat of Government for these islands. Should that prove the case, your Excellency may rest assured that you will be welcomed here by the largest body of Her Majesty's subjects in New Zealand, unanimous in their loyalty, and desirous of promoting, by every means in their power, the comfort of your private life and the dignity of your public administration."

At the same meeting Mr. George Hunter Senior proposed, and Mr. St. Hill seconded:—"That a cordial vote of thanks be accorded to Colonel Wakefield for the care and vigilance he had displayed during the period he presided over the affairs of the colony, previous to the establishment of the British authority." This was carried by acclamation.

Some seven months after the "loyal and dutiful address" to the Lieutenant-Governor had been so humbly adopted at Wellington, the politeness, the patience, and the prudence of the settlers had given way under repeated and wanton provocations; and on February 15th, 1841, an indignation meeting was held, and a petition adopted to the Queen praying for the removal of the Lieutenant-Governor; at whose door they were too prone to lay the sins of the real offender, Governor Gipps. Many of the complaints made in that petition were strong and well grounded, if they had been made against the real aggressors, Gipps or Shortland, and

might have had some weight with the Secretary of State for the Colonies if they had been more temperately and judiciously set forth, and the petition sent through the Lieutenant-Governor, which was of course the only proper channel, and the only one which the Queen or Lord John Russell could have recognised. A counter petition was got up in Sydney, by persons interested in the northern seat of Government, and the Lieutenant-Governor was able to tell Lord John Russell with some degree of truth, that the one petition was got up because he had not fixed the seat of Government at Port Nicholson, and the other because he had fixed it at Waitemata.

But three months before the petition for the Lieutenant-Governor's recall had been signed, the Queen had signed letters patent constituting New Zealand a separate Government. On the 3rd May, 1841, Her Majesty's Commission appointing Captain Hobson, R.N., to be Governor of the Colony of New Zealand was publicly read in Auckland, and he took the oaths of office.

The Governor's health had decidedly improved for some month's previously, and in August 1841, being no less than eighteen months after his official landing at the Bay of Islands, as Lieutenant-Governor, he paid his first visit to Wellington. He was, fortunately, not accompanied by the ostentatious, offensive Shortland; and as he was now no longer obliged to carry out the demands of Sir George Gipps, he was, for the first time, free to follow the dictates of his own gentle disposition, and to take some pity on the honest, industrious, enterprising settlers, who had been made to suffer so much for the sins of the Wakefields, to gratify the animosity of the Wakefields' powerful enemies.

Instead of publicly encouraging the Maoris in every unreasonable demand they chose to make for the completion of Colonel Wakefield's purchases, as Gipps and Shortland had done, Hobson conveyed his instructions to Wakefield upon the subject in separate private letters, in which he very firmly insisted that the natives must be treated with every fairness, and on no account were to be removed from any land which they actually occupied, except by their own consent. He also agreed that when

Wakefield had fairly met the claims of all those natives who were entitled to be consulted as to the purchase, the Government would offer no obstruction to the acquisition of title by the Company, nor insist any longer upon Gipps' absurd limit of "110,000 acres in a continuous block around Port Nicholson," more than nine-tenths of which would be worthless for agricultural settlement. In short, the plea of justice to the Maoris was in no sense given up; but it was no longer made a pretence for insulting Wakefield, and for inflicting the most cruel injustice upon thousands of innocent and deserving settlers, who had far more reason than the Maoris to complain of Wakefield's deception.

On being appointed the real Governor of New Zealand, Hobson re-appointed the acting nominees of Sir G. Gipps, Willoughby Shortland, Colonial Secretary; Francis Fisher, Colonial Treasurer; and George Cooper, Collector of Customs. We cannot wonder that a man of Hobson's stamp, and in Hobson's state of health, should have adopted this course. It would have taken a very strong and resolute man to have dismissed the officers appointed by his predecessor, who had been taking the Lieutenant-Governor's work and responsibilities on themselves during the fourteen months' illness, from which he was still but partially recovered. But their retention left the Colony with nearly all the disadvantage of Sir George Gipps' animosity to the New Zealand Company and their settlers, without the advantage of the large financial resources which Sir George was able to command. Indeed it would have been difficult to contrive any situation more certain to complete the destruction of a partially paralyzed, sensitive, and conscientious man, than that in which Governor Hobson was now placed.

The estimate of revenue for the financial year ending May 2nd, 1842, was under £39,000, and the estimated expenditure was over £50,000. But the actual revenue exclusive of land sales was only £5500, and the expenditure greatly exceeded the estimate of £50,000. From all sources his deficiency for the year was over £25,000, which he proceeded to meet by drawing bills on the British Treasury.

The first £10,000 of these bills were very reluctantly met, but with the announcement that all future bills would be dishonoured.

But the most bitter ingredient in Hobson's bitter cup, at this time, was the fact that the liabilities which he was so utterly unable to meet, and which the British Government refused to meet for him, were mainly the result of an entirely unjustifiable and most suspicious transaction in land, for which he was officially, although only officially responsible. During the early days of his first illness, and whilst it was still intended to establish the seat of Government at the Bay of Islands, his name had been attached to agreements to purchase land, on the site of the intended town, from persons who had really no valid title to the land, and could have none until the Government chose to give it them. In this way, liabilities amounting to over £20,000 had been incurred, and principally to one man named Clendon, who had also been appointed to Hobson's Legislative Council. Hobson's name had been attached to an agreement to give this man a Government title to 30 acres of land for each acre, to which, without authority, he claimed a title that was taken from his claim at the Bay of Islands. The land to be chosen by Clendon wherever he pleased. Suspicious and reckless as this agreement would have been, even if the seat of Government had been fixed on Clendon's claim, the whole transaction became more preposterous when the seat of Government was fixed at Waitemata, and Clendon stood entitled to select and receive a title to 30 acres there, in exchange for each of his unconveyed and deserted acres at the Bay of Islands. It is impossible not to suspect that something worse than folly must have suggested such a transaction as this; and pitiable and really innocent as the Governor's position may have been, Lord Stanley could have said nothing less severe than he did with reference to a transaction so distinctly out of the Governor's legitimate sphere of action, and so entirely inconsistent with the extremely limited resources of the Colony, and so idiotic in its commercial aspect.

After peremptorily restricting Mr. Clendon's choice to rural land only, Lord Stanley writes in January, 1842 :— " Had the transaction been of a recent date, and had it been possible to communicate a decision within a limited time, I should, even in the present state of the case, have directed the disallowance of the agreement ; but looking to the irregularities which have characterized the whole settlement of New Zealand, and to the necessity under which you are placed of taking care that the most advantageous sites are not monopolized by powerful private land companies, and that a disallowance would now probably lead to much confusion and difficulty, Her Majesty's Government will not withhold their sanction. You will understand that you are positively prohibited in future, under any circumstances, from purchasing land from any individuals without the previous sanction of Her Majesty's Government. In the present case the previous disallowance, by the Governor of New South Wales, very much increases the responsibility which you have taken on yourself." So harshly was the invalid Governor made to suffer for the sins of a worthless official practically forced upon him by Sir George Gipps.

Nearly all the expenditure had been in Auckland, where the officials had practically appointed and fixed each others' salaries ; but even Auckland was not satisfied, and began to join in vituperating the Governor when he was no longer receiving the loans from Sydney, which, under Sir George Gipps' authority, had been received to the amount of over £43,000. Whilst the Wellington settlers abused the Governor for not going to Wellington, the Aucklanders now began to abuse him for not bringing all the settlers to Auckland, instead of allowing them to remain in what they were pleased to call " the mountains, marshes, and fens of Cook's Straits." Even when the amiable Governor called, and presided at, a public meeting to adopt a congratulatory address to the Queen upon the birth of a princess, the opposition called another meeting and adopted an opposition address. In the midst of his harassing financial cares, official censures, and dishonoured treasury bills, this was the last straw upon the camel's back, so that a final attack of paralysis came upon him and quickly terminated his life on September 10th, 1842.



## CHAPTER XV.

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NEW PLYMOUTH. 1840-1843.

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“Nature always springs to the surface and manages to show what she is. It is vain to stop or try to drive her back. She breaks through every obstacle, pushes forward and at last makes for herself a way.”—BOILEAU.

ON the 25th January, 1840, a company was formed, to be called the Plymouth Company, for the colonisation of New Zealand from the west of England. Of this Company the Earl of Devon was Governor; with Thomas Gill, Esq., Deputy Governor; and Thomas Woolcombe, Esq., Managing Director.

There were also fifteen other directors, including four Members of Parliament. But, with all these wise men to consult, the Company began by making the great mistake of purchasing 60,000 acres of land from the New Zealand Company, and employing a firm of Bankers which failed, and left them penniless, before the Company had been many months in existence. On the 13th August, their Chief Surveyor, Mr. Carrington, proceeded to Wellington in the barque *London*, with a staff of assistants to select and survey a site for the settlement.

At Wellington he was supplied by Colonel Wakefield with a small barque, the *Brougham*, to take him and his staff, with instruments and provisions to Taranaki. He was accompanied by Barrett, as pilot and interpreter, of whom he spoke highly as an exceedingly capable man in both

capacities. They left Wellington on the 28th January, 1841, and reached Taranaki on the following evening.

Mr. Carrington was evidently fascinated with the liberal assistance and polite attentions he received from Colonel Wakefield. Like his directors, he was not of a suspicious nature, and with Barrett as his adviser, he perhaps thought it was no part of the business of the Company's Chief Surveyor to criticise the validity of the New Zealand Company's title to the land they had sold to his Company. He therefore readily fixed on the exact spot to which Colonel Wakefield had directed him, and thus writes to his directors:—"All the harbours of New Zealand are surrounded with mountains and hills too steep for cultivation, even to the water's edge. I have, therefore, been obliged to take a roadstead. But at the same time that I lament the want of a harbour, I have much pleasure in informing you that I have selected a place where small ones can be easily made..... The soil I think cannot be better. There is much open or fern country, and abundance of fine timber..... The Plymouth Company has the garden of this country. All we want is labour and particularly working oxen."

A good harbour connected with good land, although not common, was not so impossible to find in New Zealand as Mr. Carrington had been led to believe; but such a rare combination of advantages was being carefully preserved by Colonel Wakefield for more wealthy customers than the Plymouth Company. The want of a good title to the land soon proved to be far more disastrous than even the want of a harbour. The sight thus chosen was one of the oldest and most blood-stained of the Maori battle grounds, upon which some of the most cruel and indiscriminate massacres of their captives had recently been committed. But Mr. Carrington would have been more sagacious than his contemporaries if he had foreseen that the defective title to "the garden" which now charmed him so much would so soon be the means of converting that garden once more into a field of battle and of blood, and, for a time, into a deserted wilderness, upon which the fruit of years of self-denying and hopeful labour would suddenly be scattered to the winds.

He is perhaps more to blame for sending home what was practically an indiscriminate invitation to come to a spot, where, for want of reasonable foresight or commonly honest regard for their interests, on the part of his employers, they would have found themselves starving on three shillings a week.

On the 19th November, 1840, the Barque *William Bryan*, 312 tons, sailed from Plymouth Sound with the first batch of emigrants for New Plymouth, with one hundred and thirty-nine settlers on board. She reached her anchorage off the Sugar Loaves on 30th March, 1841. A Mr. Cutfield had been placed in charge of the immigrants. In the light of after events it is amusing to see him estimating the Maori prowess about as highly or as correctly as Mr. Busby had done. Writing from Taranaki of the Maoris, he says, "Finer men I never saw, but the women are by no means prepossessing. Since we have been here there has been much talk of the Waikato tribe coming. Should they come with a bad feeling *I shall be prepared for them*, however I hope they know better than to molest the whites." Mr. Cutfield was more concerned just then about the labour and expense of traction across the sands and rivers, without horses or bullocks. He says, "the traction has to be entirely manual; a pair of bullocks or a horse would be of invaluable service to us and a great saving to the Company." He adds, "Pigs and potatoes are scarce, but rats are numerous, and we require arsenic and a good breed of terriers, or I fear that our stores and produce will suffer."

On the 25th of March the barque *Amelia Thompson*, sailed from Plymouth and arrived in the Taranaki roadstead on the 3rd of September, with 26 cabin, 8 intermediate, and 152 steerage passengers. On the 4th November the quarter-acre town sections were ready for their purchasers; but the sections which had been promised to the head of each family who arrived by the first ship, the *William Bryan*, were never given to them.

In March, 1842, eight working bullocks and a horse were brought in a small vessel from Wellington, and safely landed at New Plymouth. Four of these oxen were at once put to work in the plough. In August of the same

year, Messrs. Aubrey Bros. imported four more bullocks from Wellington, where working bullocks could then be obtained at from £20 to £30 each. The Chief Surveyor imported a horse from Sydney at a cost of £79; but it threw him off, and was sold to Mr. Creed, the Wesleyan minister, for £39.

Disputes with the Maoris about land were frequent, but seldom serious, although often complicated by disputes between the representative of the Government, Captain King, and the representative of the New Zealand Company, Mr. Wickstead.

A characteristic and pathetic letter from Wiremu Kingi, during this year, addressed to Governor Fitzroy, throws a strong light upon the various productions of Governor Browne and his supporters, in which they so positively assert that Wiremu Kingi was wantonly obstructing the sale, by others, of land to which he did not pretend to have any claim of his own; or "to which he neither asserted nor possessed any title."

The translation was made by the Protector of Aborigines, Mr. Clarke, and shows that the very urgent claim was made 15 years before the Governor's speech denied that Kingi had ever made any claim.

WIREMU KINGI AND OTHER NGATIAWA CHIEFS TO GOVERNOR FITZROY.

TARANAKI, June 8th, 1844.

Friend Governor,—Salutations! Great is our love to you; this is our speech to you. Listen to us respecting this land, respecting Waitara. Our hearts are dark by reason of Mr. Spain's words. Indeed, the Europeans are wrong in striving for this land, which was never sold by its owners, the men of Ngatiawa.

Now, when the Ngatiawa tribe went to Kapiti they left some men behind on our lands, who were surprised by the Waikatos, and some of them led away captive; who having arrived at Waikato, were afterwards returned by the Waikatos to Waitara to dwell there. Others came back from Kapiti. We love the land of our ancestors; we did not receive any of the goods of Colonel Wakefield; it was wrong to buy the land which belonged to other men. There are many chiefs to whom this land belongs who are now at Waikanae and Arapaoa. It was love for the land of our forefathers that brought us back to those lands. Friend Governor, our thoughts are that those lands were never settled by the Waikatos; and when we embraced Christianity, we learnt the rules of the Gospel and to dwell in peace.

This also is the determination of our people. Waitara shall not be given up; the men to whom it belongs will hold it for themselves. There was not a single man of the Ngatiawa tribe who received the payment of Colonel Wakefield. These are the only men who took the payment: the men of Ngamotu and Puketapu; and they had no right in Waitara. The Ngatiawa are constantly returning to their land, on account of their attachment to the land of their birth; the land which we have cultivated and which our ancestors marked out and delivered to us.

Friend Governor, do you not love your land—England,—the land of your fathers, as we love our land at Waitara? Friend, let your thoughts be good towards us. We desire not to strive with the Europeans; but, at the same time, we do not wish to have our land settled by them; rather let them be returned to the places which have been paid for by them, lest a root of quarrel remain between us and the Europeans. Friend Governor, be kind to the natives. The places which have been justly purchased by the Europeans, let them have them, that your judgment may be just.

This is not from us only, but from all the Ngatiawa, though the greater part are absent. From HAKOPA, TIPENE, TE WATARAU, TUTARAHAINA, PATUROI, TE WARERAKA, TAMETE TIRAURAU, HIRINI MANGONUI.

By us, by all the men at Waikanae and Warekauri.

Written by me, WIREMU KINGI.

After the failure of the Plymouth Company's bankers that company's business was practically transferred to the New Zealand Company. Early in 1843, the wages of labourers employed by the company were reduced to 16/- per week, and, in June, to 8/- per week.

With great difficulty, cattle and sheep were brought overland from Wellington by a Captain Cook. By some misunderstanding between himself and his stockmen, two horses were left tied up in the bush, whilst the men came on to Taranaki, and were starved to death, in the midst of plenty, for want of knowing how easily their own strength could have broken their bridles and put them on a par with the cattle and sheep which were feasting around them. On the 20th February, 1843, Captain Cook started again from Wellington, with a large flock of sheep and seventy head of cattle, which he ultimately got through with great advantage to himself and the colonists.

Towards the end of the year 1843, many of the Taranaki settlers were on the verge of starvation, and saved their lives only by eating ancient musty biscuits and the unripe, growing, small potatoes; but in January, 1844, the harvest came in and was a fairly good one where any reasonable care

had been taken in the preparation of the land and the seed. But smut was very prevalent where the seed had not been pickled, and the acreage which had been sown was, for want of working cattle, very small ; so that even throughout that year a considerable quantity of barley bread was eaten by the Devonshire and Cornish labourers, who were, even so, better off than their more distressed neighbours in Nelson. Two small flour mills were at work ; but the largest growers of wheat were holding back a large portion of their produce for seed ; so that wheat maintained a price which could not be paid by men who were reduced to three shillings a week. It is evident that these workers for the company had never been employed, as they should have been, in producing food to supply approaching wants. On the 2nd March, 1844, Mr. Wickstead reported to Colonel Wakefield :—"The reduction of the company's allowance to labourers, from six shillings to three shillings per week, has been submitted to with less opposition than I anticipated, and the entire abolition of this payment will soon be effected."

The small allotments of land sold in England, by the Plymouth Company, for each of which only £75 had to be paid, were only attractive to very small capitalists, and even by these, so few had been purchased, that, on the 1st June, 1842, only 8200 acres of rural land had been sold altogether. There was thus no capital in the hands either of the company or of the colonists for the employment of the immigrants who had been so improvidently sent to the colony. Even this small quantity of land was not surveyed, and ready for selection, until 15 months after the first immigrants arrived at New Plymouth, and something more serious than semi-starvation, and painful privation and apprehension, would have resulted but for the extraordinary patience and docility of the suffering labourers, and the fitness of the land for easy and immediate cultivation. If there had only been sufficient foresight, on the part of the company, to have introduced a shipload of sheep and another of working oxen and milch cows, from Sydney, to arrive at the same time as the first settlers, all the suffering, poverty, apprehension and dissatisfaction which darkened the years of 1843 and 1844 in New Plymouth, might have been completely averted.

Although not proclaimed as a denominational colony, New Plymouth was actually more exclusively and more continuously denominational than either Canterbury or Otago. The Earl of Devon, the governor, and most of the directors and officers of the Plymouth Company were Episcopalians, and the New Zealand Company gave to that denomination a grant of £500, to assist the erection of a church, whilst giving only £10 to the Wesleyans, and nothing to any other denomination. Under the able direction of their good bishop the Episcopalians were thus able to erect a good-sized building, and to make arrangements for regular services to both races, both in the town and in the country.

The Wesleyans were allowed to build their chapel on a public road, before the survey of the town sections was completed, and were afterwards ordered to remove it without compensation, but they were able to purchase and complete a small stone building, which the Congregationalists had begun, but were unable to complete. It was not until 1866 that the Presbyterians erected a small chapel, and the Baptists not until 1869. All these dissenting congregations, except the Wesleyans, were very small indeed and, beyond a few extreme zealots, the sectarian feeling was not so strong as to give much zest or interest to the demand for many minute separations. At first the Episcopalian Church was closed on every fourth Sunday, to allow the clergyman to preach to the Maoris, on which occasion it was pleasant to see the Episcopalians and Wesleyans meeting to worship in the same chapel. The fraternity which the charitable Samuel Marsden had implanted in New Zealand, between these two important sections of the Christian church was not entirely obliterated even in the early days of the New Plymouth colonization.



## CHAPTER XVI.

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NELSON—LAND SELLERS AND BUYERS. 1840-1842.

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“He liveth long who liveth well !  
All else is being flung away ;  
He liveth longest who can tell  
Of true things—truly done each day.”

DR. BONAR.

IN 1840 and 1841 the New Zealand Company succeeded in selling, in England, about 150,000 acres of land. The land was sold in lots, containing one acre of town land, 50 acres of suburban land, and 150 acres of rural land, for which £300 was paid. No land had been secured to meet this large engagement ; but the sale was effected under very definite engagements, and with an unbounded amount of confidence in the vendors, which the antecedents of the principal actors in the proceeding could hardly be said to justify.

The conditions of sale distinctly stipulated that the land sold was to form a part of a settlement to be called Nelson, which was to be selected, by very competent and trustworthy men, as being *the best site available* in the South Island of New Zealand *at the time of selection being made*. On these terms, proclaimed without any reservation by the Company, one thousand sections of 201 acres each had been offered for sale, but the Company formally reserved the right to purchase 100 of these sections themselves, at the same price and under all the same conditions as those accorded

to other purchasers. The Company also undertook to give 100 other sections of equal quality and position to the leading families of the Maoris from whom the land had been purchased.

Such an engagement clearly implies that the site to be chosen for the settlement of Nelson must be a block of the best land in the South Island capable of supplying not less than 221, 100 acres of good agricultural land connected with a good seaport.

On May 2nd, 1841, two small vessels, the *Whitby* and the *Will Watch*, were sent off from Gravesend with the surveyors and their assistants, who were said to be sent for the purpose of selecting and surveying the best site to be found in the South Island of New Zealand. Nineteen days after their departure they were followed by the brig *Arrow*, laden with stores, in command Captain Gearey. Edward Gibbon Wakefield's brother, Captain Arthur Wakefield, took charge of the passengers on board the *Whitby*, and Mr. Frederick Tuckett, of those on board the *Will Watch*. Captain Wakefield had been appointed the Agent for the New Zealand Company at Nelson, and Mr. Tuckett had charge of the surveyors and the surveys. Both Mr. Tuckett himself and the English public had been given to understand that the selection of the site would be entrusted principally to him. This impression conduced very much to the confidence of the British purchasers, as Tuckett was known to be a man of uncompromising integrity and indomitable energy.

Captain Wakefield was a pleasant-mannered, popular man, who had spent his life at sea, and had a good deal of the jolly sailor about him. He could, and did, obey implicitly, without sitting in judgment upon the righteousness of the command; and, although his brother, he quite understood that Colonel Wakefield was his superior officer. He had a great power of secret reserve, and was always prepared to accept in silence the responsibility of actions he did not approve. He had no idea of commercial business, nor of constructive engineering, and was, in most respects, singularly deficient in the power to direct and build up a new colony. His habits were thoroughly respectable, he

was implicitly trusted by those who knew him most intimately ; but in important matters of principle, he was more obedient to his superior officers than to his conscience.

Mr. Tuckett was not a man who should ever have been chosen to serve under the Wakefields. Up to a certain point they no doubt found his reputation worth a good deal, especially amongst the Quakers, who were taking a good deal of interest in New Zealand at that time. He was a member of the Society of Friends, and, although he early ceased to use their old-fashioned distinctive dress or language, he was very Quaker-like in all his habits and tastes, and as resolute as George Fox himself in acting up to the dictates of his own conscience, regardless of consequences. Unselfish, public-spirited, brave, completely independent, and inflexibly just ; he deserves to be ranked amongst the very noblest of our early leading New Zealand settlers. But such men are usually more respected than loved, and writers on New Zealand have so far been prone to leave him carefully alone, or to very grossly malign him. He never attempted to defend any of the many breaches of faith committed by his employers ; but he often exposed the class selfishness of the original land purchasers in complaining of their own wrongs only, and he fearlessly condemned the dishonest idleness of the company's employees and their threats of physical force. He would walk forty miles to ascertain the truth or untruth of an accusation he had heard against a person he believed to be innocent, and then go straight to the libeller and ask him to repair the injury he had done. He was a bachelor and kept only men servants. He neither frequented nor gave dinner or supper parties ; but he seldom sat down to his six o'clock dinner without the company of some plain, honest settler he had picked up on his way home. In the New Zealand journal, published at that time in London, containing many letters from New Zealand settlers to their friends, we may still see such passages as these :—"I was invited to take tea with the Chief Surveyor this evening, and he made me as free and easy as if we had been old school fellows." Another settler writes : "The best dinner I have had since I landed was one I ate with Mr. Tuckett, the Chief Surveyor, he

overtook me on my road home, and insisted upon my going with him—sack trousers and all. We had some New Zealand quail, and I thought I had never eaten anything so nice." He brought out a setter and lurcher dog with him and they caught these short-winged birds only too easily. His pet aversion was the *Nelson Examiner*, at that time the property of the New Zealand Company, the defender of all they did, and the libeller of all who condemned them.

Some ten or twelve young gentlemen were brought out in these two first vessels; more, perhaps, to oblige their parents than to assist the surveyors; but they were called "improvers;" and some of them certainly needed improvement. Still, with few exceptions, the men and officers brought were well chosen, able men, and made very good settlers; although their early surroundings were not favourable. None of the officers or improvers who came in these two first vessels ever found their way into the Nelson Provincial Council or into the Colonial Parliament; but four of the working men: Butler, Dobson, McMahan, and Wastney were early elected members of the local legislature. Fourteen of the seventy-three working men were alive at the date of the Nelson Jubilee, but none of the officers or improvers.

The brig, *Arrow*, although leaving Gravesend nineteen days later, arrived at Wellington some days before either of the passenger ships, and the *Will Watch*, which brought the uncompromising Tuckett to meet Colonel Wakefield before the *Whitby* arrived with his obedient brother. The first official interview between these two opposite characters was described by Tuckett in a letter to his brother in England in something like these words.

Colonel Wakefield:—You can proceed at once to Blind Bay and choose a site. My brother will go to Kapiti and see Rauparaha about it.

Tuckett:—You mean that we are to go to Blind Bay and commence our search for the best site available in the South Island?

*W.*:—No. I mean that you must fix on the best site you can find in Blind Bay for the settlement of Nelson.

*T.* :—But, unless you know that the best site available in the South Island is at Blind Bay ; that will not be carrying out the conditions upon which the land has been sold ; or upon which I have been appointed to select it.

*W.* :—There is no time for you to explore all the South Island before the immigrant ships will be here with the land purchasers demanding their land.

*T.*—I am sorry that there is not more time ; but they had better wait than be forced on to any inferior site.

*W.*—There are other reasons which compel me to take this course.

*T.*—Are the purchasers aware of what those reasons are ?

*W.*—The directors in London have of course all the information I can give them.

*T.*—Do you consider me bound to remain in the Company's service when I am not allowed to do what I was engaged to do ?

*W.*—I understood that you were engaged to carry out my instructions and those of my brother.

*T.*—I understood that I was engaged to give you every assistance in my power to carry out the promises made by the New Zealand Company to their purchasers.

*W.*—You were engaged as our Chief Surveyor.

*T.*—To select the best site available in the South Island at the time of the selection being made.

*W.*—Where do you find that condition ? Not in your engagement.

*T.*—In your printed circulars.

*W.*—But is it not the business of our Chief Surveyor to interpret our printed circulars ?

*T.*—May I resign my position ?

*W.*—Do you think it honourable to leave the Company without your services just when you see the great necessity for the most prompt action by all our imported surveyors ? Nor can you yet know that the best site in the South Island is not at Blind Bay.

It will never be easy, and is perhaps not now very important, to decide where the chief blame should be placed for this undoubted fraud upon the Nelson land purchasers and immigrants ; but, in whatever direction we look,

nothing can justify Colonel Wakefield's action at this time. Even if all that has been said about Hobson's restrictions were well founded, there is nothing about them that would justify Colonel Wakefield in accepting the limit of Blind Bay and its remarkably rugged surroundings as a reasonable site for such a settlement as the New Zealand Company had advertised in England. Whilst the land was being paraded and sold in England, there really were very formidable obstacles to its acquisition by the Company ; and they well knew it, but carefully concealed the fact. At that time, Governor Gipps and his nominee, Shortland, were doing all in their power to frustrate all the aims of the New Zealand Company, as well as to force settlement in the North and in every way to obstruct its extension in the South Island. If, at that time, Colonel Wakefield thought their unconcealed opposition to be sufficiently important and powerful to bar the selection of such a site as had been promised to the purchasers of the Nelson land, that was the time to have stopped the sale and to have returned the purchase money. Such a retreat would no doubt have been humiliating and unprofitable, would have betrayed their previous rashness, and would have left the Wakefields without employment ; but it would have been the only honest way to have retrieved their careless action, and to have minimised the consequent suffering. But it is no use to pretend that such obstacles were known for the first time or even that they were in existence at all just when Colonel Wakefield ordered Tuckett to go to Blind Bay and settle down upon whatever land or port he could find there. It was only a few weeks before the Nelson surveyors arrived at Wellington that all previously existing obstacles on the part of the Government had been removed. The hostile and powerful Gipps was no longer Governor of New Zealand. The audacious and irresponsible Shortland was no longer acting in the place of the mild and reasonable Hobson, who was now for a time able to act for himself, and had been promoted to be the real Governor of New Zealand instead of being the mere puppet of Gipps. All Gipps' and Shortland's obnoxious restrictions had been

withdrawn by Hobson in obedience to the express instructions of the friendly and all-powerful Secretary for the Colonies, Lord John Russell. Gipps' restriction of 110,000 acres, immediately surrounding Wellington, had been changed to Russell's restriction of one acre for every five shillings spent by the New Zealand Company, and reached to more than 600,000 acres; without restriction to any locality. Governor Hobson had paid his friendly visit to Wellington, had withdrawn all Shortland's public proclamations inviting the hostility of the Maoris to Wakefield's purchases, and had agreed to give a title to all the Company's purchases, as soon as he was satisfied that the natives concerned had been fairly dealt with.

Wakefield had just reported the happy result of all these changes to England, and congratulated his directors on the consequent brightness of their prospects. In the face of all these facts it is absurd to blame Hobson for the action which Colonel Wakefield chose to take in restricting Tuckett to Blind Bay. It is only too probable that the general belief expressed by the original land purchasers of Nelson was well founded; and that the extensive and fertile plains on the east coast were withheld from the Nelson settlers, whose money had already been obtained, in order that the better land, for which Rauparaha said he must have a higher price, should be retained as a bait for another settlement for which the money had yet to be obtained.

When Captain Wakefield arrived in the *Whitby*, he successfully exerted his influence to induce Mr. Tuckett to go on to Blind Bay as directed by their "superior officer."

On the 28th September, the three vessels sailed across the straits to Cloudy Bay, where the *Will Watch* and *Arrow* remained, whilst Captain Wakefield, in the *Whitby*, went to Kapiti to arrange with Rauparaha about taking possession of Blind Bay. This was not difficult to accomplish. No one knew better than Rauparaha how little agricultural land he would find there, and the wily old chief was just as willing as the Wakefields to let the worst land be taken for the money he had received, and to hold back what he so well knew would command a better price and a certain market.

After what he called a satisfactory interview with Rauparaha, Captain Wakefield came with the three vessels into Blind Bay, evidently determined to be satisfied with whatever he might be able to find there. In this determination he was well backed by three men who had been placed at his service by his brother. These were a pilot named Moore, a draughtsman named Heaphy, and an interpreter named Brooks. Moore soon proved an adept at wrecking vessels; Heaphy could put non-existent land of the highest quality upon paper; and Brooks had so managed his matrimonial relations as to become a special object of aversion to the Maoris.

There were several, fine, spacious harbours in Blind Bay; but none of them were connected with any level land. There was a little harbour which could be entered by small vessels at high water, and not very distantly connected with a few thousand acres of good swamp land, and with about a thousand acres of fern and forest land, capable of forming a very pretty township.

This little harbour was a favourite resort of the Maoris, and was named by them "Wakatu," or a refuge for canoes. But none of the Wakefield guides sent from Wellington knew anything about this harbour, and the ships were taken by them to the south-west extremity of the bay, to one of the large landless harbours called Astrolabe. Some miles south east of this harbour the Deal Boatmen discovered a cove, called Kaiteretere, where Captain Wakefield decided that the town of Nelson should be surveyed, although there was no harbour for ships and very little agricultural land. But the Captain was determined to be satisfied, as his Wellington guides assured him that there was nothing better to be found in Blind Bay. From this contemplated city two parties of explorers were sent out to search for agricultural land; one party led by Mr. Tuckett, the other by Mr. Heaphy. Mr. Tuckett and his party returned, after several days' absence, with the legs worn off their trousers, and with every evidence of having toiled to their utmost; but reported that no sufficient quantity of useful land could possibly be found there. Mr. Heaphy and his men came back loaded with game and

fish, but without a sign of wear and tear upon them, and they had discovered all the land that could be required. Mr. Tuckett, who was a fast and untiring walker, at once started with fresh men to see Heaphy's land; but neither he nor any one else was ever able to find it, except in Mr. Heaphy's drawing book. Even Captain Wakefield could not resist such evidence as that, and sent, not Moore, but a splendid Deal Pilot he had brought out with him to search for something better on the eastern side of the bay. This pilot, so long known afterwards as James Cross, soon found the Wakatu Harbour, and in a few days Kaitereteru was forsaken, and the surveyors were at work to lay out what is now the city of Nelson.

Mr. Tuckett again started to find the land that was wanted, and again returned unsuccessful. On meeting Captain Wakefield, he was asked what land he had found, and replied "Not enough for one hundred of your eleven hundred sections." On being asked if it was not better than Kaitereteru, he replied: "Yes, you have a sunny little harbour here; but the land you have sold is neither here nor there." To this Wakefield replied: "Well, here we are and here we will stop, as the immigrant ships may be here any day now."

Against the honest objections of their own Chief Surveyor, the Wakefields had always at hand the unscrupulous and utterly baseless assertions of their own draughtsman, Heaphy. It would be impossible to do justice to Mr. Heaphy's powers of exaggeration without giving a few extracts in his own language from the first letter which he wrote from Nelson to Wellington. It is very difficult to understand why such a collection of outrageously false statements as that letter contains did not at once and for ever destroy Mr. Heaphy's usefulness even to the New Zealand Company. But it was not so. He lived to write hundreds of similar letters, and to be quoted as an authority by many writers of New Zealand history. Indeed, the very letter we are about to quote from was published in full in Wallace's *Early History of New Zealand* forty-nine years after it was written, and is there

described as "an interesting narrative of the early settlement of Nelson." Messrs. Tuckett and Cross are not even mentioned in the whole letter; all the discoveries being made by Messrs. Heaphy and Moore. The letter is dated:

"On board the *Whitby* in Nelson Harbour November 6th, 1841.

"The *Eliza* leaving this place for Port Nicholson to-morrow, I take this my earliest opportunity of writing to you.....The three ships anchored in the Astrolabe Roads on the ninth of last month.....One expedition was formed for exploring a valley on the right of the bay, and off I was started. Moore also was sent, with two volunteers under his direction, to explore any valley he might come across. We were both successful, and were able to report on our return the existence of considerable tracts of good land. Two days' rest followed these excursions, and then off we went again to look for land in an opposite direction and returned with a like success.

"It was consequently determined that Blind Bay should be the site for the settlement, and the ships sailed from the Astrolabe Roads, under Adele Island, to the Waikatu river on the opposite side of the bay. This harbour was discovered by *Moore* and one of the surveyors on a late expedition, and not only had no vessel entered the place before, but neither white man nor native had been previously aware of its capability for affording shelter to vessels..... The site for the town of Nelson is equal to that of Wellington, and possesses the advantage of being close to the agricultural land which is sufficient for the purpose of the intended colony.....There will be water frontage for about a mile and a half, and vessels may lie along side the beach to unload, as the *Whitby* has been doing. This settlement will require 500,000 acres, and that amount of available land is here.....The soil is of an excellent description. The plains are covered with fern and grass with belts of bush occasionally; some of the valleys are equal to the Hutt and equally rich.....Captain Wakefield too is a really noble fellow and is liked by everyone."

The mechanics and labourers who had been brought out in the *Whitby* and *Will Watch* had been engaged, in

England, at not less than twenty-eight shillings a week for two years, in any case, and were to receive more in case the current rate of wages in the colony, for similar work, should exceed that rate. Rations were to be supplied to the men at the rate of one shilling a day, without reference to the cost of such rations to the company. The form in which the stipulated wages were paid, prior to the establishment of a bank, was very unsatisfactory to the men, and displayed little business foresight, and still less paternal solicitude for the welfare of the men, on the part of the company's agent.

The first wages were paid on the morning of the first Sunday after landing on the present site of the Nelson City ; and were paid in pieces of paper which seemed to carry no resemblance to money and which were neither legal tenders nor certainly negotiable even at a discount. So that just after reading the Church of England service, praying that they might not be led into temptation but delivered from evil, Captain Wakefield proceeded to pay his large staff of employees by orders on the New Zealand Company, which were not convertible into cash, or into face value in any way, and carried no interest if retained until facilities for their realisation were provided. But a grog shop soon opened in their midst, where these pieces of paper were received as cash, for grog, by a grog seller named John Orr.

The wives and children of these men had sailed from Gravesend about the middle of August, and were nearly due in Nelson when the husbands and fathers first landed at Wakatu ; but the poor fellows were doomed to many weeks of anxious expectation before the ship *Lloyds* arrived, and, in many cases, to bitter humiliation and distress when the fate of their children and the reputation of their wives, amongst that ill-controlled ship's company, was ultimately made known to them,

Both the *Fifeshire* and the *Mary Anne*, which sailed from Gravesend six weeks after the *Lloyds*, came in before her, and when at last she did arrive, the whole settlement seemed to be converted into a Bethlehem weeping for her children. Nearly all the younger children had died on the

voyage. No less than 65 children had been thrown overboard. There had been no shipwreck, no tempest, no epidemic. The ship was a good one and more than usually well provisioned. There was no getting away from the painful conclusion that the children had been sacrificed to something worse than the neglect of those to whom their care had been entrusted, foremost of whom was the Captain of the *Lloyds*. A great crime had been committed, and the criminals were not a few; but there was no tribunal to which they could be summoned, and, worse than all, there was no effectual means to prevent the innocent from being more or less involved with the guilty.

It was at least clear that neither the Captain nor the Doctor had done their duty, and Captain Wakefield refused to sign the usual certificate certifying that they had done so.

Whilst ignorant of the loss of their children, or of the sufferings and surroundings of their wives, these pioneers of the Nelson province were still quite unrestrained by "the sex whose presence civilises ours." They did not forget duly, and, in some cases, unduly, to observe the Christmas and New Year's holidays. They cut a few lines through the high fern and dense forest which then covered the level portion of the selected town site. The Maoris both from Motueka and from Wakapuaka heartily joined in the holiday festivities, but not in consuming Mr. Orr's grog which the missionaries had successfully taught them to shun. They were most friendly to the settlers, and were very kindly treated by them.

They were soon able to offer the new comers some very good potatoes, which they brought into the harbour in their canoes, from which the women hawked them about on their backs in small rough flax baskets made by themselves. There were usually about 20 lbs. in each basket, and the price was usually proclaimed to be "one a basket one a herring." They had no desire for constant employment, but did some occasional work with a very good will. They were most useful in cutting toi-toi for thatching; as they understood altogether how to handle it better than the Europeans. The toi-toi is a large coarse grass, the outside edges of which cut like a fine saw if pressed downward, but are harmless if drawn upwards.

A wooden house which had been framed in England was put up on the Church Hill and was crowded with surveyors and improvers. But, until the arrival of the *Fifeshire* with real living women and children, there was a strange reluctance on the part of these men to build any dwelling. The fine, warm climate made little demand for shelter at that season of the year, the paper wages disheartened them, and with no sufficiency of land for the settlement, and the known dissatisfaction of the chief surveyor, they could not overcome the feeling that they might yet be called to make another move as suddenly as they had flitted from Kaiteretere.

Thus, wonderfully little preparation had been made for the reception of expected relatives, and hardly any advantage had been realised to compensate for the misery, loss and degradation which had been caused by the ten months separation of the wives and children from their natural guardians and protectors.

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## CHAPTER XVII.

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NELSON. 1841-1843.

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“Whate’er it be, be thou still like thyself,  
And sit thee by our side : yield not thy neck  
To fortune’s yoke, but let thy dauntless mind  
Still ride in triumph over all mischance.”

—SHAKESPEARE.

NEAR the end of September, 1841, the cabin passengers who were to sail in the first three immigrant ships to Nelson, were invited, by the New Zealand Company, to meet at a 2 p.m. breakfast, at Blackwall. The attraction held out to induce these voluntary exiles to leave their first and dearest homes some hours, or even days, before the vessels were to sail, was a statement that it would be a fine opportunity of meeting, and getting introduced, to the whole of the passengers in the three ships, who were afterwards to meet each other in the same settlement in New Zealand. This promise was one of the many delusions they were destined to suffer from the same quarter. No arrangements whatever were made to facilitate such introductions, so that the passengers left the sorrowful breakfast as ignorant of each other as they had come; but they were asked to join the promoters of the breakfast in heaping flattery upon the Dukes and Members of Parliament, who had been, or were likely to be, useful in promoting the designs of the New Zealand Company. The many torn and forlorn hearts which were there were prepared to sacrifice much in the

hope of meeting with other sufferers as anxious as themselves to compensate, in new friendships, for the separation from relatives they were leaving behind them ; but they were little prepared, at that painful moment, to join in heartless flattery of the great names that were nothing to them, or worse than nothing if associated with the tempters to the sacrifices which, on that day, they were probably regretting, and certainly feeling with the keenest intensity.

Yet a more direct and tangible disappointment awaited them, and one well calculated to shake off the last remnant of faith in the New Zealand Company, which had so far survived. Not until all the passengers were on board, and when the ships awaited only a fair wind to leave the shores of England, were the long-promised land orders placed in the hands of the departing purchasers ; and then they were found to contain none of the conditions which guaranteed the priority of choice for the site of Nelson, but were marred with a most offensive condition, which had never before been heard of, with regard to a compulsory residence for twelve months. The two passengers on board the *Fifeshire* who were afterwards to be members of the House of Representatives in New Zealand, immediately wrote a strong protest against this glaring breach of faith, and took it round to the other vessels for signature, which were very vigorously given. No reply was received, and no redress ever came. It was long after the original conditions had been shamefully and irretrievably broken, and the unauthorised conditions of residence painfully carried out, that the English Law Courts decided against the legality of the Company's impositions.

After several false starts, against a head wind, the three vessels finally sailed from the Downs early on Sunday morning, October 3rd. Even then the fair wind did not last long, so that the first six weeks saw little progress, but below the line the wind was favourable and the speed good. The *Fifeshire* was the fastest, but the smallest and least comfortable of the pioneer ships. Her plumber's work had been of the most slovenly character, and her sanitary condition was so bad that seventeen adults died on the passage. Her cabin passengers had come together without

any previous knowledge of each other, and failed to arrange the occupations and amusements which did much for the passengers on board the *Mary Ann*, and more for those on board the *Lord Auckland*.

The *Fifeshire* brought out the founders of the New Zealand Temperance Society, who formed a society on board, using what was then called the short pledge. "We agree to abstain from all intoxicating drinks as a beverage." The pledge book used was the same as that afterwards signed by that remarkable apostle of temperance, Benjamin Crisp, and by some hundreds of his converts.

The *Mary Ann* carried the plant and staff of the New Zealand Company's newspaper, the *Nelson Examiner*; and they were not without their weekly newspaper even on board. The able editor, Mr. Richardson, was killed in the Wairau Massacre. The chief printer, Charles Eliot, was the nominal, and ultimately became the the real proprietor of the *Examiner* and an exceedingly active public man.

The rising senators on board the more aristocratic *Lord Auckland* were Messrs. Barnicoat and Otterson. The latter was drowned some 14 years after landing; both of them were members of the first Nelson Provincial Council, and Mr. Barnicoat continued without interruption to be a member so long as that council lasted. For many years he was speaker of that council, and has long been and still is a member of the Legislative Council of New Zealand. There was also a cautious Scotch merchant on board, named David Sclanders, who soon became so trusted by his fellow colonists that his promissory notes were, for some seven years, the favourite circulating medium in the Nelson province, and even beyond it. A trust which was never abused nor repented.

It was a fine, clear and calm morning on the first of February, 1842, when the keen and anxious eyes of the Deal boatmen, looking from the port hill of Nelson, detected a distant sail coming slowly down Blind Bay, in the direction of Nelson harbour. Joyfully an eager crew manned their fine Deal boat and rowed with a will to meet, what they confidently expected to be the *Lloyds*, with their loved ones on board. As they neared the attractive object,

their well trained eyes reluctantly discovered that it was not a ship, but a barque, and soon the glass told them that it was not the *Lloyds* but "only the *Fifeshire*." Putting the pilot on board, the boat took in nine of the male cabin passengers, and leaving the ship to wait for high water returned to the harbour, where one of the passengers with an axe and spade on his shoulder walked on shore, whilst the other eight waited to be carried by the boatmen through the water, too shallow for the large boat.

Captain Wakefield came down the hill to receive them, and welcomed them in his kind, hearty way, as the first Nelson settlers. After a long stroll through the high fern, they met a party of the young improvers, who took the new arrivals to the river Maitai to enjoy the luxury of a fresh water bath. The Maoris had previously met them, in a kind and amusing manner, and, by the most grotesque signs, had warned them of the real danger of eating the poisonous tutu berries, which were then ripe and in great abundance.

A large tent had been erected to receive the steerage passengers, into which they were all crowded, although, in a more advanced stage of civilization, the whole ship's company would have been put into quarantine. But health to all soon returned under the spacious tent, flapping with the pure and cooling sea breezes which make the Nelson summer climate so health-giving and delightful. Some of the cabin passengers crowded into the hut, on the Church hill, but the more independent dug out a berth in a dry sand bank, and thus for the first time literally slept on New Zealand soil.

No beasts of burden had yet arrived in Nelson, so that wheelbarrows were in great request and were kept going day and night; but in a few days, Willoughby Shortland's tormentor, Mr. Sam Phelps, with the long known "Ben, the bullock driver," arrived from Wellington, with the celebrated bullock "Shortland" and two others. It was soon seen that they were not going to work day and night. They needed no trades union to enlighten them in the art of large pay and little work. Having earned eleven pounds before dinner, by carting Mr. Cotterell's goods and chattels,

the bullocks were turned out on the good rough feed, upon which no quadruped but a pig or rat had previously fed, and Mr. Phelps and his partner were soon to be seen lying under their dray, oblivious to all around them. Although not always for the same pay, each morning saw about the same quantity of work performed, and each afternoon the same kind of indulgence; until the arrival of a black horse, whose owner did not join the trades union, and, as Mr. Phelps feelingly said, "spoiled the business." This horse although vicious, was tractable at his work and could be taken, more easily than the bullocks, through the shallow water, until the body of the dray was level with the ship's boats. This horse took a dislike to the Maoris, and would sometimes attempt to bite them, but always with the result that he only succeeded in getting sole possession of the Maori's blanket, whilst the naked and astonished Maori rejoiced in his harmless escape.

About a week after the arrival of the *Fifeshire*, the *Mary Ann* came in, and, on the fifteenth of the same month, came the *Lloyds*, with the sad tale of all the crimes, and woes and deaths of her long and disastrous voyage.

Early in March another calamity, the extent of which it would be very difficult to estimate, was inflicted on Nelson, and on New Zealand; by the arrival of a man who had been appointed to nearly all the government offices in the gift of Governor Hobson that had to be filled in the province of Nelson. He came as Police Magistrate, Post Master, Protector of Aborigines, Government Representative, and eventually was made Judge of the County Court. He was probably one of Shortland's or Gipps' selections; and, if so he was perhaps the worst of all their inflictions upon New Zealand. He was immediately seen to be very eccentric, and it was a kind of eccentricity which might very properly be called by a much stronger name. There are few of the early Nelson settlers who have not seen him stamping and tearing out his hair on the smallest provocation. Many of them will remember how he ordered all the settlers off the government reserves, on the very day that he landed, and cried and stamped when they told him that they would not go. How he poisoned his own imported

fowls, the next morning, and swore over them for being so foolish as to eat poison which he intended only for the rats. How he would order, in the name of the Queen, a braver settler than himself to guide him through a flooded river, or how he would swear his way to church because he was "too late to read those d—d prayers." The jokes that have been told about this, "good-hearted but eccentric magistrate and his equally eccentric law" would hardly befit the pages of a sober history; and there is little temptation to joke over an appointment so criminal. An appointment which produced the Wairau massacre, as the worst, but still as only one of its natural consequences.

Thompson came from Wellington in the *Brougham*, an English immigrant ship, which came through the French Pass, and found the ledge of a rock from which she escaped, without very serious damage after eight hours detention. Nine days later, the *Bolton* came in with 354 immigrants. On the 2nd of April the *Martha Ridgway* arrived, and on the 10th the *London*; and by the end of May there were over 1700 persons crowding round the town, and still not one acre of county land in the hands of any purchasers, or held in any way that would make cultivation practicable. It was the 21st of August before an acre of suburban land was open for selection, and another season was gone before fern land could be made ready for seed, or before swamp land could be drained. Three or four gardens in the town bush had been cleared and cultivated, at an expense for clearing that could never pay; but the population as a whole found themselves without employment; and the sins of the New Zealand Company began, in earnest, to find them out. Both land purchasers and labourers had lost all faith in the wisdom, honesty or capacity of the company, and each had formed an organization of its own, to protect themselves against the men who had brought them into so much difficulty, discomfort and danger.

It has often been said that the Wakefield system of colonisation proved a failure; but the Wakefield system, or at least the published theory of Edward Gibbon Wakefield was never tried in New Zealand. What was tried there, by

the Wakefield brothers, if it could be called a system at all, was a system of unfulfilled promises, of shuffling procrastination, and of helpless executive incapacity, which could succeed nowhere. It was no part of E. G. Wakefield's published theory to sell land which had not been bought or acquired by the sellers, nor to send the purchasers to a country with no natural supplies of food, to wait for years before they could get possession of the land so long paid for, or find themselves in a position to produce the necessities of life, for their own support, or the support of relatives or labourers dependent upon them. It was a part of his theory to keep the labourers without land until they could earn it by steady employment; but no one ever dreamed of anything so mad as that of sending thousands of penniless emigrants where no one would for some years obtain possession of land on which to employ them.

The Company had distinctly engaged to employ all the emigrants they were sending out, at a certain wage, provided they could not find employment elsewhere, and a very large, and fast-increasing number of men were now claiming the fulfilment of that promise. The promise was, for some time, weakly and dishonourably denied; but was soon proved by the production of the Company's printed papers, and enforced by a demonstration of overwhelming physical force. Thus compelled, the Company's Agent proceeded to do as little as he could, and to do it in a way as injurious, both to the Company and to the men, as anything that their worst enemy could have adopted. Instead of utilising to the utmost the labour he was bound to employ, and taking care that he got full value for the money he was compelled to part with, he took a course which was sure to bring upon him the largest number of claimants for employment, and to produce the smallest possible advantage from that employment, either to the Company or to the colony; whilst its effect upon the men was certainly and entirely demoralising. It was, in fact, not a system of employment, but a system of weekly relief, under which married men got more than single ones, but the best of workmen got no more than the worst, and were very soon taught to give just as little value for what they were paid.

The men were sent to work in very large gangs ; at spade, pick, and shovel work, at so much per week, the same price being paid to an able navy as to a crippled tailor, or to a soft-handed music master. Of course all soon learned to do the same infinitesimal quantity of work, and woe betide the man who dared to do more.

Their occupation was supposed to be road making. No horses or bullocks were employed, and the work generally consisted of digging a small ditch, on each side of a line of road, and spreading the earth on the middle. This work was at first in the town, but soon went a little outside of that boundary, and then the more work they did the farther they would have to walk to their work, or to be separated from their families. This supplied a very important reason why as little work as possible should be done. Even the blacksmiths and storekeepers, who could claim to have been company's immigrants, gave up their solitary occupations and preferred to get eighteen shillings a week for joining in these pleasant picnics. The men were consulted as to who should be their ganger, and when this privilege was, on one occasion infringed, they ducked the usurper in a deep ditch of standing water, and told him to go home and dry his clothes, and not to come there again. This injunction was very scrupulously obeyed, as the gentleman appeared to believe that his life had been in great danger, and that one of Her Majesty's war ships should be sent to Nelson, to reinstate his authority. When Captain Wakefield was asked why he did not put the men upon piece work, he replied, "what could I find for them to do? I have great difficulty to find anything now."

An abler man, when he found himself obliged to spend so much money in sustaining the imported labourers, would have covered the loss, by taking care that the money was spent in useful, vigorous labour, that would have given value, more than sufficient, to return all the outlay. No one can suppose for a moment, that, with a wild, unimproved country, waiting to be converted into a civilized English colony, there could possibly be any real want of profitable employment. There were roads needing to be formed and metalled, bridges to be constructed, rivers to be kept in their

courses, public buildings to be erected, land to be cleared and cultivated, forests to be utilised, and food to be produced. Everything was demanding the efforts of skill and industry. All that was wanting was security to the investor—men will not build where they would have no right to dwell, nor sow where they would have no right to reap. The inexcusable delays of the Company in purchasing, surveying, and allotting the land, had left no private individual in a position to utilise his own, or any other labour; but the company's agent had a power by which he could have warded off most of the evil consequences of this blundering, and have changed, as by a magic wand, a scene of helpless inactivity, of paralyzing distrust, and dishonourable indolence, into a hive of cheerful industry and hope, of conquered difficulties, and honorable self reliance. He had only to order a reserve of one thousand acres of good swampy land to be used immediately as an industrial farm, to have drained, cleared, ploughed, sown, and fenced it, all by contract work. At the same time, he should have called for tenders for capacious and well-planned public buildings, macadamised roads, and labourers' cottages; thus utilising the small but dense bush, which stood on one part of the site of the town, and was being wantonly and wastefully burned, not only with the permission, but with the example of the Police Magistrate; who appropriated the botanical gardens as a brickyard, from which he sold the bricks.

What a death blow this would have been to the habits of idleness which were paralyzing some of the best men who ever handled a pick or shovel! How it would have altered the reputation of Nelson, have saved the Company and its land purchasers from all financial difficulties, and its labourers from something very near starvation. Just when the Company stopped payment, and left its labourers to starve, in February, 1844, it might by this one act of common sense, on the part of competent agents, have securely harvested 40,000 bushels of wheat, and have had 200 tons of potatoes to dig. To do all this, some working bullocks would have had to be imported; but they were very cheap in Sydney, and imported cows were being sold at Wellington under £6 per head.

Very little, if any more, money need have been spent in this way than was spent in propagating unproductive idleness, followed by cruel privation and suffering; and, at importing prices at the time, the whole cost of the labour employed would be more than repaid by the produce of the industrial farm. Fifty or sixty bushels of wheat was a common yield, from the best virgin soil, on flax land, even when put in very roughly.

When Mr. Fox succeeded Captain Wakefield, he clearly saw that the New Zealand Company would not and could not long continue such an unproductive expenditure, and at once warned the men to that effect, and introduced an entirely different system. Mr. Tuckett had acted as Company's Agent, as well as Chief Surveyor, during a few weeks after the Wairau Massacre, and before the arrival of Mr. Fox. After consultation with Mr. Tuckett—who expressed the utmost abhorrence of the existing state of anarchy and improvidence—Mr. Fox, with his natural benevolence and philanthropy, gave all the men an opportunity to provide for the approaching famine, by putting them on a most encouraging system of working for themselves. He gave to each man who took up land, in any quantity or in any direction he pleased, an opportunity to work during most of the time on his own land, and yet to do far more for the Company, and to receive the same wages from them as they had received for leaning all day on their spades. The suburban sections had been allotted, and most of them were in the hands of ruined residents or disgusted absentees, who were glad to let them at moderate prices, and with purchasing clauses. Thus easily supplied with land, Mr. Fox's plan supplied them with some means to work it. A small quantity of work was allotted to each man for a month's wages. He might get through his measured task as soon as he could, and was then free to spend the rest of the month in working on his own land. In this way the men did six times more for the Company than they had ever done before; yet, so small was the demand made upon them, that an able workman would walk from his dwelling ten miles on Monday morning, and walk home on the following Thursday, having completed all the work required of him for a month's wages.

Poor and incomplete as it really was, this somewhat less pauperising, and far more benevolent and far-seeing arrangement, inaugurated by Mr. Fox, was adopted only about five or six months before it became known in Nelson that the Company had crept out of all their liabilities by suddenly stopping payment, and that no more wages would now be obtainable in Nelson. But, short as the time of its operation had been, it probably saved a large portion of the then population of the Nelson province from absolute starvation.

The best of the men had been using their home time to grow roots and grain for their own use, and what they had thus provided for their own families was often shared by their starving neighbours, and greatly mitigated the calamities of the food famine, which so indelibly marked in Nelson the year 1844. This was the crowning service which Mr. Fox had rendered to his poor Nelson neighbours in 1843, and which was so pleasingly acknowledged by a testimonial presented to Sir William Fox by their descendants, at the Nelson Jubilee of 1892.

After the three working bullocks and the vicious black horse we have mentioned, the next addition to the useful animals of Nelson was a thorough-bred mare named Emilia, by Emilius out of Sal, better known as the dam of Il Barbieri and the grand dam of Strop. She was brought to Nelson by the eccentric police magistrate Thompson, and was ridden by him, in full jockey costume, in the first Nelson races round the Church Hill, but was easily beaten by a grey gelding named Hairtrigger, imported and ridden by Mr. George Duppa. Both of these horses soon came to grief. The mare died at thirteen years old, in 1844; and Hairtrigger was ruined by riding him into a heap of hot ashes which brought off his front hoofs. A few riding horses and a shipment of very wild cattle were early imported by Mr. Todd, and sold for a great deal more than they were worth. There was one old harmless, black cow amongst them that had been milked, which was purchased by Mr. Cullen for £40, and was the first cow to be milked in Nelson—the milk selling at a shilling a quart. Some of the other cows were ultimately made quiet enough to milk

by working them in the yoke. Some really good shorthorn cattle were soon afterwards imported by Mr. George Duppa, who established a station, a farm, and a dairy on the Wairoa River. The first English cart horse was brought to Nelson by Mr. Hugh Martin. He was called Captain, and was only a very poor specimen of English cart blood. A better cart horse was afterwards imported from Australia by Mr. William Jones, and was called Farmer.

Several shipments of sheep were early imported from Australia, without any of the reasonable and easy precautions that should have been enforced to prevent the introduction of scab. The most enterprising flock owner was Mr. Ipsley, who was, in 1845, drowned in the Waimea River. The first English Leicesters and Southdowns were imported by Mr. Alfred Saunders from the Wiltshire Down flocks, of Messrs. Hayward and Sainsbury. The Leicesters were sold to Mr. Spooner and to Mr. Goulter, and were largely used by them, and by Mr. Redwood, senior, to produce crossbreds with their merino ewes. The Southdowns went to Mr. Ipsley; but the best of the Southdown ewes, with her two lambs, was killed by one of the pig dogs that abounded in those days. At the same time Mr. Saunders also imported from England the large and small breed of Berkshire pigs, which soon superseded the coarse, unthrifty, native bristle growers that had spread so widely over New Zealand. Several mules were early imported both to Wellington and to Nelson; but they were never much appreciated until the gold diggings created a demand for pack carriers over the rough steep mountains. In those early days almost everyone wanted to use brood mares for draught or driving, as the foals paid so well for rearing during the first quarter of a century. In 1860 the best cart geldings bred in Nelson were sold to go to Canterbury, as high as £140 each.



## CHAPTER XVIII.

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THE EARLY SETTLERS. 1840-1844.

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Oh, ever in thy columns bright  
Let truth and virtue blend !  
Be ever, ever in the right !  
Be ever labour's friend.  
His strong and honest arm shall be  
Thy bulwark in distress ;  
God bless the land of liberty !  
God save our country's Press !

—G. C. CUTTER.

THE first New Zealand newspaper was published in Wellington three months after the arrival of the *Aurora*—the first immigrant ship which arrived at that port on January 20th, 1840. The New Zealand Company does not appear to have made any arrangements for the publication of a newspaper at their first settlement ; so that a subscription was raised by the leading settlers ; a plant purchased ; an office, twenty feet square, erected ; and a Mr. Samuel Revans appointed to be printer and editor.

The paper was at first named the *New Zealand Gazette*, and after twenty numbers had appeared it was called the *New Zealand Gazette and Britannia Spectator*. Under those names it was not at all a pretentious production in any sense of the word. But, when Dr. Evans and the three F's of Wellington—Fox, Featherston, and Fitzherbert—took it up, it became quite a shining light both in a literary and political sense.

The next New Zealand newspaper was published at Kororareka, on June the 15th, four-and-a-half months after the arrival of Lieutenant-Governor Hobson, and was called the *New Zealand Advertiser and Bay of Islands' Gazette*. Under that name it did not live long. It at first supported and afterwards abused the Lieutenant-Governor; but strikingly good writers or well-informed politicians were decidedly less common in the north in those days than they were in the New Zealand Company's settlements.

On the 12th of March, 1842, or less than five weeks after the arrival of the *Mary Ann* with the staff and plant for the *Nelson Examiner*, the first number of that paper was published. The nominal proprietor, Charles Eliot, was very ably assisted by his brother James, and, although Charles was appropriately called the political Eliot and James the printing Eliot, they both understood their publishing business well, brought a great deal of energy to their work, and, under all their difficulties, managed to make the paper very interesting to the members of the small community amongst which it circulated.

It was not openly avowed that the paper and plant were the property of the New Zealand Company, and completely at the service of Captain Wakefield. Many little devices were adopted to throw doubts upon that fact, but they did not succeed; and both the land purchasers and the labourers felt that the Nelson press would offer no facilities to ventilate their grievances against the New Zealand Company. But still the little paper was worth reading, and, although it cost a shilling, it was well patronised by a large proportion of the small and very poor population. On all great public questions its columns were liberally opened to correspondence on either side. Some very able letters were supplied, and some very important controversies were long and well sustained. Indeed, it would not be too much to say that the correspondence columns of no New Zealand paper have ever exhibited more able arguments for and against the taxation of improvements, secular education, and universal suffrage than might, in its most palmy days, be seen in the *Nelson Examiner*. No province in New Zealand was ever so rich in able public men as little Nelson

was at that time. Even after the Wairau Massacre, she still contained four of the future premiers of New Zealand and all of the future superintendents of the province, besides such very able writers as Barnicoat, Jolly, Young, Eliot, Monro, and Greenwood, all of whom were often tempted to enrich the columns of the little *Nelson Examiner*.

But, finding that they could expect no help from the local press, the land purchasers in Nelson founded a combination called "The Original Land Purchasers' Association." This was, at first, a useful society to protect their own interests against the encroachments of the New Zealand Company and its newspaper. But the power thus acquired was retained long after the New Zealand Company had ceased to exist, and long after the only Nelson newspaper was entirely at the service of the original land purchasers; so that it became a dangerous and mischievous class combination, facetiously called "The Nelson Supper Party," and more viciously "The Forty Thieves." This party was very ably led by Dr., afterwards Sir David Monro, and retained all political power in their own hands until some time after the introduction of representative government into the colony. Their nominees were, for many years, the only persons sent to the Governor's Nominee Executive Council, the only persons appointed justices of the peace, or ever placed on the Special Jury list. The latter power especially caused, more than once, a very flagrant miscarriage of justice. Socially, as well as politically, favours and recognition were awarded only to those who faithfully followed the orthodox leaders, and amiably complied with the decisions and arrangements of this upper circle. They were not a wealthy party, nor even a proud and haughty party. Wasteful dress, luxurious entertainments, or expensive habits formed no part of their weakness or strength, and were not even a recommendation to their favour. Many of them were not only poor, but over head and ears in debt; and most of them lifted their hats very respectfully to the director or to the manager of the Union Bank. The one thing necessary, to obtain the favour and flattery of the Association, was a quiet and unenquiring acquiescence in the division of the whole province into

sheep runs, to be held, and, as soon as possible, to be owned by the members of the "Party."

They were not, by any means, an exceptionally selfish lot of men. On the contrary, their common misfortunes, and their compulsory close association, had given more than common strength to their social instincts and sincerity to their friendships, which caused them to take a real and lasting interest in each other's welfare, and to show the most striking generosity to any of their unfortunate comrades. But the desire to monopolize land is by no means confined to the exceptionally selfish, and, in the case of these early settlers, the temptation was irresistible from the absence of all those legal or constitutional impediments to land monopoly which should have guarded the public welfare. Lord John Russell had seen the danger from the first, and early recommended a tax upon unimproved land which, if adopted, would have saved the colony from so many of its difficulties and dangers.

A powerful combination so exclusively used by one class in any community cannot fail to raise a spirit of discontent in the minds of those who find themselves and their friends set aside from rights or privileges in which they have an equal claim to participate. The day of reckoning to the Nelson Original Land Purchasers did not come until 1856 and then the power of the people was effectually, although very wisely and temperately, used.

Mr. Fox's honest concern for the real welfare of all classes was duly appreciated by those who sought nothing for their own class that was not due to all. By his unmistakable personal truth and justice, the labourers of Nelson were inclined almost to forget the sins of his employers in contemplating the virtues of the agent. Perhaps the demoralising effect of so much uncontrolled dissipation, affecting so large a portion of the community, would not have been completely wiped out by any less trying ordeal than the starvation through which they passed; but, certain it is, that the families who passed through the purifying fire upon that occasion afterwards proved themselves, both in Nelson and elsewhere, to be some of the most prudent, industrious and successful settlers that ever helped to plant a British Colony.

The death of Governor Hobson had left Willoughby Shortland, Esq., to reign as he pleased in New Zealand for more than fourteen months. During the long illness of Hobson, Shortland had already got the Colony as deeply into debt as he had found it possible for him to do; but this did not prevent him from making an effort to see what more could be done in the same direction in Australia. As the British Government had so positively refused to honour any more drafts upon them, Mr. Cooper, the collector of customs, was sent to Sydney, where he appears to have obtained a promise from Mr. Boyd, the manager of the Bank of Australasia, to discount Shortland's bills to the extent of fifteen thousand pounds. But, before the whole sum had been advanced, facts came to light which had not been stated to Mr. Boyd and he declined to complete the sum arranged for under what he considered incomplete information. Mr. Shortland was thus left in a helpless condition of poverty, and his Government was carried on under the most peculiar conditions of non-payment for the necessary and common services which, in modern civilised countries are supposed to be safely rendered to the order of Government officers.

The customs exactions were enforced vexatiously, even on articles brought out by the poorest immigrants, although both at Wellington and Nelson, far more was collected than was spent by the Government in those provinces. Even the police magistrates were left without the means to pay for necessary assistance given to the police. A Mr. Michael Peel advertised for several weeks in the *Nelson Examiner* that he and his boat and boat's crew had been employed on police business, for which he was promised two pounds, but, on applying to the police magistrate for the money, he was told that he would probably have to wait for twelve months before the Government could pay that. A Mr. John Clerk, who had been put off in the same way, was afterwards called upon, in the name of the Queen, to assist an assaulted constable; but replied "The Queen must pay the money she owes me before I render her any more assistance." For this disloyal, although not unprovoked, remark he was brought up before Mr.

Thompson, the police magistrate, and fined one pound and costs.

With all his difficulties Mr. Shortland declined to call for the advice and assistance of his Nominee Council. He had great faith in his own powers, and, like most small-minded men, was a complete believer in autocracy when administered by himself.

In the second month of his administration the colony was very nearly involved in a disastrous Maori war, by his rashly sending troops to Tauranga to recover a boat that had been stolen from a Mr. Farrow by some Makutu Maoris; but the attorney-general, Mr. Swainson, protested against such a rash commencement of hostilities, and was ably assisted in his remonstrance by the well-informed chief justice, Sir W. Martin, and by Bishop Selwyn. The result was that the troops were sent back to Auckland without having taken any action, and without involving the colony in any irretrievable hostilities, which the Acting-Governor had neither the money, nor the credit, nor the wisdom to have made possibly successful.

Shortland lost no time in giving to Nelson a County Court, in appointing his eccentric friend, Thompson, as the judge, and the editor of the *Nelson Examiner* as the crown prosecutor; but both the judge and the editor were tomahawked at the Wairau before the court was brought into actual operation, and Governor Fitzroy afterwards made other arrangements.

After the Wairau massacre, Shortland appears to have been wholly inactive, and avowedly waited six months for the arrival of the Governor, before he would take any responsibility as to the arrest, the punishment, or the pardon of the murderers. In this, he, no doubt, adopted the only course open to him. He knew and felt more clearly than most other persons that the massacre had been caused by the police magistrate, nominally appointed by Governor Hobson, but most likely really appointed by himself, and whom he had certainly appointed judge of the County Court at Nelson. He must have known, too, that whatever he did would be looked upon with suspicion by the New Zealand Company's settlers, whom he had

taken so many opportunities to embarrass and insult. Nor could a Governor, who could not pay two pounds for the conveyance of a constable, be supposed by any one to be in a position to declare war against the two chiefs who had desolated the South Island, and claimed half of New Zealand as their own territory by right of conquest.

On the arrival of Governor Fitzroy, Shortland did not retain the position of Colonial Secretary. His actions, and especially the financial embarrassment to which he had reduced the colony, had naturally placed him very low in the estimation of the English government, and Fitzroy was little disposed to endorse his past actions. The magistrate, Mr. White, whom he had put in all Thompson's numerous offices at Nelson, was at once removed, and neither Shortland's friendships nor his aversions were at all generally endorsed by the new Governor.

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## CHAPTER XIX.

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### TUA MARINA TRAGEDY, LONG KNOWN AS THE WAIRAU MASSACRE. 1843.

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“ Who steals my purse, steals trash : 'tis something, nothing ;  
'Twas mine, 'tis his, and has been slave to thousands ;  
But he that filches from me my good name,  
Robs me of that which not enriches him,  
And makes me poor indeed.

—SHAKSPERE.

By far the most important event in New Zealand during the administration of Mr. Shortland was the calamity usually known as the Wairau massacre, which occurred on June 17th, 1843. It was not only that many valuable lives were lost, and great suffering inflicted on many attached friends; but the impression left on the Maori mind by the events of that single day, entirely altered the estimation in which the natives had previously held the British character—both for valour and for justice. The slow-growing friendly confidence between the two races received a lasting interruption; the courage of the British whalers and the equity of Marsden's missionaries were promptly discounted; and all that they had been told of British warriors seemed to them but an idle tale. Such an impression, so carelessly conveyed, has had an adverse influence upon the history of New Zealand from that day to the present time; and many brave men have gone to their graves with a sense of wrong, and with an unjust slur

upon their manliness, which resulted more from their misfortune than from their fault.

The general reader will be inclined to suppose that there could be no difficulty in putting on record a fair and impartial account of an event which has commanded so many recorders—so many able and reputable historians—and has been the subject of so many judicial enquiries. But knowing, as we have done, all the actors and all the sufferers; reading, as we have done, all the statements which have been written about it; and weighing, as we have done, all the official and judicial evidence that has been placed on record, we are still compelled to believe that an entirely faithful record has yet to be written, and that no account yet given to the public has conveyed the whole truth and kept nothing back, to protect the few, which justice to the many demanded to be told. Most of the writers have been warm friends of those who were slain, with the usual desire to say nothing but good of the dead, and with a determination to place nothing on record which should add a pang to the bereaved relatives. Another class of writers has been bent upon showing that the whole blame rested with the agents of the New Zealand Company, and another that it rested entirely with the Government or the Church missionaries. Whilst the Government, which had appointed the author and the leader of the expedition, was, of course, bent upon showing that the fault lay with the men who would not follow such a leader, and not with the leader himself.

We shall try to arrange facts so that our readers may learn what actually did occur, and be able to realise the position in which the men were placed whom Governor Fitzroy has so harshly and rashly held up to the gaze of the world as cowards and deserters.

It will be necessary to begin by stating the facts connected with another event, now generally forgotten, but which is still important, as it was the means of deceiving the Nelson settlers as to the fighting power of the Maoris, and of enlightening the Maoris as to the practicability of easily resisting any merely pretentious armaments which the Europeans were beginning to think quite sufficient to righten their less civilised neighbours.

Very soon after the arrival of the first settlers in Nelson, the want of lime was severely felt ; and as both limestone and coal were to be had at Massacre Bay, four industrious Nelson settlers joined in partnership, put their little capital into the venture, and went themselves to Massacre Bay for the purpose of sending coal and lime to Nelson.

The Maoris at Massacre Bay were no longer numerous, and were, in fact, mere refugees whom Rauparaha had suffered to live there so long as they did not interfere with him. They well knew what firearms had done in Rauparaha's hands ; but they were not themselves permitted to hold them, or to make themselves in any way formidable or dangerous.

On seeing that the coal and the lime-stone could be sent over to Nelson and be sold for money, which could be exchanged for all kinds of comforts and luxuries, these Natives came to the conclusion that, although they had sold the land, they had not sold the coal or the stone, and would not allow them to be taken away. Ekawa was their chief, and, as the settlers continued their operations, he destroyed or injured their lime kilns and some casks of lime. The affair was reported to the Police Magistrate at Nelson, who at once swore in twenty-five special constables and proceeded in a Deal boat to Massacre Bay, to proceed against Ekawa on the scene of his depredations.

It was now found that, although Colonel Wakefield had brought out such a large supply of firearms to barter with the Natives for land, Captain Wakefield had, most imprudently, brought out none to support his authority in in Nelson, nor had the Government supplied any to their Police Magistrate. One of the Nelson merchants had brought out a large number of muskets which had been rejected as defective, and had been sold to him in England for a few pence each, and were being retailed at a low price, although at a handsome profit, to the Maoris. These muskets were placed in the hands of the special constables, with the assurance that, although they would not go off except when they were not wanted to do so, the sight of them would be quite enough to frighten the Maoris, and to compel their submission. This proved to be the fact with

the few refugee Maoris encountered. Ekawa was duly frightened into submission, was fined ten shillings and ten shillings costs, and promised to sin no more.

The Police Magistrate and his army came home with flying colours—the special constables laughing at the perfectly useless character of their muskets. The little local newspaper made the most of the joke, and Shortland, the officer administering the Government of New Zealand, was even foolish enough to send his special thanks to the triumphant Police Magistrate. Thus Rauparaha and the Maoris, from one end of New Zealand to the other, learned a lesson about Nelson armies of special constables which they were never likely to forget. This happened just eight months before a similar expedition was sent to the Wairau; so that Rauparaha and Rangihaeata had had time to thoroughly understand and well discuss every detail in the transaction, and to fully appreciate the taunt of cowardice which had been so unwisely and unjustly directed against their race.

For nearly a year after his arrival in Massacre Bay, Captain Wakefield attempted to keep up the delusion that the land required to meet the engagements of the New Zealand Company with respect to the Nelson Settlement was to be found at Blind Bay. The audacious and utterly unfounded statement of the Company's draughtsman, Mr. Heaphy, that "five hundred thousand acres of excellent agricultural land" could be obtained in connection with the chosen harbour of Wakatu, had been widely circulated by Captain Wakefield's authority both in England and in New Zealand. But, when every nook and corner of accessible land within fifty miles of that port had been taken up by the surveyors, for the suburban fifty-acre sections only, the delusion could no longer be sustained, and the surveyors had, after all, to be sent to the level land upon which the whole settlement ought to have been formed at first, to find there the eleven hundred 150-acre sections which had so long been declared to exist at Nelson, and many of which had so long been paid for.

Captain Wakefield knew that Rauparaha had told him that he had never sold the land at the Wairau. He knew

that the first latitude and longitude purchases of Colonel Wakefield were not understood by Rauparaha, and were not recognized as sufficiently definite by the Government. He knew that the mere copy of a pretended agreement to sell the Wairau which his brother had obtained from Mrs. Blinkinsop, was only a piece of waste paper. He knew that the Commissioner Spain had arranged to come to the Wairau in June to investigate all claims to that land. He, moreover, knew that the New Zealand Company had not even claimed any part of the Wairau to be included in the altered and extended conditions, affecting these purchased lands, granted by Lord John Russell in 1841.

But, just as Colonel Wakefield had hurried on his incomplete purchases to hide the past deceptions of the Company, so Captain Wakefield now felt that, to acknowledge that he had no title to land which he must now admit to be necessary to make any pretence of completing the terms of sale by the Company, would be to acknowledge deliberate and long sustained fraud.

Rather than make such an acknowledgement, he chose to send, on the fifteenth of April, 1843, three contract surveyors, Barnicoat, Cotterell and Parkinson, with forty assistants, to proceed with the surveys as if there had been no dispute about the title. These surveyors were soon forbidden by the Maoris to continue their work. The Maoris destroyed their pegs and ranging rods; but neither offered nor threatened any personal violence.

The interruption was reported to Captain Wakefield who, in reply, addressed a letter to the surveyors telling them "that, in case of any actual injury to property, the Magistrates would take immediate measures to apprehend the offenders; but that in the mean time, the surveyors must make their own peace with the Natives in the best way they could, and he would indemnify them for any loss they might sustain."

On June the first, Rauparaha and Rangihaeata made their appearance with a fleet of canoes and a large body of armed followers. They calmly forbade the surveyors to continue the surveys. They restrained their followers from every kind of violence or pilfering. They assisted the

surveyors to remove everything belonging to them to the boats on the river, and then burnt the wood and reeds which had grown on their own land. Rauparaha is reported by a Maori to have said: "Do not be angry. This toi-toi belongs to me—it grew on my land. You might be angry if your house—which I shall burn—was built of boards brought from England; but, as this toi-toi is mine, it is right that I should burn it. All the things belonging to you have been taken out of the house and I am acting according to a just law. It is for you to commit some evil act." Mr. Barnicoat reported to Mr. Tuckett that "the Natives had removed his effects but that the chiefs had used their influence to restrain their people from appropriating any of his goods or committing any violence."

On the third of June, Mr. Tuckett sent Cotterell, the Quaker surveyor, to Nelson, with a note to Captain Wakefield describing what had happened. Mr. Cotterell arrived in Nelson on Sunday, the eleventh of June, where he delivered the note to Captain Wakefield, and gave him all the information in his power. He was instructed by Captain Wakefield to appear at the Magistrate's Court the next morning and give his evidence.

On the Bench, on June the twelfth, were Mr. Thompson, the Police Magistrate; Captains Wakefield and England; and Mr. A. McDonald, the banker. After hearing the evidence of Mr. Cotterell and that of one of his boatmen, John Burton, the Magistrates issued a summons for Rauparaha and Rangihæata on a charge of arson. It is clear that Captain Wakefield should not have sat on that Bench; the question of title to the land was necessarily involved, and on that subject he was by no means a disinterested party. But no one appeared on behalf of the accused, and the question of title was carefully avoided. The Government brig *Victoria* was in the harbour, and by her a party could be sent with the same defective muskets which had done such effective service at Massacre Bay; and Mr. Thompson did not seem to recognise that there was any difference between arresting two of the triumphant and unchecked conquerors of New Zealand,

and playing at justice upon one of their most feeble, unsupported and unarmed serfs.

On the following day the brig started with the Police Magistrate, four constables, twelve special constables, and Brooks, the interpreter. Besides Captain Wakefield, there were two army captains, Wilson and England, who were on their way to England, Mr. Howard, the Company's storekeeper, Mr. Cotterell, and Mr. Richardson, the newly-appointed Crown Prosecutor and editor of the *Nelson Examiner*. The first day they met Mr. Tuckett coming from the Wairau with Mr. Patchett and Mr. Bellairs, who, with their boat and boat's crew, returned to the Wairau with the brig. Some of the passengers landed at the mouth of the Wairau on the evening of the fifteenth, and the remainder on the sixteenth. The storekeeper, Howard, had served under Captain Wakefield on board a man-of-war, and most of the special constables expected that he would lead the armed men on this occasion. Captain England was not a young man, and no one expected Mr. Thompson to take a command for which he was known to be so utterly unfit, especially as he had not attempted to take any such command in the Massacre Bay expedition.

It was known that Mr. Tuckett would not carry arms, and it was not expected that he would have gone anywhere with an armed party; but as they were going away with their useless muskets and rusty cutlasses, he said to Captain Wakefield and Mr. Thompson:—"I will go with you if you will do what I am sure ought to be done. Go unarmed and get a quiet talk with Rauparaha and Rangihaeata alone." This they consented to do, and the brave Quaker was betrayed into the greatest mistake of his life. They were soon afterwards joined by Mr. Barnicoat and by several of the surveyors' men.

On their way up the river, they met an influential chief named Puaha, a nephew of Rauparaha, a brave, wise man of peace, who died, as he lived, respected by all and a consistent Christian convert. Puaha expressed the greatest regret at seeing an armed force, as the Maoris were armed and numerous—not less than a hundred,—and fearful bloodshed might be expected on both sides. Thompson told

him that no violence would be used if Rauparaha and Rangihaeata would come on the brig and allow the "charge of arson to be settled by the Magistrates." Puaha replied, "that if once they saw that armed force, they would never believe that the Englishmen's intentions were peaceful, and they would certainly not go on board the brig; but that, if the armed men would return to Port Underwood, he would pledge himself that Rauparaha and Rangihaeata would go there and talk the matter quietly over. As he could make no impression on Thompson, he undertook to convey a message to the other Maori chiefs, and, from first to last, bore all Thompson's insults meekly and strove to prevent bloodshed.

Early the next morning, the party arrived opposite to where the Maoris were camped in a small bush on the banks of a narrow deep stream called the Tua Marina. At the request of Mr. Cotterell, a canoe was placed across the narrow stream by the Maoris, and he went over with Tuckett, Thompson, Wakefield, Patchett, Brooks—the interpreter—and the chief constable—Maling, carrying the handcuffs. By Mr. Tuckett's stipulation, no armed person came over; but the handcuffs were, perhaps, rather worse than arms would have been. Mr. Thompson called for Rauparaha and Rangihaeata, upon which Rauparaha came forward and asked what he wanted with him. Thompson replied, that he was the Queen's representative, and held warrants for the arrest of him and Rangihaeata for arson, and that they must both come at once on board the Government brig, where the Magistrates would investigate the charge. Rauparaha replied that he had burned nothing but what belonged to himself, and that Mr. Spain was coming to settle about the land so that he had no wish to fight about it. Thompson replied, that Mr. Spain had nothing to do with the business: it was a question of arson which must be settled by the Magistrates on board the brig. Rauparaha replied that the Magistrates could come and settle it on the spot; but that he would go on no brig. At this stage, Thompson quite lost his senses, as he always did under excitement, spoke in his loudest voice, and danced furiously with his feet. Puaha came forward and

tried to pour oil on the troubled waters; but Thompson raved at him and ordered him to hold his tongue. Thompson then told Rauparaha that he had an armed force and would make him come. This brought up Rangihaeata, who began to vie with Thompson in angry words and more formidable gestures; but Rauparaha ordered him to sit down and be quiet, and to leave the talk to him. Thompson then madly called upon the chief constable to put the handcuffs upon Rauparaha; but still Rauparaha only quietly put his hands under his mat, and said that they could kill him; but they would never handcuff him alive. Thompson himself then caught at Rauparaha's hand, and Rauparaha pushed him away. Here a number of the Natives came forward, thinking that it was high time to rescue their chief; but Rauparaha still restrained them from all violence. The unarmed ambassadors were still entirely at the mercy of a large body of well-armed men, close to them but well-protected by trees, and Puaha was stoutly insisting that the unarmed men must not be harmed. At this time, Wakefield, too, must have lost all presence of mind, as he excitedly joined Thompson in ordering the armed men, now under Captain England, to come across the river with their useless muskets, in the face of all these well-protected, well-armed and well-controlled Maoris, numbering not less than one hundred. Notwithstanding Thompson's provocations, the unarmed ambassadors were in no danger. Rauparaha had given all his warriors the most distinct orders that they were not to interfere, unless they saw him being arrested, and then they were to rescue him but to use no violence, unless it became necessary to protect their own lives. So that these unarmed negotiators, if such they could be called, were at liberty, at any time, to have walked quietly and unharmed back to the armed men on the other side of the river. But, apart from the ill-chosen time of the order, to give such an order at all was simply to order the men into the fatal trap laid for them by the notoriously skilful Maori chiefs, who had chosen their own position as one which could not be approached without certain death to the assailants. To order sixteen untrained volunteers into that narrow space, in front of

those skilfully-handled and completely protected-muskets, was simply ordering men to throw away their lives without any possible object or advantage.

In the confusion of these advancing men, obstructed by their excited and retiring leaders, one of the defective muskets went off, as one had previously done an hour before when coming up the river, and the only wonder is that more of them did not do so. Many writers have asserted that this unbidden shot was the shot which killed Te Rongo, the wife of Rangihaeata and the daughter of Rauparaha; but that is entirely a fiction. The defective musket went off on the shoulder of a man crossing in the canoe, in a direction too high to kill any one, and in the opposite direction to that occupied by the Maoris. Te Rongo was killed by the second volley intentionally fired before Captain England's party re-crossed in the canoe. The brave and devoted wife is said to have placed herself in front of the big chief, and so to have received in her own person, the ball which might, so much more appropriately and beneficially, have struck down her savage husband.

Sixteen of the armed men got across the river, and the unarmed men had all safely re-crossed the other way. No Maoris were visible; but balls came thickly from the trees, and Ratcliffe, Clanzie, Tyrrell and Northam were shot dead, and several were wounded. A few of the defective muskets were fired towards the trees, and in the second volley one of the balls killed Te Rongo, which brought the Maoris' balls down upon them in all their fury. To stay where they were, or to go nearer to the well-lined trees, would have been certain and useless death to all. The survivors, therefore, hastily re-crossed the stream, Captain England falling into the water and hanging on to the side of the canoe. They returned a few volleys from the bank to which they had now crossed, and then went higher up the hill in search of their leaders. On reaching their leaders and comrades, they found that Mr. Howard was making an effort to take the command and to keep the men together, but without success. The men were getting critical about their leaders, and had just experienced the danger of

obeying ill-considered orders. Mr. Howard's first order is said to have been to "fix bayonets and come to the charge." This sounded very heroic ; but where was the enemy they were to charge ? Did he mean to charge the single Maoris who were shooting at them in the fern, and would certainly not wait to be charged, although they would be glad of such a good broad mark to shoot at ? Or did he mean them to cross the stream again and charge the trees from the little slaughter yard which Rauparaha had made so convenient for their execution ? Such an order did not commend itself to the men Mr. Howard essayed to command. There was amongst them an old soldier, who had evidently not lost his head, although neither his language, his appearance, his philanthropy, nor his morals were respected. His name was said to be Richard Painter, although he was only known among his comrades as Dick Panter. He had very freely sworn at Thompson, Wakefield and Howard ; but loudest of all at the proposal to lie down and throw away or give up their arms, wretched as these arms were. He was himself carrying a good fowling-piece. Omitting a great many expletives, his advice to his comrades was : "Don't get in a heap for the Maoris to shoot at. Keep up the hill and shoot every Maori who comes near you, and die a hundred times rather than surrender to a pack of hot-blooded savages."

This advice was certainly not sentimental, nor was it the best that might have been given ; but it was practical, and it soon divided the leaderless men into surrendering Royalists and retreating, protesting Independents—every man of the former to die without resistance ; the latter to make a desperate, but generally successful, struggle for life.

Any cool-headed man of common sense, whom the men would trust, might yet have led them out of danger, and saved all further bloodshed—not by any means with honour or glory ; but with less suffering and reproach than resulted from the sacrifice which followed the insane advice to "throw away their arms and lie down." They had left their two large boats in the Wairau River, not far off, and all the men would gladly have joined in an orderly retreat to them. Even if the Maoris had followed, which was not

at all likely, they must have given up their fortified position, and could, with comparative ease, have been kept at bay. Once in the boats, they could easily have returned to the brig.

The cool-headed Quaker, Tuckett, would, of course, not attempt to lead a body of armed men—even in a retreat ; but, seeing the hopeless confusion into which everything had been plunged by the irritability and imbecility of the authors and designers of the blundering expedition, he looked up Mr. Barnicoat, who had come with him ; a wounded man named John Bamforth, whose arm had been shattered ; Samuel Gapper, badly wounded in the hand ; with five others, and quietly walked off in the direction of the brig, which the whole party reached in safety, and Bamforth's life was saved by getting to Wellington the next day, where his arm was taken off at the shoulder socket. But for Mr. Tuckett's judicious guidance, these wounded men, and most, if not all, of those he took with him, would have been added to the twelve victims of Captain Wakefield's unaccountable determination to surrender.

Cotterell naturally wished to go with Mr. Tuckett ; but, when he prepared to do so and called for his men, Captain Wakefield said : " For God's sake, Mr. Cotterell, don't run away ; you are certain to be shot if you do." This speech appears to have been unfortunately regarded by Cotterell as a command from his employer. He submitted to the miserable judgment of Captain Wakefield, gave himself up to the Maoris, and was one of the first to be tomahawked : the Maoris saying : " Oh, you don't fight yourself ; but you go and get other men to fight for you." For a time, which would appear much longer to Bampton than it really was, Thompson, Wakefield, and Brooks, the interpreter, were shouting " Kati " (Peace), waving white handkerchiefs, and advising all to throw away their arms and lie down with them in the fern. Captain England, Richardson (wounded), Howard, Coster, Gardner, Bamforth, Pay, Cropper, McGregor, and George Bampton accepted his despondent advice ; but Bampton afterwards crept into the fern by himself. There he heard five shots, at intervals of about

five minutes, and afterwards heavy, dull sounds—like beating or chopping on the ground. He heard no cries or screams ; but a good deal of shouting and chattering by the Maoris.

When the bodies were collected for burial, John Kitson, who assisted the Rev. S. Ironsides to collect the bodies, tells us that Captain Wakefield had been killed by a single stroke from the front, which split open his head and obliterated his face. Mr. Thompson was struck behind his head and his face was not disfigured. He was lying on his side “with a quantity of hair in one hand which he appeared to have plucked from his head the instant before he was tomahawked.”

The resident Wesleyan Missionary at the Wairau, the Rev. Samuel Ironsides, gained the lasting respect and gratitude of the Nelson settlers by the prompt and brave manner in which he collected and buried the slain ; reading over them the Church of England burial service. John Kitson, who, with some others, had found his way to Mr. Ironsides' place, was able to identify all the bodies, and has given a careful description of the wounds which caused their death. The day of their death was only four days before the shortest day, and, on the following day or two the weather was boisterously cold and wet. Richard Painter and some of his followers showed their hardihood, but not much discretion, in taking the Highland Road to Nelson, through the intense cold of which they struggled, without blankets, and almost without food, for nearly a fortnight. Their sufferings were great, and their condition deplorable. The strongest could not afford to wait for the weakest, and Edward Stokes, who was wounded, soon died on the road. In these days of telegraphs and steamers, it seems strange to know that such a universal catastrophe was not even heard of in Nelson, only seventy miles away, until nine days after it occurred.

As to who actually struck the savage, fatal blows which killed these unresisting men, we have no reliable information, nor is it now a matter of much consequence. Rauparaha evidently prevaricated upon a subject so dangerous to himself and Rangihaeata ; and Mr. Ironsides, who probably

knew, avoids any statement about it. He would, no doubt, regard what the Maoris told him as a confidential confession which he was not at liberty to divulge. It is very clear that Rangihaeata was the ruling spirit who insisted upon their death, and, from his notorious delight in deeds of cruelty, he is not likely to have delegated the execution to any other hands. The only suggestion to the contrary which carries any probability with it is the latest statement made by Rauparaha to the effect that Thompson and Wakefield were killed by a son of Te-ahuta, who was allowed to slay them as a satisfaction for the death of his father who was said to have been the first Maori shot at Tua Marina. It is not likely that Rangihaeata would give up the two pakeha chiefs to be slain by one of his inferiors when he had an opportunity to take such a coveted satisfaction for the death of his own wife.

On the other points of his speech, in which he had not the same temptation to suppress the truth, Rauparaha's circumstantial account of the struggle, which he gave to Governor Fitzroy on the twelfth of February, 1844, is important—not on account of the speaker's own veracity; but because his statements generally harmonized with those of the best European writers, and were made in the presence of all the Maori witnesses and of the Rev. Octavius Hadfield who had long obtained a very remarkable moral influence over Rauparaha and his followers, and who, from his daily intercourse with them, was, perhaps, better acquainted with all the facts of the massacre than any other man in New Zealand. Rauparaha's account of the provocation and its results was translated by Mr. Clarke, protector of aborigines and officially published. After a long narrative of his resistance to the Wakefield claims to the Wairau, Rauparaha comes to the first appearance of the armed party, led by Thompson, on the morning of June 17th, 1843. He says:—

“Early in the morning we were on the look-out, and one of our scouts, who caught sight of them coming round a point, called out ‘Here they come. Here they come.’ Our women had kindled a fire and cooked a few potatoes that we had remaining, and we were hastily eating them

when they came in sight. Cotterell called out, 'Where is Puaha?' Puaha answered, 'Here I am, come here to me.' They said again, 'Where is Puaha?' Puaha again saluted them. Cotterell then said, 'Where is a canoe for us to cross?' Thompson, Wakefield and some other gentlemen crossed over with a constable to take me, but the greater number stopped on the other side of the creek. Thompson said, 'Where is Rauparaha?' I answered, 'Here.' He said, 'Come, you must come with me.' I replied, 'Where?' He said, 'On board the *Victoria*.' I replied, 'What for?' He answered, 'To talk about the houses you have burned down.' I said, 'What house was it I burned down? Was it a tent belonging to you, that you make so much ado about? You know it was not; it was nothing but a hut of rushes. The materials were cut from my own ground, therefore I will not go on board, neither will I be bound. If you are angry about the land, let us talk it quietly over; I care not if we talk till night and all day to-morrow; and when we have finished, I will settle the question about the land.' Mr. Thompson said, 'Will you not go?' I said, 'No;' and Rangihaeata, who had been called for, and who had been speaking, said so too.

"Mr. Thompson then called for the handcuffs and held up the warrant, saying, 'See, this is the Queen's book, this is the Queen *to make a tie*, Rauparaha.' I said, 'I will not listen either to you or to your book.' He was in a great passion; his eyes rolled about and he stamped his feet. I said I had rather be killed than submit to be bound. He then called for the constable, who began opening the handcuffs and to advance towards me. Mr. Thompson laid hold of my hand. I pushed him away, saying, 'What are you doing that for?' Mr. Thompson then called out, 'Fire.' He called out once, and then Thompson and Wakefield called together, 'Fire.' The Europeans began to cross over the creek, and as they were crossing they fired one gun. The women and children were sitting round the fire. We called out, 'We shall be shot.' After this one gun they fired a volley, and one of us was killed, then another, and three were wounded. We were then closing fast; the Pakehas guns were levelled at us. I and

Puaha cried out, 'Friends, stand up and shoot some of them in payment.' We were frightened because some of them were very close. We then fired; three of the Europeans fell. They fired again and killed Rongo, the wife of Rangihaeata. We then bent all our energy to the fight, and the Europeans began to fly. They all ran away, firing as they retreated; the gentlemen ran too. We pursued them, and killed them as we overtook them. Captain Wakefield and Mr. Thompson were brought by the slaves who caught them, to me. Rangihaeata came running to me, crying out, 'What are you doing, I say?' Upon which some heathen slaves killed them, at the instigation of Rangihaeata; neither Puaha nor the Christian natives being then present.

"There was no time elapsed between the fight and the slaughter of the prisoners. When the prisoners were killed, the rest of the people were still engaged in the pursuit, and before they returned they were all dead. I forgot to say that during the pursuit, when we arrived at the top of the hill, Mr. Cotterell held up a flag and said, 'That is enough, stop fighting.' Mr. Thompson said to me, 'Rauparaha, spare my life?' I answered, 'A little while ago, I wished to talk with you in a friendly manner, and you would not; now you say save me, I will not save you.'

"It is not our custom in war to save the chiefs of our enemies. We do not consider our victory complete unless we kill the chiefs of our opponents. Our passions were much excited, and we could not help killing the chiefs."

It will be seen that there is not a sentence, even in Rauparaha's narrative, which points in any way to the one-sided, cruel, unsupported and mischievous declaration made at Nelson on February 12th, 1844, by Governor Fitzroy. Not a word to show that his shipmate, Captain Wakefield, and the Government representative, Mr. Thompson, were heroes, sages, and martyrs, or that all who did not obey their frantic commands were a disgrace to the name of Britons, and fit subjects to sadden him with a sense of shame for the country that was supposed to have given them birth. Of the forty-six men who were led like sheep

to that cruel slaughter, nineteen were killed, five were wounded, and twenty-two escaped. The leaders themselves, and all who obeyed them, were killed. The twenty-seven who did not die were labelled, by the Queen's representative in New Zealand, as cowards and deserters who filled him with a sense of the deepest shame. His exact words, as reported, were: "He felt deep and inexpressible shame at the behaviour of his countrymen, who, when the deadly struggle had commenced, basely deserted their leader in the moment of danger. If they had behaved as our countrymen usually did under such circumstances, he felt assured that we should not have to deplore the loss which was now so severely felt." This savage accusation, against men who had already suffered so much from crimes and follies which were not their own, was as baseless as it was heartless, as untrue as it was libellous. The leader referred to as "deserted in the moment of danger" had given no one any opportunity to follow, to forsake, or to support him in any sensible act of fortitude. From the moment that he ordered the chief constable to handcuff a commander in the midst of an entrenched army, to that in which he tore, for the last time, a handful of hair from his own head, no word or action came from that leader which any sane man could obey or support. The men so cruelly libelled had no means of redress. They had never had the honour of being the Governor's shipmates, nor the security of being the messmates of the Nelson Original Land Purchasers. They were not known to have any powerful friends to resent these insults in the British Parliament; and they could have no hope that their humble voice would weigh against the authority of their ignorant but exalted accuser. Yet their reputation was as dear to them, and to their loved ones, as the reputation of a prince, and their undeserved humiliation was just as hard to endure.

Who were these twenty-seven men, who were thus held up, by a New Zealand Governor, to the reproach and scorn of their own neighbours and relatives? Some of them were old soldiers, some of them were British man-of-war's men, some of them were New Zealand whalers—so notorious for their reckless courage. The rest were

pioneer British colonists, who had come, at an hour's notice, to face danger, without compulsion, without reward, and without necessity. Such men might be expected to be foolhardy, but never to be poltroons. To say the least of them, they were all Britons, they all belonged to the same race as that which fought at Trafalgar and at Waterloo. Individual cowards may be found, even in Great Britain or her colonies, and circumstances have, on some rare occasions, existed which have brought a number of such exceptional characters together; but the circumstances which brought forty-six Britons together at Tua Marina, by the order of Thompson and Wakefield, were not of a kind likely to attract the most timid specimens of any race. It is, therefore, fair to presume that the forty-six men were men with, at least, the average courage of their race. Nor is it possible to conclude that the twenty-six men, who refused to give themselves up unconditionally to the infuriated enemy, were less brave than those who suggested such a humiliating, such an unnecessary, and such a fatal surrender. As to the charge of basely deserting their leader in the moment of danger, what opportunity had that leader given them to support him in any danger or in any act of heroic sagacity? The history of that day shows that there was no deliberate action of their leader to support, no command given which ought to have been obeyed, and no example set which could have commanded either respect or admiration from men who retained their presence of mind. The history of the world tells us plainly enough that, whenever the average British soldier fails his leader in the hour of danger, it is because that leader has never secured or deserved his respect. If Trafalgar had seen a Wakefield on the deck where Nelson stood, or if Waterloo had beheld a Thompson directing the movements of that day, all the brave officers and men who lived or died in those memorable struggles would never have been able to make the historical position of Great Britain what we so proudly know it to be at the present moment.



## CHAPTER XX.

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SHORTLAND. 1843-1844.

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“Him we serve,  
Freely and with delight, who leaves us free ;  
But, recollecting still that he is man,  
We trust him not too far. King though he be,  
And king in England too, he may be weak  
And vain enough to be ambitious still,  
And exercise amiss his proper powers.”

—COWPER.

AFTER receiving Messrs. Tuckett and Barnicoat and the refugees they had guided on board, and learning from them the intention of Thompson, Wakefield and ten of their disciples to surrender to the Maoris, the Captain of the brig decided that his best course would be to go at once to Wellington with the wounded men and to apprise Colonel Wakefield of the situation of his brother and the men supposed to be prisoners with him. Wellington was reached before daylight on the following morning and Colonel Wakefield was at once informed of the sad intelligence. Although it was Sunday, an early public meeting was called, and seventy volunteers were armed and sailed away in a few hours. But a violent south-east gale drove them back to their anchorage where they were retained with the gale for two days. After such a long delay it was considered useless to take an armed force ; and only a few magistrates, including Colonel Wakefield, Mr. Charles Clifford and Mr. St. Hill—the mayor of Wellington—went in the brig to Cloudy Bay.

Here they found that the men whom they had expected to find prisoners had all been tomahawked by the Maoris on the spot on which they had surrendered, and had been buried by the Rev. Samuel Ironsides just before their arrival. The Maoris, too, had left the Wairau, so that there was nothing for the magistrates to do but to convey the sad tale of defeat and slaughter and a few more wounded men to Wellington. There these details of the catastrophe were listened to with horror, and with not a little dismay. The sense of danger thus brought home to them soon burst forth in expressions of indignation at the proceedings of Shortland, who had so cruelly and insolently broken up the reasonable and proper provisions they had so early made for their own defence, and had now left them absolutely defenceless amidst a half civilised and wholly warlike race, who really had no equals at surprise bush warfare in their own country. The helplessness of even brave and strong men, carelessly armed and brought together, who had received no training, knew nothing of each other, and had no confidence in their leaders, when opposed to the practised warriors under chiefs who had always led them to victory, had now been most strikingly demonstrated both to the Europeans and to the Maoris. For the first time in their intercourse with each other, the Europeans had realised their own weakness, and the Maoris were glorying in their own comparative strength. The Maoris had taken possession of the large Deal boat which had been left in the Wairau River, at the mouth of the Tua Marina, and had acquired nearly all the arms and ammunition which the volunteers had brought from Nelson ; and it was evident that there was no physical obstacle to prevent them from acquiring all the firearms in the Colony and leaving the European settlers, if left alive at all, unarmed and entirely at their mercy. The great fighting chief, Rangihaeata, had seen this at once, and proposed to follow up his advantage by boarding the Government brig in Cloudy Bay and killing all on board on the very night after the massacre, and then destroying all the Europeans around Cloudy Bay. This was only prevented by the sailing of the brig and by the refusal of the missionary chiefs to

follow the advice of the blood-thirsty Maori warrior. It was, in fact, the sincerity of such men as Puaha and Rawiri and the unmistakeable influence of Christian teaching in the hands of such men as Octavius Hadfield and Samuel Ironsides that prevented, at this time, the general destruction of the Europeans on each side of Cook's Strait.

History affords no other instance of a brave, strong and intelligent race, fond of fighting and constantly practising it; and holding their lives, their liberties, their lands, their wives, their children and their homes by and against brute force only, who yet remained for centuries, as did the Maoris, without the knowledge of any efficient projectile weapon. The little African pigmies, and even the small-brained races of Australia and Tasmania, were better armed than these strong-brained resolute Maoris; so that no race was ever so suddenly and completely transformed from helplessness to power by the acquisition of firearms as the Maoris were during the thirty years that preceded the Tua Marina tragedy. The Maoris that the Europeans met at Tua Marina were strikingly unlike the helpless, unarmed animals that M. D. Serville, Crozet, Hongi and Rauparaha had found it so easy to destroy; but were more than the equals to the conquerors under Temorenga, Hongi, Rauparaha and Rangihaeata, who had so easily enslaved and exterminated so many thousands of their own unarmed countrymen. Prior to the badly planned and worse executed encounter at Tua Marina, neither the Europeans nor the Maoris had at all realised the completeness of the transition which had been effected in their relative efficiency as warriors. Thompson and Wakefield were still blindly and complacently reflecting on their easy success at Massacre Bay against unarmed fugitives; and Rauparaha had not then forgotten the humble attitude which a handful of British whalers had more than once compelled him to assume. But on the 17th of June, 1843, or one day less than twenty-eight years after the battle of Waterloo, Rauparaha and his followers learned how little the average European civilian knew about practical warfare, and the immigrants to New Zealand learned that men who had, for generations past, made war both their business and their

pastime, required only the possession of firearms to qualify them as warriors in their own country whom the best soldiers in Europe could not afford to despise.

Fear is often the father of cruelty. We have no natural inclination to be either kind or just to those from whom we have good reason to expect injury or violence. The naturalist who would pet a boa-constrictor in an iron cage, would hack the same animal to death when called to encounter him in his native forests. The average human mind is little capable of calmly and justly estimating the character and trustworthiness of a lawless race when placed entirely at their mercy, and hourly liable to suffer from any outbreak of their temper. This was especially apparent in the attitude assumed by the settlers of Cook's Strait immediately after the destruction of their friends at Tua Marina, and the evidence forced upon them there that the standing armed men at the command of Rauparaha were not like the savages that Robinson Crusoe could drive as easily as his goats, and would require to be met with something better than feather bed commanders and rejected old tower muskets. The fool's paradise in which these European settlers thus found themselves to have been living, as to their own power of defence, was so suddenly and so rudely broken as to produce an unmanly sense of helpless insecurity, which carried with it an indiscriminating distrust of the whole Maori race, which was never justified either by their past or their future experience. Their judgment was warped by their evident insecurity, mainly caused by Shortland's short-sighted and tyrannical determination to keep them untrained in the use of arms.

Besides the entire absence of military training that Shortland had been too meekly allowed to insist on, there was another cause of weakness, both at Wellington and Nelson, which practically left the settlers in a condition more helpless than even Shortland had insisted upon, and which helps to explain the discreditable want of reliance upon their own courage and energy which is so evident in the ill-judged, humiliating appeals made both to the Auckland, to the New South Wales, and to the Tasmanian Governments. In neither province was there anything

approaching to harmonious or combined action between the the land purchasers and the labourers sent out by the New Zealand Company. Both classes had quarrelled with the Company over their own particular wrongs ; but had made no common cause with each other against the common deceiver. On the contrary, there was a disposition on the part of each to underrate the value of the other's claims. The land purchasers claimed compensation for the Company's breach of faith to them only, and the labourers had more than hinted that they did not intend to starve so long as there was food to be obtained under locks and keys to which they would pay no respect whatever. At small and select meetings held at mid-day, the Original Land Purchasers could carry their own resolutions and elect their own deputation ; but, at meetings where the labourers had an opportunity to attend, counter resolutions were passed which left the Acting-Governor quite free to treat the upper ten with scant politeness, and to pursue his own course—well knowing that the physical power rested with the larger numbers.

If Shortland had been a commonly observant, a commonly humane, or a commonly teachable man, the disaster at the Wairau would have brought him to see, in its true light, the folly and cruelty of his late action in forbidding the Wellington settlers to learn something of the use of firearms and the art of self-defence. But Franklin has told us that there are some fools who will not learn even in the expensive school of experience, and Shortland was evidently one of these hopelessly self-sufficient unteachable individuals, who stand ready to repeat their criminal folly even after its past results have been made painfully evident to more intelligent men.

Two days after the disaster, and before its full extent was known in Wellington, the inhabitants of that town resolved unanimously : "That with the recent alarming intelligence from Queen Charlotte's Sound the fact that we are wholly without military aid, that the police force is insufficient for the common police purposes of this borough, and in the present distressing state of uncertainty as to the fate of our countrymen in the unfortunate collision which

has taken place with the native population, together with the impossibility of saying how far the present evil may extend, we feel it our duty to unite, by all means in our power, for the assistance of the legally constituted authorities in any case of emergency." It will be difficult for our descendants to believe that, when this sensible, loyal and only too tardy resolution reached the distant officer administering the Government, it produced the following proclamation: "Whereas divers persons in the borough of Wellington have unlawfully assembled together for the purpose of being drilled and trained to arms and of practising military exercises. Now I have it in command from his Excellency the Officer administering the Government to give notice that if any person whatever shall henceforth so unlawfully assemble for the purposes aforesaid or any of them in the borough of Wellington or elsewhere in the southern district of New Ulster the assemblage of such persons will be dispersed and the persons so unlawfully assembling will be proceeded against according to law. Dated this 26th July, 1843. M. RICHMOND, Chief Police Magistrate."

In order to enforce this proclamation, and evidently for no other purpose, fifty soldiers were sent from Auckland to Wellington, and placed under the command of Major Richmond. Nelson and the South Island were still left without a single soldier, although the proclamation was equally applicable to them. Thus ten thousand settlers, scattered amongst the most able, warlike, and revengeful race of men to be found in any British colony, were left entirely defenceless. They were quite willing to take steps to defend themselves, but were forbidden to do so by a despot who took no steps whatever to defend them in any other way. In other words ten thousand Britons were told by one man, who presumed to rule over them without any constitutional check: "I will not defend you with the money I take from you, and you shall not defend yourselves."

The result of the appeal to New South Wales was very far from satisfactory to those who made it. The tone of the appeal carried its own condemnation, and at once told

Gipps, Holmes, and even Shortland that it had not been framed by cool-headed unprejudiced men, and, therefore, not by men who were fit to be trusted with the forces they had asked for. Gipps complied with their request to send a war vessel far more promptly than they expected; but he sent it, not to them, but to his nominee, Shortland, and under the command of an officer whose sympathies were all against them. The ship sent was the *North Star*, twenty-eight guns, under the command of Captain Sir Everard Home, with fifty men of the 80th regiment on board, under the command of Captain Best. After full consultation with Sir Everard Home, Mr. Shortland sent the *North Star* to Wellington, where she was received with due salutes and flying flags. There Sir Everard was told that Rauparaha was encamped at Porirua, with from five hundred to ten hundred fighting men, within fourteen miles of Wellington, and that every preparation had been made for an attack on the town of Wellington. Upon this report, Sir Everard reported to Shortland: "I told them that I could do nothing, and that, in my opinion, all that was necessary was for the ship to remain where she was. I however wrote to Te Rauparaha as follows—Friend Rauparaha—It has come to my knowledge that you are collecting the tribes round you because you expect that I am going to attack you. Those who told you so said that which was not true. It was to keep peace and not to make war that I came here. You know that where many men meet together and continue without employment they will find something to do. They had best go home."

After this the trusted and trustworthy missionary, Hadfield, brought about a most satisfactory meeting between Sir Everard and Ruaparaha, which produced the best effect upon the great majority of the Maoris. The boat taken from the Wairau was voluntarily given up, and Sir Everard went with the *North Star* to Nelson.

At Nelson the excited, unnerved, and misguided Original Land Purchasers soon betrayed the worst side of their character to Sir Everard Homes, who had come with no favourable impression of their wisdom in connection with the origin, the execution, or the defence of the armed

expedition to Tua Marina, or of the reported relations existing between them and the idlers who were called labourers in the employ, or rather in the pay, of the New Zealand Company. Nothing could have been more unguarded or inconsiderate than the conduct of the Nelson press and the Nelson magistrates and their abettors during this unfortunate visit.

At Tua Marina, Nelson had lost, in one day, a large proportion of her leaders and heads of departments. The Company's Agent, the Police Magistrate and all his constables, the Crown Prosecutor, and editor of the only newspaper, the largest agent for absentee land purchasers, and two retired captains who had been much respected and trusted by their neighbours. There was, in fact, no person left in Nelson who had any authority to fill any of these vacancies, and the men who push themselves forward under such conditions are not often the most prudent and reliable. The man who came first to the front was the banker, McDonald, a man who possessed the usual popularity without the usual dignity, honesty, or cautious reserve of a banker; so that his influence was, from the first, as unfortunate as it was short-lived.

When the news of the loss first arrived, the town of Nelson was in a singularly defenceless condition, as about three hundred of her strongest and ablest men were ten miles away, digging ditches at Appleby, having left their wives and families in the town. These men were sent for, and came into town to be drilled, and to scarp the Church Hill as a place of refuge for the women and children. It was a stirring sight to see these strong, roughly-clothed men all coming in a body, and eagerly met and clung to by their excited, anxious wives. They soon assembled near the Bank, where McDonald delivered a kind of military address, in which he told them that their wives and children had been in great danger; but that all danger was now past; as, with such a fine lot of men around him, he did "not care a rap for all the Maoris in New Zealand." This was said in daylight in the afternoon; but, a few hours afterwards, the same orator addressed a meeting of Original Land Purchasers in the Literary and Scientific Institute, at

which he told them that they would be in far more danger from these rowdy men when armed than they would be from the Maoris.

McDonald was the only Justice of the Peace left in the town; but a Police Magistrate, a Mr. White, was soon sent from Wellington, appointed by Major Richmond "to fill all the offices held by the late Mr. Thompson"—some of which were higher than those held by Major Richmond himself.

When Sir Everard Home arrived in the *North Star*, Mr. Fox, the Company's Agent, was instructed by Colonel Wakefield to apply to the Police Magistrate for a warrant to arrest Rauparaha and Rangihaeata. Mr. White refused to issue the warrant, on the ground that he had not sufficient power to execute it. He, however, consented to adjourn the hearing until the following day, when the case could be brought before the local Magistrates, if Mr. Fox so wished. This was done, and, on the following day, four country Justices of the Peace, who were living near each other ten or twelve miles from the town, sat on the Bench and granted the warrant. The names of these four Magistrates were:—Hon. C. A. Dillon, Dr. Monro, J. S. Tytler, and George Duppa. The warrant was, of course, treated by Sir Everard Home with contempt, and was made to score heavily against the Nelson settlers in his reports to Gipps and Shortland. He says:—"It appears that mistaking my functions as a captain of a man-of-war, they imagined that I was bound to enforce any act authorised by warrant from two Magistrates, and accordingly on the arrival of the ship having fifty soldiers on board a warrant was made out for the apprehension of Te Rauparaha and Rangihaeata, and it was supposed that I should have been honoured with the execution of it..... We have now seen for ourselves all the points from which any attack was to be expected, and have found all the reports of preparations making by the Natives to be entirely false in every respect..... From all that I have been able to see, I am of opinion that none of the settlements in the parts of New Zealand which I have lately visited have anything to fear from the Natives so long as they are fairly dealt

with. At Nelson a force is wanted, not to repel the attacks of Natives, but to restrain and keep in subjection the English labourers brought over by the New Zealand Company, who have, I believe, been in open rebellion against their employers more than once. At that place also the general feeling appears to be more to revenge the death of their friends than to wish impartial justice to be done; and vengeance and revenge are words that I have heard used when speaking of that affair."

An appeal had also been made by Nelson settlers to Sir Eardly Wilmot, Governor of Tasmania, who promptly sent the *Emerald Isle* with a hundred soldiers, but with distinct orders that the soldiers were not to be landed unless the Commander, Captain Nicholson, found them necessary to protect the settlers from actual aggression from the Maoris. In consequence of these instructions the soldiers were at once taken back to Tasmania, where they certainly gave the impression that the cry of wolf had been very foolishly and unnecessarily raised, and would not be so promptly responded to in future.

Appeals were made to Auckland both by Wellington and by Nelson land purchasers, the former employing Dr. Evans, and the latter Dr. David Monro and Mr. Alfred Domett. There was an unhappy want of accuracy in the statements made by all of these deputations, and a manifest concern for the reputation of the dead at any sacrifice of justice to the living of either race. These careless assertions were replied to with a dignity, taste, and ability which leave no doubt that the replies were dictated by abler heads than that of Shortland, probably by the Attorney-General, Mr. William Swainson, and the Chief Justice, Sir William Martin, who were daily growing in influence, and had more than once joined in a well-directed effort to keep the Acting-Governor from those harsh and heedless words and actions to which he was so much addicted.

In January, 1844, Mr. Tuckett was instructed by his employers to select a site for a contemplated settlement of immigrants who were expected to arrive from Scotland. These immigrants were to be selected with great care from

the friends and adherents of the Free Church of Scotland, many of whom were already prepared to embark as soon as their more cautious and business-like natures could be satisfied that they were not to be bamboozled, as the Wellington and Nelson immigrants and land purchasers had been, by the violation of all engagements made to give them prompt possession of the land for which they had too trustingly paid in England. It was some three or four years before these prudent and well advised adventurers were satisfied that the New Zealand Company were really prepared to put them honestly in possession of their land ; but, in the meantime, Mr. Tuckett proceeded to do what should have been done by him for the Nelson settlers in 1841.

A two-masted schooner called the *Deborah* was engaged, in which he proceeded to systematically examine the whole of the east coast of the South Island. On this expedition he was accompanied by Dr. Monro, and he gave a free passage to a Wesleyan missionary named Creed, who understood the Maori language, and was going, with his wife and one child, to a whaling station at Waikouaiti to relieve an older missionary named Watkin. He also gave a free passage to a German missionary named Wohlers, who was in search of missionary work, and was destined to do so much good self-denying work amongst the Maoris in and around Stewart Island. Whilst the *Deborah* was staying at Port Cooper, both of these missionaries were lost for four days without food on a wild mountain range on Banks' Peninsula.

The story of the Wairau Massacre was still ringing in the ears of New Zealand settlers, and the ever obstructive Shortland had placed a magistrate on board the *Deborah* to watch the actions of Mr. Tuckett, with instructions to forbid any proceedings calculated to provoke a breach of the peace. As might have been expected, this man was worthy of his employer, and proved a great nuisance to Mr. Tuckett. A thoroughly earnest and consistent Quaker, advised and assisted by two devoted missionaries to the Maoris, was not likely to need much supervision from one of Shortland's agents. If ever there was a man who



TAMATI WAKA NENE.



required no interference in doing full justice to the Maoris, that man was Frederick Tuckett; if ever there was a man unfit to interfere with him, that man was Willoughby Shortland. Mr. Tuckett has been blamed for not complying with this man's dictation, and is described, in what is called a New Zealand History, as the "obstinate Quaker." It may be well to place on record what the missionary Wohlers wrote forty years afterwards, about Mr. Tuckett and his action on this occasion :—

"At Waikouaiti Bay, Mr. Tuckett ordered his surveyors to measure the bay, and ascertain the depth of the water; but this was forbidden by the magistrate whom the Government had sent with us, because the land still belonged to the natives. Mr. Tuckett pointed out that there was no intention of surveying any land, but merely to measure an anchorage, and for trade and commerce it was of great importance that the still unknown harbours and anchorages should be exactly marked on the chart. But the magistrate insisted that his instructions were that no surveying instruments were to be landed until the land had been formally and legally purchased from the natives. Mr. Tuckett, however, would not give way, and the measurements were completed in spite of the remonstrance of the magistrate..... Mr. Tuckett was a conscientious Quaker, and yet in all respects a practical man. He could take a stand and carry his intention through when he was satisfied it was the right one..... Soon after our first acquaintance we became good friends; but I could never feel myself his equal in our friendship. That was not because of his high position in the Colony, but because of his knowledge of commerce and his general experience, which was far in advance of mine; and because of his high-minded, humane and Christian character."

Mr. Tuckett's first attention was given to Port Cooper and the adjacent plains, which it was generally expected that he would fix on as the best site. But, although the adjacent plain was very large and very level, with some very good land and some very rich swamps, much of it was dry, unwatered land, and all of it was practically cut off from the port by very high and abrupt intervening hills, and, in any case, he had no intention and no right to decide upon any site until he had at least looked carefully over the whole east coast of the Middle Island. This he did most thoroughly, walking from Moeraki to Waikonaiti, sailing thence to the Otago Harbour and walking from there in all directions. He formed a favourable opinion of that situation for the Scotch settlement; but he still walked on south, and crossing the Taieri and Molyneux, and meeting

the vessel for supplies where practicable, he made his way to the Bluff, after having landed Mr. Wohler at the Island of Ruapuke, the principal scene of that missionary's future labours. It was the middle of May and the days had become short and cold ; but the brave missionary was put on the island, eight miles long by four wide, in the midst of two or three hundred untamed savages with no companion, and with only a portmanteau, two woollen rugs, a fowling-piece, a small axe and hand saw, one sack of flour and some salt. He was conducted to a whare owned by a chief whom he had met at Banks' Peninsula. This chief was named Tuawaiki, but was better known as Bloody Jack. He was not at home when Mr. Wohlers arrived. The doorway of his whare was less than two feet high ; so that the missionary had to crawl in on his hands and knees, but was regaled with roasted potatoes, was allowed to keep his own woollen rugs, and had a bunk for his own use, whilst six of the other inmates had to sleep on the floor.

After spending some weeks in the neighbourhood of the Bluff, traversing the large plains and tracing the Jacob's River and New River Valleys, Mr. Tuckett began his return journey, calling at Ruapuke to inform the chiefs there that he had chosen the Otago harbour as the best centre for the Scotch settlement, and that he therefore wished any of their representatives who could understand English to go to Otago to discuss at an open meeting the terms on which they would be prepared to sell the land in that locality. This call gave the missionary Wohlers an opportunity to report his residence and his prospects to the friends and to the late colleagues he had left in Nelson. When Colonel Wakefield's approval of Mr. Tuckett's selection had been obtained, a block of 400,000 acres around the Otago harbour was purchased from the Natives for the sum of £2400. Reserves being made for and secured to the Maoris which, of course, soon became of more value than all their land would have been without European settlement.



## CHAPTER XXI.

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GOVERNOR FITZROY. 1843-1845.

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Continue to take upon yourself and to discharge cheerfully the friendly offices which good feeling and courtliness of heart prescribe, even although they cause you some trouble and discomfort. The reputation of cordial courteousness is in your position not merely a great material advantage, it is also proof of a fine disposition.—BARON STOCKMAR, TO PRINCE ALBERT.

GOVERNOR Fitzroy formally landed at Auckland on the twenty-sixth of December, 1843. Like his predecessor, he had been a captain in Her Majesty's Navy, and, like him, was very little fitted, either by nature or by education, for the very difficult work that demanded his attention. His work had, in fact, been made far more difficult by the illness and incapacity of his predecessor, and especially by the financial recklessness of the officer, who, by a series of misfortunes, had so long been allowed to occupy the position of Acting-Governor, without even the poor restraint of a Nominee Council. Whatever Goldsmith may have told us to the contrary, Shortland had proved that the sum total of human ills could be greatly increased by a vicious autocracy. But, notwithstanding all the injury he had inflicted on New Zealand, the Colonial Office appointed him Governor of the Island of Nevis. So that Governor Fitzroy had the satisfaction of appointing, as his Colonial Secretary, a Dr. Sinclair, who had come from England with him as naturalist, and had thus the honour of succeeding the great naturalist Darwin, who had made Captain Fitzroy's former voyage to New Zealand an

important event in the history of science. It would have been fortunate for New Zealand if Captain Fitzroy's long intercourse and close association in the same cabin with Charles Darwin had given him something of the same veneration for, and scrupulous adherence to, that simple unpretentious truth at any cost that gave the chief value and the ultimate triumph to all that was written by the great naturalist. In this respect Governor Fitzroy was the very opposite to Darwin, not so much from any intentional misrepresentation, as from the careless way he formed his opinions, and gave public official expression to fictions of the most important and most injurious character. Hasty in temper, impetuous in expression, careless in investigation, vacillating in action, and by no means free from class prejudice, he could never have made a great man or a good Governor; but he might have escaped some of his most fatal mistakes if he had adopted Darwin's scrupulous regard to accuracy in all his statements.

Perhaps no Governor, before or since, was ever assailed with such an overwhelming torrent of lamentations as was poured upon Governor Fitzroy from every settlement in New Zealand as soon as their addresses could be placed in his hands. The unpaid civil servants clamoured for their salaries; the numerous creditors demanded their principal and interest; the defrauded land purchasers claimed their land; the Maoris demanded the right to sell their own land; the penniless, unemployed immigrants craved for the means to take them from such a poverty-stricken island, as the rigourously-exacted customs duties had destroyed the trade and merchandise of the colony, and driven away the whalers. Even the address from Kororareka told him 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." It was, perhaps, the most gloomy period in New Zealand history; but another change of Governors had to take place before any striking improvement would be possible.

On the twenty-sixth of January, 1844, the new Governor landed in Wellington, where he soon proved that he had

brought with him the manners and customs of a passionate sea captain, and not the dignity, civility, and self-control which a wiser man would have exhibited to colonists who had, already, quite enough to endure. Having invited the settlers to meet him at a levee, he took that opportunity to make, in a crowded assembly, a coarse, personal attack upon Mr. E. Jerningham Wakefield on account of passages that he had read in that gentleman's published letters in the *New Zealand Journal*. Mr. Wakefield has thus described what then occurred to him:—"I had made my bow and passed on with the crowd on the other side when the Governor called me back by name. I returned and stood in front of him, when he used nearly the following words, with a frown on his face and with the tone of a commander of a frigate reprimanding his youngest midshipman:— 'When you are twenty years older you will have a great deal more prudence and discretion. Your conduct has been most indiscreet. In the observations which I made to this assembly just now I referred almost entirely to you. I strongly disapprove and very much regret everything that you have written or done regarding the missionaries and the natives of New Zealand. I repeat that your conduct has been most indiscreet.'"

Three days later, at an interview that had been requested by Mr. Wakefield, at which only Major Richmond and Dr. Sinclair were present, the Governor informed Mr. Wakefield that he had earned for himself the title of "Leader of the Devil's Missionaries," and that his name would be struck off the list of Justices of the Peace. On the same day, he delivered a long address to the Maoris, in which he dwelt somewhat more fully than accurately upon his great power as the Governor appointed by a mighty nation, with authority to command ships and soldiers in overwhelming force, to pardon crimes or to release prisoners. With the same apparent unconsciousness of his impecunious condition, he talked largely of what would be done for the education of the Maoris as well as of the Europeans, and advised the Maoris to trust the Missionaries and the officers that he would appoint to do them justice. The speech was, in fact, a fair sample of his early speeches to the Maoris. To

Nelson he carried the same high tone. He at once dismissed the officer appointed to succeed Mr. Thompson, and appointed a Nelson lawyer in his place. He caused most of the Justices of the Peace to resign and told the banker that he had earned for himself a reputation for rudeness. But his most unprovoked, unjustifiable and utterly unfounded accusations were addressed to the working men in reference to their comrades who had, after so much suffering, escaped with their lives from the *Tua Marina* catastrophe.

From Nelson he went, in the *North Star*, to Kapiti, where he met Rauparaha and his warriors, restrained and civilised under the benign influence of the Rev. Octavius Hadfield. Here he adopted a far more conciliatory tone than that which he had used towards the settlers at Wellington and Nelson. He told Rauparaha that he had come to hear both sides before he decided upon what must be done; but he still ventured to assert that the issues of life and death were in his hands, and that he could call armies from the plains of Europe and steamers from the vasty deep. His words, interpreted by Mr. Clarke, were:—

“When I first heard of the death of my friends, of the Englishmen who fell at the Wairau, I was very angry, and thought of hastening here with my ships of war with many, many soldiers and several fire-moved ships. Had I done so, your warriors would have been killed, your canoes would have been taken and burnt, your houses and pahs would have been destroyed; for I should have brought with me an irresistible force. But these were hasty, angry, unchristian thoughts. They soon passed away. I considered the whole case. I saw that the Englishmen, even by their own account, were very much to blame, and I saw how much you had been provoked. Then I determined to put away my anger and to come to you peaceably. Let me now hear your story.”

We have given the important parts of Rauparaha's speech in reply in our account of the *Tua Marina* tragedy. After hearing that speech, and taking half an hour to consider how his decision should be announced, the Governor said, after a short address:—“My decision is, that, as the

Englishmen were very greatly to blame, and as they brought on and began the fight, and as you were hurried into crime by their misconduct, I will not avenge their deaths."

Few persons will doubt that, in going through this childish farce, Governor Fitzroy was doing his best to meet the difficulties of a position far too great for his intellectual capacities. He had, no doubt, been told in his infancy that the black fellow would have him if he was not a good boy; and perhaps he thought that his "irresistible force" would operate in the same way upon the not very infantile mind of Rauparaha. It never seems to have occurred to him how vastly superior Rauparaha was to him in all the arts of deception and how much more easy, as well as more honest, it would have been to have shown the old deceiver that a Christian Governor would tell the truth and invent no bogies, even when his surroundings were not glorious, and his means, either offensive or defensive, little fitted to command a warrior's respect. The great Maori warrior, whose strongest point was his power of deception and of unmatched suspicion, was not very likely to believe that a Governor who could not pay his clerks was able to command irresistible armies or navies: and the honest Hadfield, who had a right to expect that a professing Christian Governor would have set a better example to his keen sighted and ever suspicious disciples, must have exclaimed "save us from our friends."

But the Missionaries, who knew so much better than the newly arrived land purchasers of Wellington and Nelson what a war with the Maoris would mean, and what would have been its results to both races, were too rejoiced to see that no rash responsibilities of that kind were to be incurred to quarrel with the foolish manner in which the fact had been announced. The folly of that "luckless speech and bootless boast" was only too soon to be made apparent to both races and especially to the Governor himself.

Returning north, with the laudable intention of hastily calling together his Nominee Council, he was somewhat checkmated by finding that a greater man than the penniless

and insolvent Governor of New Zealand had also called a meeting of more importance than his.

When commenting on the treaty of Waitangi we expressed the opinion that most of the worst effects of that treaty might have been avoided by the immediate purchase from the Maoris of the whole of their lands at the mere nominal price which they would, at that time, have been prepared to accept. The liabilities incurred in the purchase of Mr. Clinton's land alone would probably have been sufficient, by judicious management, to have extinguished the whole Native claim, as far as it was desirable to do so; but nothing was done, and, within a few months, the Government had reduced itself to the ridiculous position of being utterly unable to purchase a single acre, or to derive any advantage from the pre-emptive rights ceded to them. Of course the Maoris could not understand that a Governor, who had just told them that he could call to his service large armies and navies, had not a penny with which to purchase the land which they were clamorous to sell, and they freely expressed their belief that the Governor would not buy the land because he expected, as the European population increased, to get it without buying. To meet this suspicion, and, at the same time, to fill his own empty coffers, the Governor, still relying upon the infantile condition of the Maori mind, graciously condescended to "waive the Crown's right of pre-emption over certain Maori lands" and to allow the Native owners to sell to anyone they pleased; but ten shillings per acre was to be charged for the Crown Grant and Government title to the same. Of course, under such conditions no land was sold; but the Maori owners soon saw that *they* had been sold, and determined to show the Governor that they were neither the senseless nor the helpless race for which he seemed to mistake them. This ten shillings an acre was a price they had never dreamed of asking for land; but the action of the Governor had set them an example by which they were not slow to profit.

The great and wonderfully able Waikato chief, Te Whero Whero, probably advised by his European friends, had decided to exhibit a muster of Maori warriors; so that, without offensive threats or empty boasting, he could

demonstrate to the new Governor that the forces at his command were not to be despised, and that the Governor and his subjects owed their present safety, not to any fictitious and far distant foreign aid, such as the Governor had talked of at Kapiti, but simply to the goodwill and forbearance of the instructed and friendly Maoris, who had no sympathy with such a savage as Rangihaeata. The idea was a good one, and was carried out as ably as it was designed, with a result that must have exceeded the clever Whero Whero's most sanguine expectations.

The meeting of the Nominee Council was postponed for the far more interesting and important event at Remuera, near Auckland. It was judiciously called a "feast," to which the Governor himself was invited and escorted by the young chief Putini. We cannot do better than give the Governor's own very interesting description of what he saw :—

"The adverse bands occupied the hills, a mile apart. With muskets glittering in the sun, their tomahawks and clubs waving in the air, they stamped their wild war dance, and then alternately rushed thundering down the slope. Halting as one man in front of their opponents, each party again defied the other in dance, and shouts, and yells. Then one body, the strangers, fled up the hill, halted, danced, rushed down again at their utmost speed, and again halted, like soldiers at a review, at the word of their chief, within pistol shot of the adverse party, who were crouched to receive them with spears, the front ranks kneeling, the mass behind, about forty deep, having muskets and other weapons in readiness. Each body consisted of about eight hundred men, in a compact mass, twenty in front and forty deep, their movements absolutely simultaneous, like well drilled soldiers. The lines along which these bodies ranged were crowded by natives, by English, by women of both nations, and by children, as if it had been a racecourse. The sight was indeed remarkable. It was wonderful to see women and children gaily dressed, wandering about unconcernedly among four thousand New Zealanders, most of whom were armed, many utter strangers as well as heathens.

“Some Christian natives took no part in the sham fight, but with their missionary teachers approached, unarmed, the spot where the warrior bands had halted. There they sat down and listened to the speeches of welcome and good feeling which continued till near sunset. The orators walked ‘to and fro, among or in front of their party, sometimes running or jumping, seldom standing still.’

“Then came the division of the feast. One long shed was covered with blankets, of which the Waikatos presented more than one thousand to their visitors. Sharks, of various sizes, and potatoes were hung up and stored in settled divisions, and, at a given signal from Te Whero-Whero, one general attack commenced, and each party vied with the other in carrying off quickly to their encampment the portion of blankets, sharks, and potatoes which had been allotted to them by the liberal Waikato. The great majority of the English who were present (not less than a thousand, including women and children) returned in small straggling parties at various times, with as much confidence as if they had been returning from an English fair. I heard of no instance of misconduct or rudeness, neither was there any theft or even pilfering.”

Of course the Governor was not allowed to depart without listening to a very courteous but very strong korero about the land, and a return visit became a matter of course. As the following day was Sunday, the visit to the Governor at Government House was arranged for the following Monday, when two hundred chiefs attended, and appeared to find little difficulty in convincing the Governor that his ten shilling proclamation was a mistake; but it was left to the rougher logic of Hone Heke to get it reduced to the opposite extreme of one penny per acre on the tenth of October.

With these delays, it was the fourteenth of May before the Governor met his Nominee Council in Auckland, which was nearly five months after his own arrival, and some three years after the last meeting of that Council under Governor Hobson. The removal, or provoked resignation, of so many Justices of the Peace in the Company's settlements had left the Governor with somewhat

more pliable men to deal with than he would otherwise have met ; but, after all his weeding in that direction, his Council was not a very happy family and there was, on most of his erratic proposals, a distinct difference between the official and non-official members. Finance was the all-absorbing question, and on it, as usual, the officials determined to borrow and spend : the non-officials humbly suggesting that it might be possible to cut down expenditure, and to live within their means.

At the commencement of the year, there was a floating and growing debt of twenty-four thousand pounds, and five thousand pounds was now due for arrears of salaries and current accounts. To meet the latter, the Treasurer was instructed to borrow from the Bank, at twelve and a half per cent., five thousand pounds, on security of a vote of seven thousand five hundred and forty-five pounds, which it was expected that the Imperial Government would provide ; but, even at that tempting interest, only two thousand pounds could be obtained. It was hoped that the revenue for the year would amount to twenty thousand pounds, whilst the expenditure was expected to be thirty thousand pounds. The Governor was strictly prohibited from drawing bills on the Imperial Treasury, or from floating any paper currency, and both he and his officials declared that they were not at liberty to reduce the staff of officials below that which had been authorised by the Secretary of State at the close of the previous year. It is impossible to believe that this latter restriction was ever seriously made, and, if it had been, there is no doubt that disobedience to such an evident inconsistency would have been more readily pardoned than the mischievous proceeding of issuing a depreciated paper currency, and making it a legal tender, which was actually done. The Council was induced to pass a measure authorising the issue of debentures of from five shillings to fifty pounds, carrying five per cent. interest, and making them a legal tender.

Although the Governor was a loud professor of free-trade, and although the Maoris were in arms against the customs restrictions of various kinds, and although it had proved

impossible to prevent wholesale smuggling, and although it had cost four thousand pounds to collect ten thousand pounds in customs duties, the Council passed a measure increasing import duties of all kinds. Firearms were to pay thirty per cent. *ad valorem*; wine, twenty; and beer, fifteen per cent. Spirits, five shillings per gallon; tobacco, one shilling per lb.; cigars and snuff, two shillings; and all other goods, except personal baggage, specie, and live animals, five per cent. *ad valorem*. Ultimately, the Governor and his officials had it all their own way; but they did not get rid of the Council until the eighteenth of July, and were compelled to call them together again within two months.

The natural effect of these increased customs duties, and the consequent restrictions on shipping which they made necessary, was to drive away the whalers and other ships which had previously called at any convenient port, and carried on a mutually advantageous trade with the Maoris. Such restrictions were particularly offensive to the Maoris, who especially valued that roaming liberty which allowed them to board any ship and to trade as they pleased. Fortunately Te Whero Whero and other powerful chiefs resorted only to strong remonstrances, and to a very natural connivance at the smuggling practices of their subjects. But there were some young, fiery spirits who came to the conclusion that European settlement was all against their interests, and would certainly deprive them of that liberty of movement and intercourse which was the charm of their life. Foremost amongst these was a well-educated young chief named Hone Heke. He had married the daughter of the great conqueror, Hongi, and both he and his wife had been educated in Marsden's school at Keri Keri. There was nothing bloodthirsty or reckless in his nature, and he never intended any harm to the peaceable settlers whose unsoldierlike habits he perfectly understood; but he longed for a brush with the soldiers, and he hated the flagstaff which signalled to the ships and forbade them to admit him on board. He had, too, been known to express some dissatisfaction that the old savage Rauparaha should be the only Maori who was allowed to kill Rangatira Pakehas with

impunity. So that, on the eighth of July, just as the Governor and his Council were completing their increase of customs duties, Hone Heke, with one hundred and thirty followers, consisting of both heathens and Christians, cut down and burned the flagstaff at Kororareka, and carried away the signal balls. The older and more sober-minded chiefs, although they entirely sympathized with Heke's hatred of the flagstaff, were quite willing to keep the young spark in order if he attempted anything dangerous; but they told the Governor "it was not worth while to shed blood about a bit of wood." But the bit of wood that had been cut down and burned at Kororareka appeared to Governor Fitzroy to be of far more consequence than the few white skulls that had been cut open at Tua Marina. Even the sixteen hundred well-armed and well-trained Maori soldiers, in every way adapted for the peculiarities of their own country, that he had so lately seen at the command of Te Whero Whero at Remuera, did not prevent the infatuated Governor from sending post haste to Sydney for a few soldiers to enforce his increased and resisted customs duties. Governor Gipps promptly sent a hundred and fifty soldiers of the 99th regiment, with two guns and three months' provisions. But the officers in command at once saw that they could be of no possible service at Kororareka, and could not take their guns and provisions farther inland. The soldiers were, therefore, put on board again and sent to Keri Keri where the country was more open; but still their position was practically the same: they could not get to Hone Heke, and he would certainly not come to them except at his own time and place. Waka Nene, a wise and undoubtedly friendly chief, begged the Governor to send the soldiers and guns back to Sydney; as nothing would be so likely as their presence to make all the Maoris join Hone Heke; as they all agreed in opposing the ten shillings per acre proclamation and the customs duties which drove away the shipping. He told the Governor that his obnoxious acts would have to be withdrawn; but that neither he nor his people would fight either for or against him "about a bit of wood."

The advice of such a candid, powerful and well-informed friend had to be attended to. The Governor sent back the useless troops to Sydney, and called his Council together to undo what they had just been doing. The Council was brought together again on the nineteenth of September, and in nine days they had repealed all that Waka Nene had bargained with the Governor to repeal. A penny was substituted for the ten shillings per acre and a property and income tax for the customs duties. The property and income taxes were cruelly oppressive on the poor and flagrantly exempted the rich. If a man's property and income, "both taken together," exceeded one hundred pounds, he had to pay one per cent.; if they exceeded twelve hundred pounds, he had only to pay the same percentage, and all that he possessed above twelve hundred pounds went untaxed. It was, in fact, a progressive tax which progressed not with wealth but with poverty. The tax was as unproductive as it was unjust, and did little more than cover the cost of collection.

Nor was Hone Heke pacified by the change. He continued to occasionally cut down the flag staff, which had now become of less importance to the Governor and less offensive to the Maoris. But the Governor drove Heke to madness by offering, on January 15th, 1845, a reward of one hundred pounds for Heke's apprehension. This Heke resented as a great insult, as he said it was offering "to buy him like a pig." He increased his body-guard, and increasingly alarmed the settlers at Kororareka. The Governor again sent to Sydney for troops, which Governor Gipps was naturally in no great hurry to send; so that, on this occasion, they were a long time coming. Meantime, Heke threatened to bring two thousand Maoris to Auckland and to cut down the flag staff there. He still carefully proclaimed that he had no ill-will to the settlers; but would take every opportunity to revenge himself on the Governor for the insult offered in placing a price on his head.

H.M.S. *Hazard* and fifty soldiers had been left at the Bay of Islands for the purpose of protecting the flag staff and, incidentally, the settlers around it. The all important

flag staff had been cased with iron, which might have preserved it from rats, but which Hone Heke must have thought as great an insult to his intelligence as the hundred pounds offered for his body. A strong block house, too, had been built for the purpose of defending this "piece of wood," and an army, with banners and guns, had been for some time expected from Sydney. But at four o'clock in the morning, on the eleventh of March, Heke, in fulfilment of a promise, appeared in the town with an army described by the Police Magistrate as "two thousand armed natives." The soldiers in the block house, awakened from their sleep, rushed out to see what was the matter. But this was just what Heke had expected; and as the soldiers rushed out, a well chosen body of his men rushed in, and without a struggle took possession of the stronghold, which the Lieutenant in command describes as "the key to our position."

Writing to the Governor the same evening, Lieutenant Philpots says:—

"Our party consisted of about one hundred and fifty individuals. The whole of the naval and marine forces belonging to the ship behaved in a manner that elicits my warmest approbation. The place could have been maintained, had not the block house, the key to our position, been surprised and taken in the morning.

"At about one o'clock the magazine in the stockade was blown up, wounding several persons; and, the ammunition being completely expended, I deemed it advisable to order the inhabitants to embark.

"Many of the land forces have been severely wounded, and some killed, the particulars of which I have not as yet been able to ascertain.

"This dispatch has been written in extreme haste, owing to my anxiety to see the women and children shipped on board the different small vessels that I have been able to obtain.

"The whole of my attention is at present directed towards preventing the ship from being surprised this evening, which it is the intention of the natives to attempt.'

Thus our sailors and soldiers were, as usual, well armed and brave; but our officers were, as they always have been, no match for the clever cunning of the Maori chiefs. The manly conduct of Hone Heke can be best estimated by the fact that, during that long and disorderly fight in the town, not a single woman or child was injured by any action of the Maoris. Not a single shot was fired at any of the refugees as they embarked to take refuge on the shipping. Heke placed a special guard to protect the Churches and Church buildings, and made no distinction between that of the Catholics and the Church of England. Bishop Selwyn moved fearlessly amongst the armed men wherever he could be of any service to European or Maori—to bury the dead, or to assist and relieve the wounded. In the very height of the firing a flag of truce was displayed from the captured block house so resolutely held by the Maoris, and their red flag was hauled in to enable the Maoris to bring out, and deliver to the Europeans, the wife and children of the European signalman, Tapper, who had been badly wounded, and whose family were supposed to have been murdered. Even whilst the hungry Maoris were taking possession of the property abandoned to their mercy, they allowed any European who had the courage to do so, to take anything that he claimed as his own. Throughout the whole proceedings of the day, the chivalrous generosity of Heke and his followers was strikingly romantic. Our soldiers and sailors acted as they usually do; but the incapacity, the improvidence, and the utter helplessness of the Government and all its officers was something beyond the power of description or belief. The block house, on which so much reliance was placed, fell at once into the hands of the Maoris, and the guns on the hill might have been used by them to destroy the town and the crowd of women and children in the stockade; but the Maoris sought to destroy nothing but the flagstaff, which they very quickly accomplished. The block house, in which twenty-one men had been placed, had not a day's provisions in it nor a quart of water. Nearly all the ammunition was lost by the careless explosion in the stockade, and all the women and children would have been killed if it had



HONE HEKE.



occurred an hour earlier. The *Hazard* was soon silenced for want of ammunition, and not a single Maori was hurt by her guns when they did fire. In fact, the settlers would have been far better left to Heke's protection than to that of their own Government. The absurd idea of the brave Lieutenant Philpots that the Maoris intended to attack the *Hazard* was belied by every action of the day, as well as by the forbearance with which they allowed even the defeated soldiers and sailors to get quietly back to the ship. Heke had given the Kororareka settlers notice that they might rest securely during Sunday, the 9th of March; but that, after that, they might expect him to come with a force strong enough to again cut down the flagstaff in spite of soldiers or sailors. A few days before that the Captain of the *Hazard* had carelessly ridden into the interior with only one attendant and was taken prisoner; but Heke would not keep even their horses, and ordered the Captain and his companion to be set at liberty, retaining only the Captain's pistol.

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## CHAPTER XXII.

WAR. 1845.

“Take my word for it, if you had seen but one day of war, you would pray to Almighty God that you might never see such a thing again.”

—WELLINGTON.

THE refugees from the Bay of Islands arrived in the harbour of Auckland on Saturday, March 22nd. They came in H.M.S. *Hazard*, in an American vessel, the *St. Louis*, and in an English whaler, *Matilda*. The Nominee Council had just completed the repeal of all the laws which had caused the hostility of Heke, and the Governor seemed to wonder that peace had not been restored before the repeal could even be known to Heke. The hospitality of the Aucklanders was called into full play to provide food and shelter for the refugees, and all that was needed for the wounded. On the evening of the same day H.M.S. *North Star* came in with two hundred of the long-expected soldiers from Sydney; and next day came a small vessel with fifty more—all from the 58th Regiment. All were landed, as at first they were believed necessary to protect the town of Auckland; but, after the settlers had taken time to digest the intelligence from Kororareka, there was less apprehension from the polite warriors' actions, and it was daily more apparent that Waka Nene meant to take Heke in hand.

But the Governor, who so clearly saw the wisdom of not revenging the murders at the Wairau, could not bear his own troubles so lightly as he bore the troubles of others, and could not forgive the comparatively harmless insult offered to his flagstaff. The honest and friendly Waka Nene, joined by Repa, at once accepted Heke's attack on Kororareka as a proof that he must be kept in order by them, and they had no hesitation in opposing his large but miscellaneous forces. On the 3rd of April, the Rev. A. Chapman, a Church of England Missionary, stationed at Waimate, writes to his friends at Auckland:—"Nene and Repa with the Chiefs of Hokianga are strongly posted in front of the bush where they have got their pah. Tomorrow we expect will be the great day. Nene is getting reinforcements every day. They are in high spirits with the colours flying on their pah..... It is the prayer of every European here that the worthy Nene and Repa, with other chiefs and their valiant men, will gain the victory over Heke and restore peace." In the guerrilla warfare which followed, under the able and wary chiefs on both sides, but little blood was shed; as such leaders never fell into the traps in which European officers were so easily caught with such fatal effect. If the infatuated Governor had now left the dispute to his well-informed Maori allies, little more would have been heard of Heke; but, after his bootless boast of the irresistible forces he could command, Fitzroy was, no doubt, anxious to show the Maoris what wonders could be performed with his borrowed soldiers and his borrowed money.

Before the end of April, three hundred soldiers and fifty volunteers, under Colonel Hulme, were sent to the Bay of Islands to punish or destroy the high-minded and chivalrous warrior, Heke, in his own pah. On their way they called in at Kawakawa river and arrived opposite to Pomare's pah about midnight. A flag of truce was flying on the pah, and was answered by a white flag from the troop ships. But, nevertheless, the troops were landed and Pomare seized and brought off as prisoner. Heke's pah was reached on the eighth of May. The troops found no difficulty in driving or killing a number of Maoris, whom they found in ambush

outside the pah; but against Heke himself and his pah, they found that they were powerless. Their rockets did no harm, their guns were too light and the pah was too strong. Fifteen men were killed and forty wounded and they had shown Heke all the defects of his pah against their weapons and how to build a better. A stronger pah, with a better natural back door in case of being forced to retreat, was the immediate result. The main body of the troops retired to Kororareka, and a few went to Auckland with Colonel Hulme, where they were met with the melancholy surprise of the disappointed settlers but with the warmest thanks and congratulations of the Governor "on the satisfactory results of your exertions." On the retirement of the troops, Heke sent at once to the Rev. Burrows, and buried the dead Europeans with all the solemnity and attention that any friends could have conferred upon their bodies.

On the twelfth of June, Heke was wounded in the thigh in one of his many encounters with Waka Nene, and was laid up for some time; but the construction of the stronger pah at Ohaeawai proceeded without interruption, under the able direction of his friend, Pene Tau.

Early in June, more troops arrived from Sydney, in charge of Colonel Despard, who, as the senior of Colonel Hulme, took the command. Under his command, a force of six hundred and thirty soldiers, sailors, and volunteers appeared before Heke's new pah on the twenty-fifth of June. They had with them four of the *Hazard's* twelve-pounder guns, but these made no impression. A thirty-two pounder was brought up, which effected a slight breach in outer palisading; so that Colonel Despard decided to storm, contrary to the strongest protestations of Waka Nene and his own engineers. In ten minutes a hundred and seven of his men were shot down, and the rest obliged to retire. In his despatch to the Governor, Colonel Despard says:—"When the advance was sounded, they rushed forward in the most gallant and daring manner, and every endeavour was made to pull the stockade down. They partially succeeded in opening the outer one, but the inward one resisted all their efforts, and, being lined with men

firing through loop-holes on a level with the ground, and from others half way up, our men were falling fast, so that, notwithstanding the most daring acts of bravery and the greatest perseverance, they were obliged to retire. This could not be effected without additional loss in the endeavour to bring off the wounded men, in which they were generally successful. The retreat was covered by the party under Lieutenant-Colonel Hulme, of the 96th Regiment, and too much praise cannot be given to that officer for the coolness and steadiness with which he conducted it under very heavy fire.

“I must here remark that the hatchets and axes, as well as the ropes for pulling down the stockade, and the ladder, were all thrown away or left behind, by those appointed to carry them; and to these circumstances I attribute the main cause of the failure.

“I trust that it will not be thought that the character of the British has been tarnished on this occasion. One-third of the men actually engaged fell in the attack; and during the eight days that we have been engaged carrying on operations against the place, one-fourth of the whole strength of British soldiery under my command (originally not exceeding 490) have been either killed or wounded.”

Notwithstanding this rash and disastrous attack, Waka Nene advised Colonel Despard to remain with his weakened forces around the pah, well knowing that the supply of food was generally the weakest point in Maori defence. On the night of the ninth of July, the Maoris slipped out, left the pah with only their dogs inside, and safely and silently made their way through the dense forest that adjoined the pah. They had found that they were not equal to the best trained soldiers in the open plain, but that they were unmatched in the defence of or retreat from their pahas. They consequently built a still stronger and more inaccessible pah, which they called Ruapekapeka or the Bat's Nest.

This was the last of Governor Fitzroy's ill-considered and ill-conducted wars; as before he could find force enough to attack the Bat's Nest, he learned that his services were no longer appreciated, even in England.

Whilst he was concentrating all his attention upon capturing or killing the generous and magnanimous Hone Heke, his neglected subjects in the south were loudly proclaiming their dissatisfaction with his legislative, administrative, fiscal, military and commercial failures. The British Parliament was informed by the Government that his recall had been rendered necessary by his total disregard for instructions of such important subjects as the credit and currency of the Colony for which the Empire itself was responsible. Whilst Wellington, Taranaki and Nelson were petitioning for his recall, that recall was two months on its way to New Zealand; and when it came, was welcomed with bonfires, music and dancing. But, with all his real difficulties, with all his disappointments, with all his insults and provocations, his last act was dignified, manly and generous. He met his more honoured and more able successor with dignity, frankness and fraternal assistance, which cast a pleasant and honourable mantle over his last hours, in the work for which he was so little fitted, and to which he should never have been appointed.

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## CHAPTER XXIII.

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CAPTAIN GREY. 1845-1847.

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“ Thus by degrees he rose to Jove’s imperial seat ;  
Thus difficulties prove a soul legitimately great.”

—DRYDEN.

THE state to which New Zealand had been reduced by the helpless incapacity of three successive Governors had now become sufficiently alarming to compel even the officials in Downing Street to conclude that the new colony could no longer be used as a refuge for imbecile favourites, and that a Governor must be found with sufficient ability not only to maintain but to restore the security of the settlers and the credit of the empire. In the truly alarming condition of the colony they could not even dare to try any more experiments with old sea captains or army colonels who knew nothing of any other business. Fortunately for New Zealand, there was a young man in the employ of the Colonial Office who, although called a captain, was really an explorer and, although young, a proved financier and Governor.

The Colony of South Australia was some three years older than that of New Zealand, and, like New Zealand, had at first been governed by naval and military officers. The first emigrants to that colony arrived at their destination on November 9th, 1836, and a distinguished naval officer, Captain Hindmarsh, was appointed their first Governor. He at once quarrelled with the officials placed

under him, and was soon recalled, his place being supplied by a Colonel Gawler. The Colonel quickly made himself popular and his officials happy by spending a hundred thousand pounds a year, with a revenue of less than thirty thousand pounds, drawing upon the Lords of the Treasury for the balance. This came to an end in 1840, when the enterprising Colonel was recalled, and was informed by Lord Stanley that he had caused "a profligate waste of money utterly inconsistent with the success of the colony."

His place was supplied by Captain George Grey, then only twenty-eight years of age. But, although Captain of the 83rd Regiment, he had been chiefly employed as an explorer, as a Resident at King George's Sound, and in the construction of roads by native labour in Western Australia. In such employments he had shown great business capacity, intelligence, courage, and industry, and had supplied to his superiors some valuable reports. Thus, in offering him the Governorship of South Australia, Lord John Russell was able to say:—"The high opinion which is entertained of your ability and energy by those who have had to transact business with you regarding the affairs of Australia, induces me to propose to recommend you to the Queen for the Government of South Australia, in the place of Colonel Gawler." On December 29th, 1840, he was appointed to be Governor of South Australia, being the youngest man who had ever been entrusted with such a responsibility. The appointment was entirely justified by the result. In a single year Captain Grey reduced the Government expenditure from £100,000 to £34,000, not only without injury, but with great advantage to the sound progress of the young colony, which, before he left it, was financially prosperous and independent. It was thus that when Lord Stanley found himself compelled to send an able and well-tried man to rescue New Zealand from its perilous and humiliating position, he could find no one better or more reliable than the young but successful restorer of the financial credit of South Australia. Nothing could be more truly complimentary or more pleasantly expressed than the language in which Lord Stanley introduced his request to the young Governor on this occasion.

On June 13th, 1845, Lord Stanley writes :—" After the repeated testimonies I have borne to the value of your public services in administering the Government of South Australia, it would be very gratifying to me to prove my esteem for your capacity and your public spirit by proposing to you some other office of higher rank and of increased emolument. Still, I am convinced that I shall give you a yet more welcome proof of the confidence which Her Majesty reposes in you, by inviting you to undertake public duties more arduous and responsible than those in which you have hitherto been engaged, though recommended to your acceptance by hardly any other consideration. The urgent necessity which has arisen for invoking your aid in the government of New Zealand, is the single apology I have for calling on you with no previous notice to incur the sacrifices and inconveniences of proceeding thither with the least possible delay after your receipt of this despatch."

Happy as his position in South Australia had become, such a call was evidently not to be declined, and the *Elphinstone*, an East Indian man-of-war, that had brought the despatch, took the proud young Governor away to his new and far more arduous duties.

On the 14th of November, 1845, Captain Grey landed in Auckland. The difficulties, the dangers, and the unshared responsibilities that met him on every hand were such as would have appalled and depressed any ordinary man. But the position was just the one for which Captain Grey was so admirably fitted that all the accumulated emergencies which had immediately to be met were a source of pleasure rather than of pain to him. The thirty-seven thousand pounds' worth of Fitzroy's debentures, which had so mischievously been made a legal tender, were instantly called in, and sound commercial arrangements made for their redemption. He at once put a stop to the sale of firearms to the Maoris, which had hitherto been so foolishly allowed. In a few days he shrewdly and finally recognised Waka Nene as his confidential and trusted adviser, and issued a regular supply of rations to that chief's fighting men. He openly and formally recognised the friendly chiefs, and as openly and conspicuously renounced all

negotiations with Heke and Kawiti. He judiciously employed Maori constables and Maori Magistrates. In a few days after his arrival, he had sent off a despatch to Lord Stanley describing the existing state of affairs, and the means with which he intended to meet them, and, in seven days, he was proceeding in the *Elphinstone* to the Bay of Islands, to see the country in which he had to meet the so far successful and triumphant patriots whom he had now to treat as rebels. In five weeks he had eleven hundred men ready to form the necessary road and to drag the necessary supplies to the Bat's Nest, which was now defended, not by Heke, but by the wary old chief Kawiti. Heke would have been there, but Captain Grey had employed a Maori chief, called McQuaguarie to keep him and his men employed at Kaikohe, twenty miles from Ruapekapeka.

For ten days the English cannon fired on the Maori defences to very little purpose, and without effecting any breach that would not have been easily defended by the brave men inside. But, like Cromwell's Ironsides, these brave men were also very devout; and it must be admitted, that the glory of Grey's early and complete success is very considerably discounted by the fact that it was due to the superior devotion of the Maori defenders who, on Sunday, the 11th of January, 1846, had retired to a snug and distant part of their fortification, and revealed the fact that they had done so by singing a hymn. Waka Nene's brother, Wiwaka, was the first to surmise how completely the weakened side of the pah had been deserted, and at once informed the Governor, who as promptly ordered the assault. The small breaches were entered without opposition, and, when the brave defenders rushed back from their song of praise, it was only to find themselves outnumbered and overpowered in a hand to hand encounter with men better armed than themselves. Outnumbered and overpowered as they were by an army which had now all the advantage of the stronghold from which they had been driven, not a single prisoner was taken. The brave old chief, who was over seventy years of age, kept his little army together and actually carried off their wounded. Only twenty-five of his men were lost. Every advantage was taken of their

native forest, and, under the circumstances, a really masterly retreat was effected. Captain Grey's loss was twelve killed and thirty-one wounded. The success was complete, and its effect upon the defeated patriots most decisive. The brave and faithful Waka Nene at once became a peacemaker, and, in a few weeks, he came to the Governor soliciting peace and pardon for the rebels, and generously begged that, instead of confiscating their land to him as was now proposed, the defeated chiefs might be allowed to retain their own. The honourable manner in which the war had been conducted both by Heke and by Kawiti, and the motives under which they had resisted Fitzroy, clearly entitled them to be treated as brave and honourable patriots rather than as rebels, and it is gratifying to know that they were treated as Waka Nene petitioned that they should be. Their land was restored to them, they were treated with every confidence, and, for the rest of their lives, were as faithful in their allegiance as they had been brave, fair, and noble in their resistance to the dominion of the foreign government.

Though faithful to the terms of peace, and strongly attached to Governor Grey, Hone Heke was never hopeful of the prosperity of his race under foreign rule. He believed, as many others did at that time, that his race would perish before the advance of the white intruders. His oppressed spirits brought on defective health, and consumption terminated his life only two years after his defeat. He was assiduously nursed during his long illness by his good wife, the great Hongi's daughter. Although nearly twice the age of Hone Heke at the time of their defeat, Kawiti lived four years after him and was able to take a more cheerful view of the future of his race.

Governor Grey wisely refrained from the re-erection of the flag-staff which had proved such a red rag to Heke and Kawiti, and about which Governor Fitzroy had caused so much blood to be shed. But, five years after his father's death, Kawiti's son and heir employed four hundred men from the tribes who, twelve years previously, had joined in cutting down the flag-staff, to drag a fine spar from the forest to the top of the hill and erect it as an

act of voluntary conciliation, calling it Whakakotahitanga, *i.e.*, being in union.

Thus, in two months after the arrival of a competent governor, New Zealand rose like a cork above the gloomy waves which had so seriously threatened the very existence of her white population, and the successful conqueror was able to direct his ability and energy to the more congenial work of securing peace and permanent prosperity. The imperative necessity that existed for prohibiting the sale of firearms to the Maoris made it impossible to avoid the restriction on imports and the interference with the boarding of ships at all times and places which had given so much offence to the Maoris as a whole. The necessary and humane restrictions on the sale of firearms and intoxicating drinks were, of course, loudly protested against by those whose most lucrative trade was thus interfered with; but, as the necessary restrictions on these articles made free ports impracticable, the main advantage that Fitzroy had sought from free trade could not be obtained, and customs duties were again resorted to as the only means by which the Maoris could be compelled to bear some share of the expense of a government which their existence rendered both necessary and costly. But, with so many accessible ports of entry, with such a small European population, and with the habit of free and daring intercourse with all shipping which the more numerous Maoris were naturally so unwilling to relinquish, the expense of collection bore a very large proportion to the revenue obtained, and left the Colony mainly dependent on votes from the British Parliament.

Although the reputation which Captain Grey so early obtained, and his consequent credit with the Imperial Government, gave him much advantage, the time was not a fortunate one for any certain reliance upon such paternal assistance. The members of the British Parliament were smarting under Peel's newly imposed Income Tax, and changes of ministers came so fast that Captain Grey never knew whether his despatches would be read by a friendly or an unfriendly Colonial Secretary. The very first despatches, which he thought he was addressing to his

friend and patron, Lord Stanley, was received by Mr. Gladstone, who, at that time, was strongly disposed to undervalue the colonies; and those that he wrote a few months later were received by the arch opponent to his appointment, Earl Grey. But they were all great men, far above small personal prejudices, and Captain Grey's first administration was so transparently able and successful, that even Earl Grey approved, commended and assisted with no niggardly hand. Indeed, it is now quite open to question if it would not have been well for the reputation both of New Zealand and Captain Grey, if the military assistance had been somewhat less liberal. New Zealand was too long encouraged to spend more than she could contribute, and Captain Grey shone more in overcoming difficulties than in the employment of the large military forces placed at his command.

Unable to raise more than £22,000 in the Colony, the Governor obtained £36,000 from the Imperial Government. Captain Grey was informed by his old opponent and detractor, Earl Grey, that a corps of Royal New Zealand Fencibles, five hundred strong, would be sent from England, and that nine hundred troops would also be sent from Australia to be placed at the Governor's disposal. At the same time, Earl Grey expressed unqualified satisfaction at what had been accomplished by the young Governor.

The north was tranquil and loyal, and the only danger threatening was from the old Tūa Marina butcher, Rangihaeata. He was still threatening surprises and slaughter, which kept the Wellington settlers in alarm. Early in February, Captain Grey reached Wellington with his war-ships and five hundred soldiers, besides police, militia and strong forces of friendly natives. He found that Rangihaeata had left his stronghold, which Captain Grey visited and described as the strongest he had ever seen, and had taken to the bush, in which he could not be taken by any force or stratagem that Grey could command. Rangihaeata's constant friend and father-in-law, Rauparaha, was suspected of corresponding with him; but Rauparaha strongly professed the utmost friendship for the new Governor, to whom he had written:—"Now, for the first

time I can say that light has dawned for the Maoris, and now no wrong-doing shall spring from me." The old chief was seventy-seven years old, and strongly professed the highest Christian principles ; but, if sincere, he had now to pay the penalty of having so often made equally strong professions of friendship with the most murderous intentions. Captain Grey could not believe that it would be safe for him to leave the wily old father-in-law and his able warriors behind him when he went to attack the only relative to whom Rauparaha had been constant and true. A letter addressed to Rangihaeata and signed by Rauparaha was intercepted, and seemed to incriminate Rauparaha ; but the old chief said that he knew nothing about it, and the Governor said that he had watched him closely and thought, from his looks, that he must be innocent. But when charged by several witnesses with having sent messages inviting hostile chiefs to come to him, the old sinner forgot, for a moment, the high code of morality he had lately adopted, and said that he had pressed them to come to him so as to make it easy for the Governor to arrest them.

But, whatever doubt there may have been as to Rauparaha's guilt or innocence, there can be no doubt that Governor Grey made a sad mistake when he caused to be arrested by night and in his bed a man with whom he had had nothing but the most friendly communications, and who was relying on his good will. Rauparaha may or may not have contemplated treachery ; but there was no conclusive evidence that he was ready to betray the Governor who trusted him. He was known to have stated both to the Nelson Police Magistrate and to Governor Fitzroy that he would rather be killed than captured, and although treacherous himself, he could not have expected that Captain Grey would seek to take advantage of the exceptional trust that he had reposed in him. The capture was, no doubt, effected with a secrecy, promptitude and skill worthy of Rauparaha himself ; but not with that strict regard to honour and good faith which even Rauparaha had a right to expect from the New Zealand representative of a great nation.

For some weeks Rauparaha was detained a prisoner on board H.M.S. *Calliope*, and Rangihaeata did his best to stir up the Maoris to revenge his capture, but in vain. Towards the end of the year Captain Grey was satisfied that the friendly natives would keep Rangihaeata in check. After the last battle of Wanganui; the Governor writes of his Maori allies:—"I am sure that every officer who was there will bear me out in saying that we could not have dispensed with their services and that nothing could have surpassed their activity and gallantry." These services entitled them to plead for the liberty of Rauparaha, and Waka Nene and Te Whero Whero became pledged to the Governor for his good behaviour. He was taken to the North with the Governor, and resided several months with Te Whero Whero, after which he was taken home in a man-of-war in which were the Governor and his friend Te Whero Whero.

The desolator of his own country; the destroyer, the enslaver, the gluttonous devourer of his own countrymen; the treacherous murderer of invited ambassadors in his own camp; the torturer of the patriotic Tamaiharanui; the burner of the brave patriots who defended, to the last, their own home at Kaiapoi—such a man as this could never be chosen as a special claimant for compassion; and yet there is something almost grandly pathetic in this vain attempt of Governor Grey to restore his broken and degraded victim. His cruelties, his treacheries, his gluttony, had only raised him in the estimation of the warriors who had so long proudly followed him; but their code of honour had no forgiveness for a leader who had accepted life without liberty. They must have known that life was not chosen by him, but forced upon the naked and unarmed victim by his captors; but no excuse could be accepted for the one fatal, unpardonable crime that their leader could commit, and the once mighty Rauparaha now stood before his merciless judges like Samson shorn of his locks, or a swallow with a broken wing—to be pitied, to be fed, to be amused, but never more to be trusted or followed. An eye witness relates that "after landing Rauparaha strode from the rest of the party (who proceeded to the village), sat down on the ocean shore, covered his old gray head with

his mat, and remained for hours immovable. Not a soul of his family or tribe came near him : they stood aloof in a crowd several hundred paces distant." His son gave a great feast to the Governor's party who had come to restore what they could of his captive father. The same son caused a church to be built in Hadfield town at Otaki, near which Rauparaha was buried about the last day of November, 1849. Although seventeen years younger than Rauparaha, Rangihaeata survived him but seven years, during which he was restrained from further deeds of blood by his relatives and true friends.

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## CHAPTER XXIV.

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DANGEROUS STEERING. 1846-1848.

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“Society is built upon trust, and trust upon confidence in one another’s integrity.”—DR. SOUTH.

IN June, 1846, just before going to Wellington with the forces that were intended to keep Rangihaeata in check, the Governor wrote a confidential letter to Mr. Gladstone, which was received by Earl Grey, enlarging upon the difficulties that had arisen in consequence of the large claims for land which were made by various reputed purchasers—more especially under Fitzroy’s penny-an-acre proclamation. The subject was a large one, a very important and difficult one, and one upon which it was most evident that confidential communication should pass between the Secretary for the Colonies and the Governor, before any final decision was arrived at. This letter stated:—“The individuals interested in these land claims form a very powerful party. They include amongst them those connected with the public press, several members of the Church Missionary Society and their numerous families, as well as various gentlemen holding important offices in the public service. Her Majesty’s Government may rest satisfied that these individuals cannot be put in possession of these tracts of land without a large expenditure of British blood and money.” The letters written in June, 1846, and marked “confidential,” were received by Earl Grey in January, 1847, and,

contrary to all the usual official customs in such circumstances, copies were at once sent to ex-Governor Fitzroy and to the officers of the Church Missionary Society. The natural consequence was to stir up a hornet's nest in the colony against Governor Grey, which added not a little to his difficulties. We have shown that, when a boat-building missionary, Henry Williams was not a member of the Peace Society, and the flattering attention he had, for some years, received from Governors Hobson and Fitzroy had not promoted the growth of his Christian meekness; so that he was ready to use his pen against Governor Grey as freely as he used the broken oar on the intruding Maori's head. He stood in the front rank of the Missionary land claimers; but hotly disclaimed the need for the expenditure of any "British blood or money" to protect the claims of himself or his brother missionaries, who were, no doubt, the most favoured claimants of Maori land. Considering the length of time that was required in those days to obtain an answer from England, the Governor would have been wiser to have sent, with his private letter, a more cautiously worded official letter which could have been made public; but nothing can excuse the action of Earl Grey in embroiling the Governor with so many land-sharks, by making his confidential letter practically public. The Governor's position was sufficiently difficult, isolated, and unsupported, without setting so many interested agents in active motion against him. The action of Earl Grey was the more dangerous; because there was no power in existence at that time that could so easily have set the friendly Maoris against the Governor as that of the missionaries. But Henry Williams had never so completely held the confidence of the Maoris as his unselfish predecessor, Marsden, had done; and what influence he had was now rapidly waning before that of the more devoted and more powerful Bishop Selwyn, who was daily growing more popular as he was growing more liberal, and less warped by those strong sectarian prejudices that had, at first, embroiled him with the Wesleyan missionaries. Very fortunately, some little time before Mr. Williams' ire had been so strongly raised against the Governor, Mr.

Gladstone had written letters, both to Governor Grey and to Bishop Selwyn, well calculated to cement their confidence in each other, and which did, in fact, bring them together in a friendly tie which was never broken during the Bishop's life. Mr. Gladstone and Bishop Selwyn had been schoolfellows in the same form at Eton, and the estimation in which Mr. Gladstone held the Bishop may be pleasantly seen in the conclusion of a characteristic letter, which he wrote to Captain Grey not long after his appointment to the Government of New Zealand:—"I must express my earnest hope that you will be able to obtain from him assistance, not perhaps the less valuable, from the circumstances that he has been very careful, as I believe, to keep the Church aloof from politics, and it will increase my confidence and satisfaction in the transaction of business respecting the colony, if I should find that there is a general concurrence of judgment in relation to questions more or less falling within the province of both, between two persons whom I must esteem so highly, the one from experience and the other from reputation." Seventeen years after Gladstone had expressed that hope, Sir George Grey received the following noble encouragement from the Bishop:—"You may reflect that, after all, the best use of time and pains, the life most useful in the cause of God and of human advancement, the best for man's own nature is that of upholding the right, calmly and firmly, against the selfishness, the impatience, and the ignorance of men."

The difficulties and anomalies of the Treaty of Waitangi soon came upon the new Governor in all their natural force, immensely aggravated by the extreme views of Lord Stanley, of the Bishop and of the Church missionaries on the one hand and by the unqualified demands of Earl Grey in the opposite direction. Left to his own good judgment, and supplied with the large means which would even then be necessary, the Governor would soon have honourably neutralised the worst features of that Treaty in the North, as he did in the South Island. As a politician, he saw much further than the Bishop, and as a resident Governor, he saw dangers and difficulties and obligations to which Earl Grey had been culpably oblivious. The conservative

and sectarian education of the Bishop, which had so soon engaged him in an absurd battle with the Wesleyan missionaries in defence of the saving value of his consecrated fingers; had also taught him to greatly over-estimate the sacred rights of a few blood-stained claimants to all the land in New Zealand, and to think far too lightly of the unheeded wrongs of the toilers of both races, who were all to be excluded from the modest share of the great necessity of existence, which more benevolent thinkers believed to be a natural and inalienable right, not only to the few, but to the many who must, directly or indirectly, seek their existence from the soil on which they are placed. Earl Grey and Governor Grey both saw clearly enough the political and the moral turpitude of the Treaty of Waitangi; but Earl Grey had far too lightly estimated the moral and political difficulties which demanded that that Treaty must be respected, and the mildest version of it accepted until it could be set aside by the mutual consent of the contracting parties, or, more practically, by the early purchase of the land in question.

When Mr. Gladstone had succeeded Lord Stanley, he adopted, with little or no modification, the extreme conservative views of his predecessor, and of his friend, the Bishop of New Zealand. But, supported by the report of a committee which had been adopted by a small majority in the British Parliament, Earl Grey wrote instructions to Governor Grey on the 23rd of December, 1846, which completely altered the construction that was to be put on the Treaty of Waitangi, and went as much too far in the opposite direction.

Governor Grey was startled to read such words as "I must regard it as a vain and unfounded scruple which would have acknowledged their right of property in land which remained unsubdued to the uses of man. But if the savage inhabitants of New Zealand had themselves no right of property in land which they did not occupy, it is obvious that they could not convey to others what they did not themselves possess." The only claim to be acknowledged in future was to be the acknowledgement of title by some established court, "or that the claimants or

their progenitors or those from whom they derived title have actually had the occupation of the lands so claimed, and have been accustomed to enjoy the same either as places of abode or for tillage or for the growth of crops or for the depasturing of cattle or otherwise for the convenience or sustentation of life by means of labour expended thereupon."

This was a trying hour for the young Governor, but one which brought out all his finest qualities. Up to that moment he had conciliated three successive Colonial Secretaries by his humble and implicit obedience to all their instructions; but now he instantly decided that no one should know, so long as he could prevent it, that he had ever received such instructions, and determined coolly and firmly not to act upon them. The Bishop and Church of England missionaries soon got to know too much, and added greatly to the Governor's difficulties by inciting the friendly natives to resent what they proclaimed to be the intentions of the Government. Governor Grey calmly kept his own counsel, and told his friendly natives that it would be time enough for them to complain when they saw him attempt to set their claims aside.

To the Secretary for the Colonies he wrote most humbly, taking great blame to himself for not having kept the Imperial Government sufficiently informed to enable them to estimate the great difficulties that appeared to him to stand in the way of now reversing the construction that had hitherto been so distinctly proclaimed to be the meaning of the Treaty of Waitangi. He went on to show that the friendly Maoris would conclude that they had been betrayed into fighting for the supremacy of the Queen on the supposition that she would respect their claims in the most liberal sense of the Treaty; and that, whilst the Maoris in North were ten times more numerous than the Europeans, they were better prepared for war, quite as well informed on political questions, and far more jealous of any interference with what they believed to be their rights. He also ventured to point out that the constitution proposed for his adoption practically excluded the Maoris from any voice at all in their own government, and put them entirely under

the political authority of men whose very lives depended upon the good-will of the friendly Maoris.

Earl Grey's blunder was so evident and so dangerous, and the young Governor's audacity was so evidently justified and so judiciously explained, that he escaped all censure; and the Secretary for the Colonies becomes humble in his turn, and records the fact that "we did not hesitate to act upon his advice. The merit which we are entitled to claim is what belongs to us for having supported him in the policy which he has pursued, and co-operated with him to the utmost of our power." Such a confession was just, manly and honourable, especially as Bishop Selwyn and Henry Williams had seemed to do everything in their power to make Earl Grey's retreat impossible. Mr. Gladstone did all he could to defend his old schoolmate, but nevertheless highly commended the far more judicious and successful action of Governor Grey. The Bishop and the missionaries had many powerful partisans in the House of Commons, ready to defend their injudicious declarations; but the great, outspoken economist, Joseph Hume, condemned their imprudent interference in no mild terms.

Earl Grey's proposed constitution for New Zealand, which came to the Governor's hands at the same time as the instructions about the Treaty of Waitangi, was almost equally injudicious and equally offensive to the friendly Maoris, was equally suppressed by Governor Grey, and the suppression was equally approved, even by its author. Such flattering success with such powerful odds against him, would have injured the character of most persons, and it probably did eventually injure the character and conduct of Governor Grey; but so far as his first administration was concerned, it was really an immense advantage to the Colony to secure the services, for a time, of a good autocrat to do what only an autocrat could have done. The Maoris understood autocratic government, and knew what to expect from it, and how to approach it. They understood nothing about representative government, and if they had understood it, they would never have expected any even-handed justice from an elected body in whose election they

had no voice. They could never have respected a constitutional Governor who could do nothing without consulting his advisers, and they would have had no patience with the slow and uncertain decisions of two Houses of Parliament meeting once a year. Still less would they have understood a Governor who could do nothing important without writing to England for instructions and waiting a year for an answer. In Captain Grey they had just the ruler they wanted. He was fast learning their language, and had most carefully studied their customs and traditions. He had shown them that he could fight the rebellious and protect and reward the loyal. They now saw that he could sway the decisions even of the great Queen, that he was interested in all that promoted their welfare, and that he was courteous and fascinating in his manner, not only to the great chiefs, but even to their women and children. They saw that he could build them mills; give them cattle, horses and carriages; and pay them for making roads to their own properties. What did they want with a big House, full of stupid pakehas from the South Island, who would know nothing of their wants and wishes?

In 1848, Captain Grey was further honoured by Her Majesty with the Order of the Bath; and at his installation he chose for his squires Tamati Waka Nene and the great Wellington chief Te Puni. We must, therefore, henceforth write no more of Captain Grey, but give our honoured and successful Governor the longer known title of Sir George Grey.

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## CHAPTER XXV.

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### SIR GEORGE GREY AS A PATERNAL AUTOCRAT.

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“Oft pitying God did well-formed spirits raise,  
Fit for the toilsome spirit of their days,  
To free the groaning nations, and to give  
Peace first, and then the rules in peace to live.”

—COWLEY.

GREAT Britain was, perhaps, never so well-governed, and her laws were certainly never so rapidly and so radically improved as they were during what was unfortunately the last administration of Sir Robert Peel. In those five eventful years, five of the greatest men that ever adorned their country were honestly and ably working to raise the wretched, to feed the hungry, and to arrest the arm of cruel, grinding, greedy oppression. Three of them were called Tories, two of them were called Radicals; but all of them were really Christian legislators, labouring to enforce the great principles of the Sermon on the Mount. The great Sir Robert Peel was at the helm. The able William Ewart Gladstone was at the Board of Trade. The benevolent Lord Ashley was taking the chained women from the coal pits, the infant sweeps from the chimneys, the stunted and weary children from the factories, and the city arabs from the dens of vice. The enlightened Cobden and Bright were using the platform and the Press as they had never been used before to open the eyes of their countrymen as to the cause of dear food, of low wages, and of closed

markets. It was some time before these patriots and philanthropists knew that they were all working in the same cause and even in the same direction. Lord Ashley lamented his close connection with profane radicals, and thought the Manchester men were hard-hearted ; and they knew him to be, for some time, short-sighted ; but all, except the great Premier, lived to see how beneficial the work of each had been ; and even he lived long enough to pass his splendid eulogiums upon the Manchester radicals, who had driven him beyond his natural pace, and whom he had once dreaded so sincerely.

Whilst such glorious work was being accomplished in Britain, poor New Zealand was passing through its darkest days, and suffering the direful effects of neglect, incapacity, and ignorance in her rulers. The great patriots in Britain were engrossed with pressing demands which they saw and felt at their own door, and not a crumb fell to New Zealand from the rich banquet of talent and philanthropy that seemed to be overflowing in England. But better days were in store, and an exceptionally good autocrat was soon to effect a change which a constitutional government could not so quickly have accomplished. As Cyrus raised Persia, as Alfred raised England, as Peter the Great raised Russia, as Cromwell delivered England, as Washington liberated America, so Sir George Grey was now left nearly as unfettered as Peter to do whatever he saw best for the interest of both races in New Zealand. He reminds us more of Peter than of Washington, but so do the men he had to deal with, and the work that now lay before him. Whilst we pray to be delivered from autocrats and autocracy, the fact remains that circumstances do sometimes arise that demand the promptitude, the secrecy, the steadiness of purpose, and the swiftness of execution which belong not to Committees or to Parliaments. But Sir George Grey's autocracy during his first New Zealand Government requires no apology, and was, in fact, no infringement of anything that was even theoretically better. We have only to thank him for those proofs of capacity and good judgment which really justified the transfer to a well-informed resident Governor of an absolute power which

would otherwise have been held by an absent Secretary for the Colonies, void of information, ignorant of the country, and inaccessible to intelligent and timely advice.

After the arrival of Earl Grey's somewhat thoughtless instructions, and his very incomplete Constitution Act, Sir George Grey was made very painfully to feel that his friend Bishop Selwyn, with all his sterling honesty of purpose and vast physical and moral courage,

“ Was such a friend that you had need  
Be very much his friend indeed  
To pardon or to bear it.”

Instead of helping the Governor to harmlessly suppress all mention of the offending documents, which could in that way be so probably and easily withdrawn, the Bishop and Archdeacon H. Williams went preaching against them to every Maori chief, and soon put their opinions in print and forwarded them to their influential friends in England, which, of course, added immensely to Earl Grey's difficulty and mortification in withdrawing his own words. They seemed to think it a defence of their conduct that they had printed only a few copies of their written opinions on the subject. The Bishop was not himself a land speculator ; but the Archdeacon was one of the greatest and most obstinate sinners in that direction.

We have seen that, in a despatch marked “ confidential,” but improperly made public by the carelessness of Earl Grey—who also claimed to have shown it only to a few—the Governor, in asking advice as to the course he should take with the large number of private land claims for immense tracts of land which could only be taken from the Natives by force and by a heavy “ expenditure of blood and money,” had made no distinction between the claims of missionaries and the claims of other persons. This gave great offence to the Archdeacon, who asserted, and probably with truth, that the missionaries were on such good terms with the Maories that no force would be necessary to put them in possession of their land. Supposing such a contention to have been well-founded, it should have been manifest, even to the Archdeacon himself, that the Governor could not make one law for him and his colleagues and another law

for the rest of the too-greedy applicants for land ; and, even if he could have done so, the immense tracts that would thus have to be first made over to men claiming, like himself, some nine or ten thousand acres each, would have added immeasurably to the difficulty of obtaining land for other claimants. Consequently, the Governor could not have put his difficulties fully before the Secretary for the Colonies without including the missionary claims with the others that presented such difficulties, although he might have been more careful to point out whatever distinction there was between them.

But Sir George Grey was by no means unjust to the missionaries as a whole, and never failed to acknowledge the many excellent qualities of the honest, high-principled, out-spoken, narrow-minded, unmanageable Bishop. To the fiery, fighting, and land-loving Archdeacon he caused a letter to be sent, telling him that "The Governor attributes a great deal of the ill-feeling of the Natives in the north to the large land claims of some of the missionaries, who, his Excellency had hoped, would have assisted in the adjustment of them." Earl Grey obtained, from the Church Missionary Society in England, a letter, declaring the publication of such papers as Henry Williams had printed, "to be utterly inconsistent with the character of a missionary." The ex-missionary, Clarke, who had been made chief protector, and the Rev. Mr. Kemp, who, under Fitzroy's government had been allotted 9276 acres, were firmly dealt with by Sir George Grey ; but, of the missionaries as a whole, he wrote to Earl Grey in March, 1848 :—"The admirable exertions of our most excellent Bishop and his clergy, together with the numerous and admirable body of missionaries of different denominations, have rendered most efficient assistance in the settlement of these land claims."

The same vessel that brought the dangerous instructions and the unacceptable Constitution Act also brought another of Earl Grey's mistakes in the person of Mr. Edward John Eyre, who had been appointed Lieutenant-Governor of New Munster under the Act that was never brought into operation. This suppression of the Act of course left Mr. Eyre

without any defined duties or powers or any legal status whatever. As it would have been a great relief to Sir George Grey if Mr. Eyre would have resigned his office and have gone home again, Sir George was not anxious to make his position particularly comfortable, and Mr. Eyre soon proved that he was not a man to be trusted with much responsibility. Practically Sir George gave him very little power to do either good or harm, and his subsequent conduct in Jamaica in 1865 more than justified Sir George in the restrictions by which he kept him from mischief in New Zealand.

Towards the end of the year 1847 four military settlements were founded around Auckland. Within fourteen miles of that town five hundred old soldiers were settled in single cottages on single acres of land. They had been enrolled in England for seven years' service in New Zealand, and came with their wives and families which made the total number of souls introduced, as military settlers, two thousand. Besides the cottage and acre which became his own on the completion of his seven years' service, each man was then entitled to receive, at a fixed nominal price, four acres more. Each officer had a house and forty acres of land, and the right to purchase one hundred acres more. They were subject to occasional drill and were held liable to be called out for garrison duty at any time. The plan had been well considered and proved very fairly successful ; as nearly all the men staid to claim their four acres, and many of them attained to something far more pretentious. In the meantime they contributed to the safety of other settlers in the North, and added not a little to the number and strength of the European population.

In 1848 several formidable dangers materially injured and still more seriously threatened New Zealand. The first was a violent shock of earthquake at Wellington, which killed three persons, shook down chimneys and buildings, and shook still more seriously the confidence of the settlers in New Zealand generally, and in Wellington particularly. Although not fatally, it was very severely felt in Nelson, and there, as in Wellington, it had its share in sending away the population to the new and attractive

gold fields of California : this exodus greatly retarded the progress of New Zealand. Another and still greater danger came from Earl Grey, who proposed to deluge New Zealand with convicts. Both races and all classes rose, as one man, against such a prostitution of their country, and Earl Grey was thus compelled to abandon another of his mischievous machinations against the welfare of the colony which he should have aimed to protect, to enlighten and to lift above any such moral degradation. Nothing could have been more certainly disastrous to both races than the introduction of convicted criminals to associate with the fine race of aborigines who were manfully struggling to realise the blessings of Christian civilisation.

In the South Island, where there were only about two thousand Maoris to be dealt with, Sir George Grey, at a very small cost, soon extinguished all the difficulties introduced by the Treaty of Waitangi. For a nominal price he obtained the right which should always have belonged to the Government over unused and unowned land, avoiding any interference with land of which the natives were making any use, and leaving ample reserves for them and their descendants, which have now arrived at a value that, prior to European settlement, no purchasers would ever have thought of giving for the whole island.

In March, 1848, the first immigrants arrived at Port Chalmers, on the south-east coast of the South Island. They were the pioneers of a projected colony of persons attached to the Free Church of Scotland, who had conditionally purchased from the New Zealand Company four hundred thousand acres in that locality. The national and sectarian character of the settlement aimed at by its founders was undoubtedly an advantage to the colony in the first stages of its existence. It attracted and gave confidence to complete families, and, in that way, prevented the Scotch men from coming out alone so much as they are prone to do. It supplied a bond of union and a foundation for intimacy between the whole family of early settlers, and gave a certain amount of position and authority to their church officers and elders which could be utilised with much advantage during the growth of more comprehensive

and more national institutions ; thus utilising longer than could otherwise have been done the many good points in their national religion and their national character. A large share of such advantages were strikingly retained for some twelve or thirteen years ; after which the gold discoveries attracted an overwhelming flood of Australian gold-diggers and gold-worshippers, who were no respecters of creeds, or church authorities, or of Scotch thrift, and who tried, and, to some unfortunate extent, succeeded in holding up to contempt as "old identities" the prudent plodders who knew so well how to keep themselves and their country out of debt and out of danger. But, long before this overwhelming invasion of unbelievers, the two unco' good men that were trying to lead these large-brained Scotchmen found themselves like two hens trying to keep a brood of ducks from the water. Sixty and a quarter acres at two pounds an acre sounded all right in Scotland, and even the ten and a quarter acre suburban sections near the church and the school were at first received and cultivated with due respect ; but, like Abraham and Lot, with an open country before them, these pious men began to think of flocks and herds and of pastures beyond the reach of the sound of the church-going bell—and consequently the sale of sixty acre blocks did not go on so fast as they were expected to do, and there was a decided hitch in the sale of the two thousand sections that had been made the condition of sale with the New Zealand Company.

Then, again, the political and spiritual chiefs had been too slow in providing their reading countrymen with a newspaper ; so that these Scotch settlers were nine months without one, and, in every Scotch settlement, however small, a newspaper is regarded as almost a necessity. When it did appear it soon proved to be beyond the control either of the parson or the squire. The good Mr. Burns preached thankfulness and contentment, and the energetic Captain Cargill pushed the little lots of land that had to be sold to complete his bargains with the New Zealand Company ; but the independent editor, Mr. Graham, who was also proprietor, printer, and director, came out once a fortnight with the *Otago News*, which, like

most other newspapers, tried to advocate just what its readers were most inclined to do. The first number was produced on the 13th of December, 1848, and was so strictly orthodox and respectful that Captain Cargill became a subscriber for no less than forty copies—twenty being for the Trustees for religious and educational uses, and twenty for the New Zealand Company. But, ten weeks later, on February the 7th, 1849, the independent editor dared to write:—"There is nothing in Dunedin for capitalists to speculate in with advantage—the valuable and extensive country beyond the Koau River must be the future source of riches and commercial prosperity." Away went all Captain Cargill's forty subscribers. By the end of the following year Mr. Graham had ceased to write, and by the end of February, 1851, he had ceased to live.

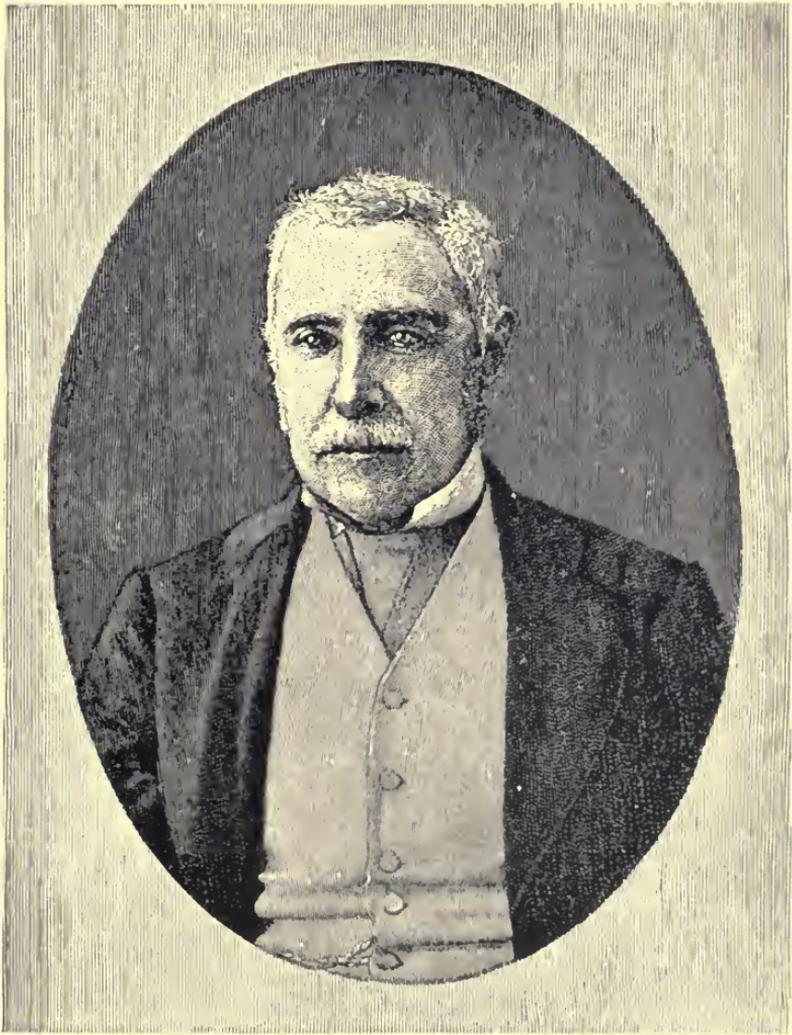
A company was formed which bought the plant of the *Otago News*, and, on February the 8th, 1851, brought out the *Otago Witness*. This paper was, at first, edited by Mr. Cutten, and has, under various editors, existed to the present day. Mr. Cutten, who soon became a member of Captain Cargill's family, confined his speculations to the embryo city, had a good deal more of the lymphatic in his temperament, and was altogether more likely to be orthodox than Mr. Graham.

The religious supervision of the Rev. Mr. Burns, and the patriarchal government of Captain Cargill, had not only amply provided all the government that was necessary for this small community; but would have met the demands of a colony ten times as large if composed only of the same material; so that it was with no small disappointment and disgust that these good settlers, amongst whom crime was neither known nor apprehended, found a judge thrust upon them, by Earl Grey, with a salary of eight hundred pounds a year. Their disgust was still further increased, when the judge who had been so appointed was brought before their law-abiding Justices of the Peace charged with an assault of a low, disgraceful character, and with using very threatening language. The charge was not denied; but the judge pleaded that "he could not be expected to wait for the slow and tardy process of the law."

But this eight hundred pounds, which amounted to one pound a head, and which was so sadly needed for their roads and bridges, was not the only infliction resulting from this unjustifiable appointment. Twice a year, thirty-six men were summoned, from distances up to forty miles, to attend a Court, where it was well known by all that there was nothing for them to do ; and, on one occasion, a juror, who had come forty miles, was so delayed by the badness of the roads, that he arrived too late to answer his name with the rest. He at once made his way home again ; but was followed by a policeman, brought back, and made to pay the expense of fetching him after riding no less than a hundred and sixty miles for no purpose whatever. Such was the cost to these honest, law-abiding settlers of finding a snug billet for one of Earl Grey's impatient office seekers.

But, in November, 1850, all their official hardships were forgotten, for a few days, under the charming influence of a visit from the Governor-in-Chief. Sir George Grey was the guest of their patriarchal leader, and only those who have seen him as a guest can know what a charming guest he could be. But, besides this, he held a levee at the Royal Hotel, where he kissed the babies, adored the wonderful mothers, talked to the sheep farmers about scab, to the shoemakers about the high price of leather, and to the patriots about roads, bridges, and jetties. So that it was only after he was gone that they could find it in their hearts to tell him that "the appointment and salary of the judge being altogether disproportionate to the means of the population of Otago, he should be forthwith dismissed, or his salary be provided from some other source."

Two years and nine months later, another denominational settlement was started further north at what was known as Port Cooper. The site for this settlement had been selected by Mr. Tuckett in 1846. His reputation for truthfulness made it desirable that a site should be selected and recommended by him. He was at first asked by Colonel Wakefield to take the schooner *Deborah* for a month, and find a suitable site. "No," said the honest Quaker, "if I am to find the best site available, and to proclaim it as such, I cannot be limited as to time." "Take her for three



SIR GEORGE GREY.



months." "No, I must have her as long as I want her." This was reluctantly agreed to, and the *Deborah* was kept on the coast to supply provisions, cross rivers, find harbours, etc., whilst Mr. Tuckett and a few of the best travellers he could find walked overland. After settling on Port Cooper as the best harbour, and the adjacent plains as the most open country, Mr. Tuckett discharged the *Deborah* and sent his plans to Colonel Wakefield, showing that the great drawback to his choice was the height of the hill that cut off the plain from the port. After a good deal of palaver on the subject, Colonel Wakefield went so far as to suggest that the plans need not show the hill quite so high as it really was. Upon understanding that this was what was really wanted from him, Mr. Tuckett instantly resigned his position, and, before the year was ended, he was in Sydney on his way to England. He has since been referred to by several historians as "the obstinate Quaker." In the Jubilee History of Nelson we are told that he left New Zealand in 1844 "for fear of the Maoris."

In 1849, Captain Thomas was sent out by the Canterbury Association to consult with Sir George Grey and Bishop Selwyn as to the site, and in April, 1850, the agent of the Association, Mr. John Robert Godley, arrived in Port Cooper, with surveyors and carpenters, to make preparations for the settlers. In December, 1850, the first settlers arrived at what was intended to be the Church of England settlement of Canterbury. Large tracts of land were set apart for the benefit of that church, and these have been successfully retained; but otherwise the exclusive, denominational character of the settlement was more quickly and completely obliterated than was that projected in Otago. Perhaps the denominational exclusiveness that was aimed at by this more wealthy church had a greater tendency to degenerate into class exclusiveness, and the members of a dominant national church would naturally be more slowly reconciled to equality, and to the voluntary support of their religion, than the members of a church who had left Scotland glorying in the perfect success of their high-spirited rejection of State aid to their religion.

But, without being so exclusive as their projectors had intended, both of these denominational settlements were distinctly successful and early progressive. Besides the social and moral advantages at first derived by uniformity of religion and national conviction, these later settlements escaped most of the fatal drawbacks to the early success of Wellington and Nelson. The sites of both settlements had been far better chosen, and contained a sufficient quantity of useful agricultural and pastoral land ; and their progress was not forbidden, as that of Wellington and Nelson had been, by the hostility of Governor Gipps, or by that of his nominee, Shortland. Nor did they suffer so much, nor so long from the dishonesty and bad judgment of the New Zealand Company and its agents ; and they suffered not at all from armed Maoris or disputed titles to land. In neither of these denominational settlements was the climate equal to that of Nelson, and neither port was equal to that of Wellington. Until laboriously and expensively drained, the site of Christchurch was distinctly unhealthy, and not a few lives were lost by a fever soon known as the Christchurch fever. The whole Canterbury plain is subject to extremes of heat in summer and of cold in winter unknown in other parts of New Zealand. The undulating character of the site chosen for Dunedin, although presenting some difficulties of transit, made that town far more naturally healthy and picturesque.

Sir George and Lady Grey had so well timed their return from Otago as to be in Port Cooper just in time to welcome the first shipload of Canterbury settlers, who arrived on the 16th of December, 1850. Amongst those settlers, they met, as they had expected, men and women of high position, character, education and intelligence. On the third of January, the Bishop of New Zealand, in his little yacht, also came to greet many old friends.

These wealthy settlers at once became large importers of live stock ; so that, in less than two years after these first arrivals, there were in the settlement fifty thousand sheep, three thousand cattle and three hundred horses ; whilst prices, for some years, remained sufficiently high to make the breeding of live stock a very profitable occupation.

The pioneers of neither settlement had chosen the best season of the year for their arrival. The Scotch, especially, without any of the luxurious preparations that were afterwards made for the reception of the English at Port Cooper, came just at the beginning of winter, and the weather was so unusually wet that even the hardy and resolute Scotch women had to be forcibly retained on board whilst their husbands provided some temporary shelter to protect them from the weather. The English came in the blazing heat of midsummer, and would have been wiser to have come three or four months earlier.

Larger and better ships were sent to Canterbury than had been sent to the earlier settlements, with the result that very few deaths occurred, and the passengers arrived in good health and spirits. Of the four vessels which left Plymouth Sound on Saturday and Sunday, the 7th and 8th of September, 1850, two arrived in Port Cooper on the same day, December 16th, one on the 17th and one on the 27th of the same month. We have already said that Sir George Grey contrived to be on the spot exactly at the right time to welcome, and very materially assist, these pioneers. When the first immigrant ship, the *Charlotte Jane*, entered the harbour, Her Majesty's sloop of war was lying at anchor, having on board His Excellency the Governor of New Zealand and Lady Grey, who had come down hoping to be present at the arrival of the first body of colonists. The Governor immediately appointed J. R. Godley, Esq., who was the chief agent of the Canterbury Association, to be Resident Magistrate at Lyttelton; made arrangements for police, and obviated much vexation and inconvenience affecting the collection and payment of customs duties.

On Saturday, January 11th, only twenty-six days after the arrival of the first immigrants, the first number of the *Lyttelton Times* was published. It came out as a weekly paper; and with little more than one page of advertisements, it contained eight pages of well printed matter, each page being twelve inches long by seven wide. It made no apology for its appearance, and certainly needed none; as, besides a very well written introductory leader, which

occupies more than a page, it contained contributions or selections from several of the good writers who had come in such numbers to uphold the honour of the Established Church in the Canterbury of the South. The first editor, Mr. J. E. Fitzgerald, was an able writer, but often liable to err on the side of bold assertion. Before leaving England, he informed a public meeting, held at Ipswich, that "the climate of Canterbury was the finest in New Zealand;" that "Australia did not grow corn to advantage," but would take her corn from New Zealand, and that "the prosperity of the settlement of Canterbury mainly depended upon whether or not it was rendered attractive to the higher orders of the people, and sound education combined with religious instruction." The long used political terms of Whig, Tory, Liberal or Radical were to be set aside as unmeaning and inappropriate, and his readers were pretty frankly informed that the existing autocracy would not receive his support; but that his sympathies would lean strongly in favour of the oligarchy of the twelve apostles, to be called the Council of Colonists, the second election of which Council took place on Tuesday, January 7th, 1851.

The year 1851 was the year in which everything connected with the Australian colonies was more or less revolutionized, and material prosperity almost forced upon the holders and cultivators of the soil. In Adelaide, their chief export, wheat, suddenly rose from two shillings and sixpence to ten shillings a bushel. In Sydney oats rose to twelve shillings a bushel, and hay to twelve pounds a ton; whilst the carriage of produce from Sydney to Bathurst was at one time as high as thirty-five pounds per ton. Although the average earnings of the gold-diggers were not high, the prizes gained by the successful few caused so much excitement that all other occupations were more or less forsaken by men who could not resist the temptation to "try their luck on the diggings." Sailors ran away from their ships, clerks from their desks, and students from their colleges, and plunged through the miry, cut-up roads until exhaustion convinced them that even gold could be bought too dearly, and might be sought far too recklessly. But, in New Zealand, the chief effect of

such an immediate rise in prices was to beneficially direct the settlers to agricultural pursuits and to make such pursuits profitable for many years; as still higher prices were quoted in 1855 and 1859. All wages rose, all accessible good land was in great demand, the dealers in produce found the advantage of prices rising in the article as it passed through their hands, live stock increased in value, shipping was profitably employed, and the general prosperity added not a little to the reputation of the government and the Governor under which it had occurred.

But one natural result of the general prosperity was much regretted and heroically, though vainly, combatted. In the days of low wages and scanty employment, a woollen factory had been nursed into prosperity in Nelson. A plodding weaver, named Blick, who was not a capitalist, had, in 1847, undertaken, in a very humble way, to make Nelson tweed which, rough and ugly as it was, was religiously worn by the public-spirited settlers as a means of employing their neighbours. Women, mostly Germans, were glad to earn a shilling a day at spinning woollen yarn which Mr. Blick wove, first by hand, then by a bullock, and then by a water wheel. In this way Mr. Blick was very moderately prosperous, and completely contented and respected. But, after 1851, with wheat at twelve shillings a bushel, German women could earn more than one shilling a day, and Mr. Blick could not compete with the far better Sydney tweed. Thus, like many other worthy men, he found that the general prosperity of his neighbours had left him and his loom behind in the race, and, after some twelve years' struggle, Mr. Blick died, not less respected, but less wealthy than he might have been if his plodding energy had been directed to an occupation less dependent upon low wages for its success.

The land regulations issued by Sir George Grey in March, 1853, which, under powers conferred by the royal instructions, lowered the price of land throughout the colony, outside of the proclaimed hundreds, to ten shillings per acre, were the most injurious of the many laws he had introduced during his first administration in New Zealand, and, in too many cases, produced an effect exactly the

opposite to that which he had hoped to effect by their introduction. He had no sympathy with the avowed aim of Edward Gibbon Wakefield and the leading Canterbury settlers, who hoped to keep down the price of labour by keeping the price of land too high for the labourer to acquire it and thus become transferred from a labourer to an employer. But, like many other philanthropists as sincere and far less intelligent and vigilant than himself, Sir George attempted to put land in the hands of poor men by merely lowering the price, and took no precautions to prevent land monopoly by the capitalists. This was especially the case in the province of Canterbury, where the large blocks of good land that were lying outside of the proclaimed hundreds were almost immediately taken up by Australian and other capitalists to the exclusion of small settlers and the obstruction of any thing like progressive and systematic close settling of families. The bad effect of this law was very soon seen; but no power existed which could alter it until the meeting of the first Parliament under the new constitution; and capitalists naturally hastened to take advantage of a bad law that was not likely to last much longer than the power that had brought it into operation. The time at which the reduction in price was made to take effect, and that too upon land immediately surrounding the land that had been sold at two and three pounds per acre, and just when the value of all New Zealand land was being increased by the high prices caused by the gold fields and by the systematic introduction of settlers, made the mistake more serious; and soon proved it to be the most evident error of judgment that Sir George Grey had made during his first New Zealand administration.

It was well that Sir George Grey had returned to Auckland, after his successful visit to the south settlements, before that seat of government was alarmed with the most dangerous demonstration of Maori power and Maori barbarism that ever occurred under Sir George's first administration. A Maori chief had been restrained from violence by the police, and slightly wounded on the head. This gave mortal offence to the chief and his tribe, who suddenly made their appearance in the harbour, and landed

two hundred and fifty well armed men in the town, demanding utu for the insult and injury their chief had received. The pensioners were mustered with great promptness, and the Governor boldly ordered the invaders to re-embark or give up their arms within two hours. As the two hours went on, the Maoris saw that the white settlers were too well prepared for them, and did not wait to be disarmed which would have been no easy task. They dragged the canoes over the mud flat from which the tide had receded. They stopped for the night at St. John's College, about four miles distant, and the next morning sent, by the Bishop, an apology for their conduct and three greenstone axes as an atonement. Sir George accepted their apology, and sent them sufficient food to take them quietly back to their home. This was the last serious attempt to disturb the peace that occurred whilst Sir George remained the Autocrat of New Zealand.

The secret of Sir George Grey's wonderful power on all such occasions was his well known and never doubted alliance and real friendship with the chiefs of Waikato and Ngapuhi—Te Whero Whero and Waka Nene. They were not only his real friends but were also his trusted advisers, and he never offended their dignity by taking any important step in connection with the Maoris without consulting them. To such men money was lent, and most honestly repaid, for the cultivation of food, the erection of mills, the construction of bridges, the erection of schools, and anything that would hasten the exchange of their restless, savage customs for the blessings and luxuries of peace, law, and order. Such a policy was long stigmatized as a "sugar and blanket policy;" but, when it came to be reversed, the colony soon learned, to its cost, that it was beyond all comparison the most economical, as it was the most humane and efficient, course that could have been taken with men so brave, so intelligent, and so honest as those chiefs proved to be.

During the last four months of Governor Fitzroy's administration, the reputation of British soldiers continued to sink lower every day in the estimation of the Maoris, and, in that short time, one hundred and seventy-one

soldiers and sailors were killed by them. During the whole eight years of Sir George Grey's administration, with all his active, vigorous, successful, and decisive campaigns, by which peace was so completely restored, and British arms once more commanded respect, only eighty-one British soldiers and sailors were killed.

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## CHAPTER XXVI.

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THE CONSTITUTION ACT. 1847—1853.

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“This also shall they gain by their delay  
In the wide wilderness, there they shall find  
Their government, and their great senate choose,  
Through the twelve tribes to rule by laws ordained.”

—MILTON.

COURAGE, physical and moral, was perhaps the most striking, the most constant and the most prominent of the many strong and prominent features of Sir George Grey's character. Far-sighted, quick to detect danger, and full of resources to avert it, he nevertheless seemed to enjoy it for its own sake, and to delight in confronting it. And yet the weakest points in his character are such as are rarely found in connection with such intelligent courage. His representations were not always strictly faithful; he could exaggerate, he could conceal, he could be very silent, he could be less just to his equals or rivals than to his inferiors or assistants. He was very fond of power, he was still more fond of fame; but, in his early career, he was usually wise enough to seek them as an inseparable consequence of worthy conduct, rather than as an object of immediate or direct pursuit. He never turned aside from any great

and noble object in pursuit of sordid wealth or emolument. He was slow to make enemies; but when he did make them, they were there for life, and might expect something less than justice from him for the future. He could defy any depth of cross examination, and could reply to a direct question a hundred times without giving a direct answer or without revealing one atom more than he wished to reveal. He was perfectly self-controlled and charmingly unselfish in all small matters, and was polite to all, and quite a worshipper of women and children by instinct. On a platform, he could charm any popular audience, and put any opponent in a ridiculous position without any oratorical effort, and often without uttering a sentence that would bear criticism.

His treatment of Earl Grey's bungling constitution of 1846 is, no doubt, the best specimen we could point to of his great courage and prompt, silent, decisive action. For a truly great and worthy object, he, on that critical occasion, at once decided, not only to risk the displeasure of his chief, but to incur with certainty the suspicion and ill-will of the many who were sure to charge him with advising the suspension of that constitution for five years, in order that he might prolong and intensify his own autocratic power. His action in suspending that very faulty constitution was very brave, very noble, and very beneficial to all concerned, and especially so to its author. By that important step, he at once forsook the safe and easy path of implicit obedience to the orders of his distant political chief; and although, by so doing, he averted calamities even from that chief himself, he could not help proving in the sight of all men that the less that chief interfered with him in future, the more probability there would be of a successful and beneficial result. It must be admitted that Earl Grey bore this humiliation in a better spirit than superior officers are wont to do, and wisely gave up all attempt to control the better informed Governor in such questions as demanded the local knowledge that only a resident could acquire. But, with all this wise concession, the Governor soon had occasion to feel that his justifiable, but nevertheless daring, disobedience had more or less converted his patron and

friend into a rival and a critic, who stood ready to resent his interference with transactions in which their respective local advantages were somewhat reversed, or on constitutional efforts in which the experienced statesman could hardly be expected to acknowledge the superiority of the young explorer. This changed attitude was afterwards proved by the somewhat harsh manner in which Earl Grey resented the Governor's objections to carry out the bad bargain which the Earl had made with his old friends and colleagues in the New Zealand Company. But still, on the whole, Earl Grey's conduct to the young Governor whom he had never seen, was manly, generous and wise. From the day on which Captain Grey decided to advise the suspension of Earl Grey's constitution for five years, the Governor frequently turned his thoughts to the construction of a model constitution, which he hoped to see passed by the British Parliament before the five years of suspension should have terminated. In the meantime, existing and conflicting authorities and institutions were passing away, and leaving a clearer field for the operation of the new constitution he was preparing to submit to the English legislature.

In July, 1851, the New Zealand Company, with its cruel deceptions to its settlers, its irritating dealings with the Maoris, and its too often pernicious influence in the British Parliament ceased to exist. Its liabilities had reached two hundred and thirty-six thousand pounds, and its assets were supposed to be something over a million acres of more or less valuable land in New Zealand. The Company gave up all claim to land in the colony; and Earl Grey, on the part of the British Government, gave up its claims, as the principal creditor of the Company, for large loans made to it, whilst he gave them a lien for two hundred and sixty-eight thousand pounds on the land revenues of New Zealand, which claim was placed beyond dispute by being embodied in the Constitution Act, 1852. In vain Sir George Grey protested against the injustice, to the colony as a whole and to Auckland in particular, of this agreement. The opinion of the New Zealand Governor had not been asked, and was not wanted, and, the more truth there might

be in his remonstrances, the more unwelcome they would naturally be to Earl Grey. Mr. Commissioner Cowell, who had every opportunity to know how Earl Grey had been induced to enforce this claim for two hundred and sixty-eight thousand pounds upon the colony of New Zealand, says that the New Zealand Company succeeded "by gross frauds, concealments, and misrepresentations, practised chiefly on Earl Grey and Sir Walter Wood, Chancellor of the Exchequer."

The surrender of the New Zealand Company's charter was followed by that of the Otago Association in 1852, and of the Canterbury Association in 1853.

On the 17th of January, 1853, Sir George Grey publicly notified the receipt by him of the New Zealand Constitution Act of 1852. It was not the Act that he had advised for the colony, and most of the alterations that had been made were undoubtedly blemishes. When defending his conduct in England, in 1854, Sir George Grey says:—"It should be borne in mind that the New Zealand General Assembly, which was to meet, was not the Assembly I had intended. A nominated Upper House destroyed the glorious fabric which I had been privileged to frame." But still the new Act contained so much that was good, it gave so much local self-government, and was such a complete change from a purely autocratic government, that it was everywhere received joyfully by the Europeans. The Maoris had still little cause to rejoice in it, and they looked on with wonder and suspicion at a system they could not understand, the first effect of which was to be the removal of the paternal Governor under whose rule they had realized so much peace and prosperity. Apart altogether from their inability to understand the provisions of popular government, their experience had taught them to distrust those who could not understand their language; and to anticipate nothing but confusion and danger from the removal of their trusted friend, who had learned to converse with them, to consult their own chiefs, and to interest himself in all their attempts at civilization.

By far the most important and the most undesirable departure from Sir George Grey's proposed constitution

was the one that caused the early destruction of the complete local self-government that he had recommended. This was the rejection of the Provincial Councils as the nominators or electors of the revising chamber, and the transfer of that power to the Governor. If this important power had been left to the Provincial Legislators, it would not only have insured the appointment of able men to the Legislative Council, but must have prevented the destruction of the Provincial Councils themselves as soon as the colonial Parliament found itself strong enough to absorb their powers and their revenues. It was, in fact, the one security that could have been provided for the protection of the provincial against the encroachments of the colonial power. Mr. Gladstone condemned this departure from Sir George Grey's advice, and voted against it. He evidently saw its probable effect; as, when speaking on the second reading of the bill granting the constitution to New Zealand in 1852, he expressed his high approval of the wisdom of Sir George Grey "in going to the American constitution for a successful example of a Federal Upper Chamber to be elected by Provincial Assemblies."

The new Constitution Act for New Zealand was passed by the Imperial Parliament on June 30th, 1852, and proclaimed in New Zealand as the law of the land on January 17th, 1853. By this Act the colony was divided into six provinces—Auckland, New Plymouth, Wellington, Nelson, Canterbury, and Otago. The boundaries of these six provinces were to be fixed by the Governor, and were so fixed by him by proclamation dated February 28th, 1853. Each of the provinces was to elect a Superintendent and a Provincial Council, for either of which offices any duly qualified elector of the province was eligible. The necessary qualification for an elector was the possession of a £50 freehold, or a lease of the annual value of ten pounds in a town or of five pounds in the country. Absentee leaseholders were required to have been in possession for three years, and resident leaseholders for six months. And there were the usual disqualifications for lunatics, criminals, bankrupts, and minors under twenty-one years of age. The Superintendents were to be elected before the

Provincial Councils, and by the votes of the electors of the whole province. The Governor was authorized to divide the provinces into districts for the election of members of the Provincial Council, but not necessarily into single electorates. No elector could give more than one vote for the Superintendent, but could vote for Provincial Councillors, or for members of the House of Representatives, in any number of districts in which he was registered as a freeholder or leaseholder. No Provincial Council was to consist of less than nine members, but of any greater number that the Governor might think fit. Each Superintendent had power to convene and to prorogue the Provincial Council; but no greater time than one year was to elapse without a meeting of the Council. The Superintendent could amend, allow or disallow acts, or reserve them for the Governor's assent; but the Provincial Legislatures were not allowed to legislate for customs duties, superior courts of justice, weights, measures, currency, postal regulations, marriage or bankruptcy laws, or laws of inheritance.

The Parliament, or General Assembly of New Zealand, was to consist of a Governor, appointed by the Crown; of not less than ten Legislative Councillors, appointed by the Governor; and of not more than forty-two, nor less than twenty-four, representatives, returned to the House of Representatives by the electors of the colony. Power was withheld from any colonial Legislature to reduce the amounts claimed under this Act for the following purposes:—

Governor's salary	...	£2,500
Chief Justice	... ..	1,000
Puisne Judge	... ..	800
Government Establishment		4,700
Native Purposes	...	7,000

The Act required that the Governor should issue writs for the election of both the General Assembly and the Provincial Councils within six months after the proclamation of the Act, and call them together at such time and place "as he may judge advisable, and most consistent with general convenience." A great deal has been thoughtlessly

said against Sir George Grey for not calling the General Assembly first. But there were several difficulties which made it evidently undesirable, if not impossible, that he should do so. As the same men were very naturally, and very beneficently, elected at Superintendents, or as members of Provincial Councils, who were also elected as members of the House of Representatives, it was evidently undesirable that the House of Representatives should sit at the same time as the Provincial Councils. And as, in those days, it usually took about three months to get a communication answered between the extreme north and the extreme south, it would hardly have been possible to call the Assembly, and to give the elected members from the south time to get to Auckland until a much later date than that in which it was possible to get the first meetings of the Provincial Councils. Besides which, whilst the Constitution Act demanded that there should be at least one meeting of the Provincial Councils in each year, it made no such provision for the meetings of the General Assembly. Nor did Sir George Grey himself, or the best-informed public men in New Zealand, at that time anticipate that the General Assembly would meet more often than once in three years. Nor was it at all likely that Sir George Grey, after seeing that the Provincial Councils had been deprived, by the British Parliament, of that power of self-protection that his act would have given them, would go out of his way to give the too-powerful centralizing legislature the opportunity to take away the powers of the local legislatures before they had been given any opportunity to use them.

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## CHAPTER XXVII.

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### THE SUPERINTENDENTS.—1853.

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“That is good which doth good. The true prop of good government is opinion—the perception, on the part of the subjects, of benefits resulting from it ; a settled conviction, in other words, of its being a public good.”

—ROBERT HALL.

As the Superintendents had necessarily to be elected before the Provincial Councils, the struggle for the appointment of these really powerful Provincial Governors came off first, and was the first election in which the residents of New Zealand were called upon to exercise any important political power, and, for all practical purposes, it was the most important political privilege that was ever yet conferred upon them ; as, although the nominal power of their Superintendents was very great, their actual power, as the local advisers of the Central Executive, was still greater. It was, too, the only election in which all classes, who were allowed to vote at all, voted equally ; as the large property-holders could not use a plurality of votes as they could do in the election of Provincial Councillors or of members of the House of Representatives. It was, therefore, only natural that the election of their local, accessible, responsible Chief Officer, who could not fail to be the local authority to which the Central Executive must apply for local information and advice, should prove to be the contest in which the electors of the provinces took by far the most enthusiastic interest.

In Auckland the settlers were at first inclined to place no great value upon their new local powers. With the Central Government at their own door, and more or less under their own influence, they felt no such sense of emancipation as was expressed in the southern and central provinces, which had so long been neglected and cramped by a distant, unsympathetic, and inaccessible government. They had every reason to be satisfied with the result, in their province, of the administration of a nominated Governor, and had no sympathy with the clamorous demand that the southern provinces had long made for the establishment of free representative institutions. There were, in fact, few persons in Auckland who cared much about political privileges, and there were a large number of property holders who were conscious that Auckland was not, and never could be, the proper centre for a New Zealand government, and who dreaded the effect on the value of their property of the inevitable removal of the seat of government to a more central position. Consequently one of the first proposals upon which the Provincial Council of Auckland was divided was a motion, by Mr. James Bushby, in favour of a petition to the British Parliament praying that the Province of Auckland might be constituted a separate colony, to be still governed by a nominated governor. The motion was carried by a majority of eleven to seven, whilst five members refrained from voting. The petition itself may still be seen in the Journals of the first Auckland Provincial Council as an evidence of the remarkably contracted commercial and political views of its promoters.

In Auckland a military Superintendent was elected, perhaps the fact that Sir George Grey bore the title of a military officer led them to hope more from the civil administration of a military superintendent than any other province would have been likely to do ; but the mischief that followed was rather negative than positive, as the result was fortunately more ludicrous than disastrous. Colonel Wynyard was not only colonel of a regiment, but it was also known that he would soon have to assume the duties of Acting-Governor, and, as such, would occupy the position of a constitutional controller of the Superintendents'

legislation, and to be called on to assent or dissent from those Superintendents' legislative actions. But, notwithstanding all this, Colonel Wynyard consented to stand as a candidate for the Superintendency, and was actually elected, beating Mr. Brown, an Auckland merchant, by nine hundred and twenty-two votes against eight hundred and twenty. Colonel Wynyard was proposed by Mr. Connel and seconded by Mr. Forsaith, both of whom had been in the employ of the Government. Mr. Brown was proposed by Mr. J. O. Neil, and seconded by Mr. Boylan. Colonel Wynyard did not appear on the hustings at the nomination, and fortunately was satisfied with the honour thus bestowed upon him, and never gave up the military duties he understood and for which he was fitted, to attempt those for which he was not qualified either by nature or by education. He had, too, the good judgment, probably advised by Sir George Grey, to leave the Province to be governed by the Provincial Solicitor of Auckland, Mr. Whitaker, and the Colony by the able and honourable Attorney-General, Mr. Swainson. Colonel Wynyard, however, only held the offices together for seven or eight months; as, when the anomalous position was made known to the Secretary of State, he at once decided that such a plurality of offices was clearly incompatible with the spirit of the constitution.

At New Plymouth the nomination of candidates for the office of Superintendent came off on Friday, the 15th of July. Three candidates were nominated—Mr. Charles Brown, proposed by Mr. Gladhill, seconded by Mr. T. King; Mr. William Hulse, proposed by Captain King, seconded by Mr. Weston; and Mr. J. T. Wicksteed, proposed by Mr. Crompton, seconded by Mr. Hursthouse. The show of hands was declared to be in favour of Mr. Hulse. The polling took place on the following day, when Mr. Wicksteed retired from the contest about noon, and, as most of his intending supporters afterwards voted for Mr. Brown, that gentleman was elected by one hundred and seventy-five votes, Mr. Hulse getting one hundred and thirty-eight. The defeated candidates accepted their defeats in a manly and good-tempered way: Mr. Hulse making quite a model speech for such an occasion, calling

on the electors to give the man of their choice a fair trial, and expressing his own intention to assist Mr. Brown in every effort for the public welfare as far as he might find opportunity to do so.

In this quiet, harbourless "garden of New Zealand" ambition had not yet learned to mock at useful toil; a common danger had preserved common friends; the thorns of party government had not yet been planted; peace, fraternity, and justice had not been driven away in any fierce scramble for sheep-runs; and even the shibboleths of sectarian gladiators had not been very sedulously cultivated.

In Wellington the new Constitution was hailed as a most important and long-wished-for boon; and no part of it was more welcome than that which gave the right to elect their own Provincial Governor, to be called a Superintendent. But no contest ensued for that office. There was, in Wellington, one little, feeble-looking man, whose organs of respiration and nutrition were remarkably small and weak; but whose intellectual and powerful brain had at once carried him to the front in all political debates; whilst his genial, unselfish disposition made him a universal favourite; so that there appeared to be no two opinions in Wellington at that time as to who should be their Superintendent. Consequently, on Saturday, July 2nd, 1853, Dr. Featherston was proposed by Mr. Fitzherbert, seconded by Mr. Lyon, and, without opposition, was there and then duly elected.

No amount of success, or of popular favour, ever betrayed Dr. Featherston into a haughty or presumptuous attitude: his manners were always gentle and pleasant; but revelling in his assured popularity and conscious of his power to cope with any duties likely to be imposed upon any representative of the Wellington electors, Dr. Featherston was naturally the first and foremost to combat the idea that intelligent men should be pledged to vote in any direction without the opportunity to investigate and debate the measures under consideration; but, above all, he claimed that the ablest men in the Colony should not be restricted to the colonial legislature, or excluded from rendering every assistance to what he held to be the equally important, and more frequent, meetings of the Provincial

Councils. At the same time, both he and the successful candidate for the superintendency of Canterbury, contended for the necessity of sending the Superintendents of the provinces to protect local powers in the General Assembly. On the hustings, after his election, Dr Featherston said : " It certainly appears to me that nothing would so fully justify the General Assembly in disregarding the wishes of the colonists, and reducing the local councils to mere municipal corporations, as a determination on the part of the settlers to return to those councils men of inferior capacity or experience. But when, in addition to all this, you consider that in all probability the General Legislature will not meet oftener than once in three years, is it fair, is it reasonable, to expect that your ablest men will commit such an act of political suicide as would be entailed upon them if they were to be denied seats in the Provincial Councils merely because they happened to be members of the General Assembly ? "

On the question of giving pledges to vote in certain directions, or to resign their seats, the Doctor says a great deal, which he concludes in the following words :—" What therefore can be more absurd or more preposterous than for a body of men clothed with such grave and responsible duties to be convened together for no other purpose than that of voting in the way they have been ordered ? Under the system of exacting pledges, intelligence, ability, integrity, and experience in public matters are no longer qualifications for the office, for their exercise is strictly forbidden under the penalty of dismissal. But hear what one of the profoundest writers and statesmen that England ever produced said upon this subject. In a letter to the Sheriff of Bristol, the great Burke used these words :—" It is the duty of a representative to sacrifice his repose, his pleasure, his satisfaction, to his constituents ; but, above all, ever and in all cases to prefer their interests to his own ; but his unbiassed opinion, his maturer judgment, his enlightened conscience, he ought not to sacrifice to any set of men living. "

In Nelson there was no such consensus of opinion. The vigorous monopoly of the runs by the original land

purchasers, and the nomination of their supporters to every public office or position of power, down to the special juries, had become serious; and a combination of some forty original land purchasers was becoming dangerous to the liberty and welfare of the settlers. At this first election for Superintendent, these monopolists of place and power prepared to carry all before them as they had previously done; but the result obtained appeared to be something like a check to their long and selfish reign. With their plurality of votes, they were wonderfully successful in the election of Provincial Councillors; but, with their single votes for the Superintendent, their man was decidedly beaten. But, even with their single votes, their widespread influence would have gained the day if they had brought forward one of their own leaders instead of one of their most obedient followers. Although a highly-educated man, Mr. Jolly was by no means a popular favourite, and had little to recommend him except that his poverty, and not his will, had prevented him from being himself a very prominent or successful land speculator. Without any of Dr. Monro's tact, or talent, or influence, he came forward under the doctor's wing, and, as his nominee, was at once recognised as the supporter of land and place monopoly. He was, therefore, easily defeated, although his opponents were foolishly divided into two camps. But the result proved that it was not the first, but the second election of Superintendent that was ultimately to shorten the wings of these "Original Land Purchasers."

Mr. W. T. L. Travers, solicitor, had, for some years, been cleverly denouncing the Nelson Supper Party; but whilst he exposed the unreasonable pretensions of that party, he had never succeeded in securing to himself the confidence of the Nelson settlers. He now brought forward, as a candidate, Mr. John Waring Saxon, who was, just then, the most popular man in Nelson, who could have won easily if he had been brought forward in better company. But Mr. Travers, like many other clever persons, was far too clever, and soon convinced the majority of electors that, if they elected Mr. Saxon, Mr. Travers would be the Superintendent.

The only newspaper in the province had started as the property and the defender of the New Zealand Company, and had not yet quite gone over to the original land purchasers. Its proprietor, Mr. Eliot, was quite as clever and even more active than Mr. Travers. He formed a league with Mr. E. W. Stafford, and, what with the great ability of his candidate, and the very active and judicious use he made of the only paper in the province, Mr. Eliot's candidate was elected by a large majority. At the nomination, which took place on a platform opposite the Court House, Mr. Travers, Dr. Monro, and Mr. Eliot each proposed the man of his choice: and the estimation in which the proposers were held had more than the usual share in deciding the fate of the candidates.

Mr. Stafford, although a most able Superintendent, was, at the date of his election, as much a run-holder and land monopolist as Dr. Monro himself; but he was supposed not to be in sympathy with the Original Land Purchasers' Association, inasmuch as he had married the only child of Colonel Wakefield, and, naturally, took no part in the attacks made by that Association on the Company for which his late father-in-law had been the principal agent in New Zealand. But, after his election, the run-holders found means to enlist Mr. Stafford as an ally, and Mr. Eliot and his paper eventually went over to them, making, for a time, their party and their policy stronger than they had ever been before. It becomes necessary to relate all this, because, without this knowledge, it is not possible to appreciate the action of the Nelson settlers when they had the second opportunity to elect a Superintendent, and when they took so much care not to elect another run-holder, even when offering the many high qualifications presented by Dr. Monro.

The nomination speeches of the three candidates were characteristic, but were of no lasting importance. Mr. Stafford's was not sparkling or lively, but it was sound and business-like. He was, in fact, the only one of the candidates who seemed to understand what his duties would be. Mr. Saxon's speech was by no means so good as he was in the habit of making on far less important

occasions. Mr. Jollie's speech was stiff and stilted ; but, considering that he was opposing an educated clergyman and a conservative statesman, it is now amusing to remember that he announced himself as the only candidate who was any enemy of red republicanism, and the friend of peace, law and order.

In Canterbury the contest was on very unmistakable grounds, and the result such as will probably never take place in New Zealand again. Two accredited, orthodox Canterbury pilgrims came forward, boldly advocating dear land, cheap labour and religious education by the State ; and although they split the votes with each other, Mr. Fitzgerald, the controller and editor of the *Lyttelton Times*, after losing eighty-nine votes by the opposition of Mr. Tancred, won the day by a majority of one hundred and thirty-five to ninety-four against a very heterodox outsider, who was advocating cheap land and dear labour. So compact was the power of the Canterbury pilgrims in those days, that even in the *Lyttelton Times* of July 16th, only four days before the election, Mr. Fitzgerald dared to write a strong article in favour of cheap labour and dear land, and boldly advocating the systematic introduction of Chinese labour at the expense of the province. In that article he says : " Cheap labour must now be our motto to turn our lands to account and to secure our prosperity. With cheap labour we shall develop our resources and avert the anomaly of the necessaries of life remaining at famine prices in a country capable of any amount of production..... English blood has not so degenerated that any amount of Chinese would occupy other positions than those of dependency." In his speech at the hustings he certainly displayed no want of confidence in himself when he said :—" Many a candidate will stand before you on this spot ; many a time will you exercise the high privilege you have recently acquired, but never again will you elect the first Superintendent of Canterbury..... The person whom you elect for so high a trust should be competent, not only to fulfil those ordinary duties which must occupy the chief officer of your government, but competent likewise to arrange, to organize, to create those

very duties themselves: competent to the task of constructing, or aiding to construct, the whole machinery of your local government." The election of members of the House of Representatives to the Provincial Councils "would tend to harmonize the proceedings of the two bodies. But it is with the Superintendent that the responsibility will mainly rest of proposing laws for the consideration of the Council and generally of directing the policy of the Province..... The absence of your Superintendent from the Province to attend the first meeting of the General Assembly will be more than compensated for by the increased efficiency of his services."

On the 6th of August, seventeen days after the election, Mr. Fitzgerald wrote:—"Now the evil of centralization is the most serious we have to guard against. To the localization of authority within this Province is mainly owing its hitherto rapid progress. Already we are beginning to experience the evil results of the transfer which has virtually been made to a central authority at Wellington of the control over the land and survey departments. Our primary object, then, is to obtain for the Provincial Legislatures the largest delegation of powers, and to localize every department not immediately connected with the central Government."

The last of these important selections of the first provincial chiefs of New Zealand came off in Otago on the 6th of September. In that province—still distinctly denominational—personal, national, religious, and social feelings were strong enough to outweigh any public interest or political bias that, just then, centred almost entirely upon the single question of the price at which land should be sold. Opinions upon that subject were now steadily changing, and, at a public meeting held on the 6th of July, resolutions were carried against the high price of land and against any religious test being applied in the selection of immigrants; but, nevertheless, there was no thought amongst his numerous and omnipotent friends of electing any other President for their Province than the white-haired old leader, who had been chosen in Scotland, and who had just been deprived of the modest £300 a year that had

hitherto enabled him to entertain the Governor and other distinguished visitors to their Province. To reconcile their strong personal feelings towards Captain Cargill with their divided political opinions, the not very aspiring politician and his faithful friends adopted a view of the legal powers of an elected Superintendent, which was more convenient and modest than accurate. The old veteran's day for hard work had very distinctly passed, and he was now little equal to the heavier duties of the office his attached friends were resolved to confer upon him. He had probably really confused the important responsibilities devolving upon an elected Superintendent with the mere formal duties of a nominated Governor, or of a constitutional Sovereign acting on the advice of his responsible ministers. But, be that as it may, he very humbly announced to the electors of Otago that, as their Superintendent, his duty would be "to avoid giving opinions, and to give unfettered effect to public opinion as legitimately expressed by an elected Council." Some opposition was, at one time, threatened. A Mr. Williams was announced as a candidate; but no one ever had the shadow of a chance against the old patriarch; so that, on the 6th of September, he was elected without opposition.

With such widely differing and with such singularly opposite estimates of the power to be wielded by them, the first Superintendents of the six Provinces of the Colony were thus elected. In Wellington and Otago, without opposition; in Auckland and New Plymouth, by a majority; and, in Nelson and Canterbury, by a minority of the recorded votes. It would probably not have altered the result in either case; but, where so much legislative and executive power was attached to the office, the holder should certainly have been called on by the constitution to have obtained a majority of the votes recorded.

In the election of members of the Provincial Councils, and of the House of Representatives which immediately followed, it soon became evident that the electors could obtain a far better choice of men for the local, than for the general legislatures. There were few men who would refuse the honourable, and powerful, and paid position of

Superintendent, and not many who would not accept an opportunity to spend their evenings in their own local councils, or to join in the home debates that their neighbours and their own wives and children could listen to. But few qualified men could be found willing to give up all attention to their own affairs for five or six months; to be tossed in a schooner for some weeks or months until they could be landed in the extreme north, where they would often get their first news from home by way of Australia, and pine in vain for opportunities to write to their loved ones who could otherwise hear or know nothing of their fate or of their proceedings. Consequently, the elections for the Provincial Councils were well contested, and excited much interest; whilst the elections for the House of Representatives were often uncontested, even in the large towns, and, practically, in many instances, anyone was sent who would undertake to go. Several of those who were thus appointed refused to go, after all, when summoned to Auckland. The able superintendent of Wellington, although elected, did not go to the House in time to take any part in the introductory proceedings. Mr. Fitzgerald was the only superintendent present, and the majority of those who attended the first meeting of the first New Zealand Parliament were, by nature, not destined to distinguish themselves in the future history of their adopted country.

Having thus seen the elections over, Sir George Grey commenced his preparations for visiting England on leave of absence. The circumstances under which he went Home have often been made the subject of unfavourable comment. The time chosen was unfortunate for himself, as it was just after he had made many powerful enemies in the colony by his unguarded cheap land regulations, and far more powerful enemies in England by not obeying the positive orders of the English Government to send Home money to pay interest on the £268,000 that had been so unrighteously demanded from New Zealand in satisfaction of the very questionable, although officially acknowledged, claims of the New Zealand Company. Many influential colonists believed that he left New Zealand because he

could no longer rule without any constitutional check. Even after his arrival in England, he found that some members of Parliament were prepared to bring charges against him, especially Mr. Adderley and Lord Lyttelton. The main charge appeared to be that he had left the colony before the machinery for self-government had been put in working order, because he could tolerate no limitation of the autocratic power he had been so long allowed to exercise. The answer to this charge, which the Duke of Newcastle gave in the House of Lords on June 14th, 1854, is conclusive and of historical interest. In that speech the Duke says : " It is somewhat hard to charge Sir George Grey with culpability in leaving the colonies at the time he did. What were the circumstances under which he asked for leave of absence? Seventeen years of colonial service he could show ; out of which he had been in England three months only—thirteen years and a half of continual service during which he had never re-visited this country. He had left a mother in England and he was desirous of coming Home to see her, and for that purpose, and that alone, he applied for leave of absence. Sir George Grey knew that she was in an infirm state of health, and that every month was precious. He nevertheless fulfilled the duties I had imposed upon him. He remained twelve months to carry out the constitution in a manner which I confidently anticipate will be found most advantageous. He remained to his own bitter cost. If he had come away earlier he would have attained his object. Sir George Grey arrived in England to hear before he landed that that mother, whom he had come sixteen thousand miles to see, lay on her death bed, and before he could reach her residence she had departed this life."

Whatever differences of opinion may exist in any other direction, there can be none as to the result of Sir George Grey's first eight years' rule in New Zealand. He found the Government at war with the Maoris, and he left it in the enjoyment of profound and well-grounded peace. He found the European power despised and ridiculed by the Maoris, and he left it respected, honoured, and beloved. He found that the defeats of the Wairau, the Bay of

Islands, and of Ohaeawai had clouded the history of New Zealand ; he followed them by the victory of Ruapekapeka, or the Bat's Nest, the submission of Heke, the alliance of Waka Nene and Te Whero Whero, and the humiliation of Rauparaha. He found European labourers begging for work at two shillings a day ; he left them refusing work at six shillings. He found that the Treaty of Waitangi and the bargains with Clenton had left the Government without land or money, and overwhelmed with debt. For less than half of what Hobson had paid for a town site that was never used, and to which the seller had no title, he made more than half of New Zealand the undisputed property of the Crown. He found 12,000 Europeans who were fast leaving New Zealand for California ; he left 31,000, with a good stream of immigration setting in in the opposite direction.

There is no other period of New Zealand history in which the expenditure of the Government was anything like so rigidly economical, being only fourteen shillings per head of the widely-scattered population, or in which wages, population, revenue, and general prosperity increased to an equal degree. The population increased from 12,000 to 31,272, or 166 per cent.; the customs revenue 200 per cent.; and wages about 200 per cent. In an official return of the rates of wages in the province of Nelson, from 1844 to 1854, signed by S. L. Muller, provincial secretary, wages are quoted, in 1846, the first year of Captain Grey's government at :—Farm labourers, two shillings a day ; mechanics, three and sixpence per day ; and domestic servants, £8 a year. In 1853, the last year of Sir George Grey's first government, the same authority quotes :—Farm labourers, six shillings and sixpence a day ; mechanics, eight shillings a day ; and domestic servants, £24 a year. It has been truly said that Sir George Grey was supplied by the English Government with means that were denied to his predecessors ; but that fact in no way lessens the merit of his great success. He was supplied with means denied to his less prudent predecessors as a natural consequence of his proved trustworthiness. Nor can one wonder that it should be so when it is remembered that, during the illness

of the first Governor, his substitutes spent more in purchasing an unused town site without a title than Sir George Grey spent in purchasing one-half of New Zealand.

Sir George himself has proudly said that he left New Zealand "in a condition of profound peace and of great prosperity, with representative institutions in full and successful operation, and followed by the prayers and blessings of the great mass of its inhabitants." Such facts require no personal testimony ; but it is due to Sir George to place on record the handsome, unmistakable testimony of Earl Grey—the only man who knew all that he had done and why he did it, the man whose position entitled him to direct the Governor, but whose just appreciation of the Governor's wisdom induced him, for the most part, humbly and most beneficially to allow the Governor to direct him.

In his record of the actions of himself and of the Government with which he was connected, Earl Grey has given to Sir George Grey the sole credit for much of the good work in which, as Secretary for the Colonies, he might have claimed a share. He writes :—"It is to the Governor, Sir George Grey, that New Zealand is mainly indebted for the happy alteration in its condition and prospects. Nothing but the singular ability and judgment displayed by him during the whole of his administration, and especially at its commencement, could have averted a war between the Native and European inhabitants of those islands..... His previous administration of South Australia under difficulties of another kind, but hardly less formidable than those he had to encounter in New Zealand, and the justness of all his views with regard to the latter, as explained in his dispatches, entitled him to our unreserved confidence. This being the case, I am persuaded that we adopted the only course likely to lead to a happy result, in resolving to embarrass him by few positive and no minute instructions ; but to leave it almost entirely to his own judgment to determine upon the measures to be taken by him, and to be guided mainly by his advice in what we were ourselves called upon to do. This was the principle upon which we acted."

At the time of his departure. Sir George Grey was not popular in Otago and Canterbury, nor with the land owners of New Zealand generally. His last land regulations had been so especially injurious to many of them, and had made their bargains with the New Zealand Company so unprofitable, that they were by no means prepared to join in the eulogies which were heaped upon him by those who were not then feeling the injurious effect of this one great mistake. But, notwithstanding this very important exception, no Governor ever left New Zealand with one-half of the expressions of affection and gratitude that were conferred on Sir George Grey during the last weeks of his personal government. The working classes of the colony believed in his sincere desire to promote their welfare, and poured in upon him thankful and complimentary addresses. But the most unreserved expressions of gratitude and affection came from his Maori friends, whose addresses, both in prose and poetry, were extremely interesting, grateful, and pathetic.

A few days before his departure, he was entertained at a banquet in Auckland, at which a hundred and seventy of his British and Maori friends were present. On the last day of 1853, he left New Zealand on what was supposed to be a leave of absence, but which resulted in a call for seven years to another disturbed and embarrassed British Colony where the restoring hand of a proved, experienced, and able administrator had become an imperative necessity.

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## CHAPTER XXVIII.

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### PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT.

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“Self-help is the root of all genuine growth in the individual; and, exhibited in the lives of many, it constitutes the true source of national vigour and strength.”—SMILES.

THE two years that followed the departure of Sir George Grey were the two years in which New Zealand enjoyed the most complete and uncontrolled power of local self-government. Her six Superintendents, with their six Provincial Councils, were in full work eight months before the General Assembly was called to Auckland, and, when it was called, it was soon proved to be, for many reasons, quite unprepared to effectually assert its own power or to call in question the powers that the Superintendents and Provincial Councils had so promptly and beneficially begun to exercise.

We have shown that there was, at first a great difficulty in persuading good men in the distant provinces to undertake to leave their own concerns and to put up with all the disagreeable associations of a long voyage and a long isolation in Auckland. Several of those who had accepted election failed to go to the first meeting of the Parliament. Those who did go met as strangers and without the knowledge necessary to guide them in the selection of leaders. But what was most fatal to any thing like parliamentary efficiency was the fact that the new Constitution Act had left them to contrive their own method of connecting the

representatives of the people with the Executive Government, and neither the soldier who was Acting Governor nor the inexperienced politicians who were leading the House of Representatives were sufficiently trusted and resourceful to establish the necessary connection between the Parliament and the Executive as their ancestors had ultimately done without any written law on the subject. The Attorney-General, Mr. Swainson, although an able man, was by no means an innovator, nor could he be expected to desire to transfer the power he was wielding so well to the popular voice for which he felt no great respect ; whilst his colleagues displayed no anxiety in the matter except the one predominating care that the change should bring with it to them a well secured pension for life. Under these circumstances, the first two sessions of the New Zealand Parliament were frittered away without any mischievous interference with the Provincial Governments or any useful result except to prove that none of the men who had tried to lead were strong enough for the position to which they aspired.

The Acting-Governor easily gained time by referring the demand for Responsible Government to the Secretary for the Colonies. The reply was, as a matter of course, that " Her Majesty's Government had no objection whatever to offer to the establishment of the system known as Responsible Government, in New Zealand. It rested on no written law but on usage in England, and, unless there were any local laws which would be repugnant to the new system, legislation was uncalled for, except for the very simple purpose of securing their pensions to retiring officers. There would be no occasion for further reference to the Home Government." Although an avowed and earnest advocate of Central as opposed to Provincial Government, Mr. Swainson had thus, by his advice to the Acting-Governor, left the Provincial Councils, during the first thirty-one months of their existence, practically uncontrolled by the Central power, as it was not until the 15th of April, 1856, that the first meeting of the second Parliament took place ; and, although the first responsible

Ministry was formed on the 18th of that month, it was June before any workable Ministry was in power.

Thus left to their own devices, the six Provincial Governments naturally made some mistakes and pursued no very uniform course, but accomplished upon the whole some very useful work. There was a great waste of power and energy, without any very apparent advantage, in leaving each province to make laws for the government of its own small population, most of which might have been better made by and for the colony; but, in the construction of their own public works, the expenditure of their own local revenue, and in the appointment and employment of their own public officers to work under their own eye, there was undoubtedly an efficiency, an economy, and an honest regard to the public interest which no central legislature or executive in New Zealand has ever yet approached.

In Auckland, the personal government of Sir George Grey had been so satisfactory that the new constitution was hardly considered a boon, and the first recorded division in the Auckland Provincial Council was actually in favour of a petition to the Queen praying that that province might again return to the rule of a Governor appointed by the Queen and uncontrolled by Parliament. Mr. James Bushby was chairman of the committee promoting that petition, and the first reason given for the desire to be deprived of the protection and privilege of a voice in his own government is that land had been "purchased in Auckland on the faith of its continuing to be the capital city of New Zealand, and that the seat of the central government could not therefore be established elsewhere without a violation of the public faith towards them." We are not surprised that, of the eleven early-elected representatives that appear in the votes and proceedings of the Auckland Provincial Council as those who prayed to be permitted to resign the birthright of self-government for such considerations, no one of them now stands recorded amongst the successful legislators or the noble elevators of their adopted country.

One of the early acts of the Taranaki Provincial Council was to elect, as the Clerk of their Council, Mr. Christopher

William Richmond, who was so soon and so long to be better known as the much-abused Native Minister who had loved their province not wisely but too well, and who, notwithstanding the great mistakes he made in that direction, long lived to adorn, with his ability and stainless character, both the ministerial and the judicial benches of New Zealand. In this unfortunate little province land and Maori difficulties absorbed most of the Council's attention for many years after their first provincial elections, and left them but little opportunity to take a lead in the work of general legislation.

In Wellington, the eloquent and popular Superintendent at once placed himself under the control of his Provincial Council by accepting an irregular and un contemplated system of responsible government, and, in so doing, took a position that was certainly not contemplated under the Constitution Act nor just to the popular power which that Act had given to the single vote of each elector, by which the Superintendent was elected, and under which he was called on to make, if necessary, a stand for the whole of the electors of the province, voting equally, as against the far greater influence of wealth secured in the plurality of votes to property by which the members of the Provincial Council were elected. The important active duties that the Constitution Act had conferred upon the Superintendent were even greater in each province than those conferred by the American Constitution on the elected President, and were never intended to be confounded with the comparatively unimportant powers of an hereditary limited monarch, or a nominated Governor. But, in taking this course, Dr. Featherston had correctly gauged his own capacity and somewhat singular natural power and weakness. He was in no danger of permanently losing his great natural personal influence with the Council, even under responsible government, although he soon found it necessary to resume much of the power with which he had too hastily parted, and he well knew how little he was fitted to go beyond the mere theory of the sternly practical executive duties which his election had nominally transferred to his care. Few men were ever less fitted to cope with the stern realities of

subduing such a wilderness as he found before him, although very few have ever been more qualified to obtain and to retain the trust and confidence of the friends by whom he was surrounded. But, unfortunately, his friends were not always well selected, and were interfered with as little as possible. His manner was fascinating without being at all insincere, his reading had been extensive, his knowledge of constitutional history was complete, his language was at once refined and vigorous, and, although not wanting in either physical or moral courage, his attitude was never aggressive. His speeches were universally admired, his theories were most attractive, and, although far too sanguine and often extravagant, there was no want of foresight in their conception nor of robustness in their expression. Throughout his long and prominent public career, he never lost the confidence of his numerous friends; but too many of those friends were chosen, and retained, and promoted with too little appreciation of the executive power which was so much needed in the subordinates who should have supplied his own defects as an administrator.

In Nelson, the less brilliant, the less beloved, and the less eloquent Superintendent, Stafford, was destined to be the leader and lawgiver, whose homely, practical work was to commend itself both to his province and to the colony. With a customs revenue of less than £5000 a year, he accomplished an amazing amount of well-executed public works, and provision was at once made to educate every child in the province. Each of his departments was placed on the most unpretentious and economical footing. His clerks were cautioned by circular not to use a whole sheet of paper where half a sheet would do, and a Council Chamber was hired for the session for the sum of £15. In 1856, the total expense of the Superintendent's office was £571, the Provincial Secretary £421, Solicitor £220, Treasurer £165, and three Auditors £20 each. With a total revenue of about fourteen thousand pounds, over ten thousand pounds was appropriated to education and public works. No money was borrowed. An Education Commission was appointed, and an Education Act passed,

which was more or less copied by the other provinces and ultimately by the Colonial Parliament. A Country Roads Bill was passed, which was also the model of Road Acts still in existence, and indeed most of Mr. Stafford's provincial Acts have had a long and useful existence, both in and beyond the province for which they were framed.

There was a ring of stately eloquence in the very long opening address that Mr. Fitzgerald read to the first Provincial Council in Canterbury. It abounded in the strongest professions of political virtue and of religious freedom, but any practical proposals upon either subject were very far from original or modern, and were in no degree adapted to the circumstances of the little community to which they were proclaimed. With the strongest protestations in favour of the absolute independence of the Provincial Council, there was, in practice, the largest known proportion of paid officials amongst the elected twelve that was ever introduced into a legislative body. On the great question of religious liberty no one would expect a representative of the Canterbury Pilgrims to have been quite as well posted as a Quaker would have been. Few would be prepared to find such strong expressions of complete impartiality to be followed by practical proceedings which ignored the very existence of any religious conscience at all, except in the very largest denominations. The system adopted was about as tyrannical and as inconsiderate of dissenting minorities as might have been expected from Henry VIII. After telling his Council that "the state education fund should be expended upon the principle of the most perfect fairness to *all* religious sects," that "the state is not bound to educate its subjects in matters of religion," that "the business of the state is to educate in matters secular and in them alone," Mr. Fitzgerald exemplifies his impartiality in these words:—"The Education fund of the province should therefore be used in all instances to supply the secular instruction to schools set on foot by some religious body guaranteeing that religious instruction shall be given to the children attending it." With such views of "religious liberty and equality" as were thus expressed in his own words, no one can be surprised

that Mr. Fitzgerald found not the slightest difficulty "in uniting secular with religious instruction in the state education of youth," nor need we look further for the reason why a writer so bold and so superficial was not long accepted as a leader of public thought in New Zealand.

It was the 30th day of December when His Honor William Cargill, Esq., met his little Council of nine in the Mechanics Institute, Princes Street, Dunedin. He had thus an opportunity to read the orations of all the other Superintendents before composing his own: but he certainly took no mean advantage of his great opportunity, and was most strictly original in the aim, conception, and even the language of his address. Land, money, and roads commanded his exclusive attention, and even these were left most humbly and absolutely to the younger Scotchmen in the Provincial Council. Not a word even about education. Indeed, the novelties of the English language had evidently proved too much for him; but the true ring of the modest, practical Christian patriot comes out in the last, the best, and the most characteristic paragraph of the speech, in which he says:—"I leave the affairs of the Province for discussion and legislation with the most entire confidence in your integrity and sound judgment, and, moreover, in the satisfaction of feeling assured that, between electors and elected—between the Council and the Executive—there will be that harmony which arises from singleness of purpose, and aiming at the practical, with the forbearance and kindness of Christian charity."

Thus, at the end of the year 1853, just as Sir George Grey was leaving them, the whole of the six Provincial Governments had entered upon their very useful public work. By taking the result of the census collected in December 1851, and adding the proportionate average increase for two years we shall find the estimated European population at the end of 1853 to be about 31,900, and, by a similar process, the live stock at the same date will appear to have been: horses 5,600, cattle 60,300, sheep 560,000; more than half the sheep being in the Nelson province. The European population was distributed something as follows: Auckland 11,500, New Plymouth 1,700, Wellington

7,400, Nelson 5,100, Canterbury 3,900, Otago 2,300. At this time the Maoris in the North Island held a large number of horses and cattle and some sheep which were not included in the census taken in December 1851.

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## CHAPTER XXIX.

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### JUVENILE LEGISLATORS. 1854-1855.

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“It was not to be expected that a number of representatives, many without previous training to their duties, unknown to one another, ignorant of the peculiar requirements of other parts of the colony, not versed in constitutional history or precedents, should proceed, at the very first, in that orderly and regular manner which might be expected from the practised Legislature of an old country.”—DR. MONRO to his electors at Richmond, October 11th, 1854.

It was the 24th of May, 1854, when the first Parliament under the Constitution of 1852 met for the first time in the city of Auckland. Thirty-nine members of the House of Representatives had been elected and summoned to meet on that day; but only thirty-one were present at the first division, which took place on the 26th of May. Mr. Charles Clifford was unanimously appointed to be the first Speaker of the House. The first important debate and the first division was on the question of whether the meeting of the House should, or should not, be opened by prayer. The division was 20 for and 10 against. Mr. James Macandrew leading the majority, and Mr. F. Weld the minority. This is the more noteworthy as Mr. Weld afterwards took such a prominent part in insisting upon the support of denominational schools by the state. On this occasion he proposed:—“That this House, whilst fully recognising the importance of religious observances, will not commit itself to any act which may tend to subvert that

perfect religious equality that is recognised by our constitution, and, therefore, cannot consistently open this House with public prayer." In proposing this resolution, Mr. Weld said that "he objected to the introduction of any practice into this House by which religious equality was not recognised. Hebrew gentlemen might be elected, and therefore it would be impossible to frame a form of prayer suitable to them and to Christians also, without involving the House in debate on abstruse religious points which were not fitting themes for discussion in that House, and not calculated to encourage sincere religious conviction."

On Saturday, May 27th, the Acting-Governor, Colonel Wynyard, delivered the first Governor's speech to both Houses. That speech was no mere formal utterance, but a long, able, and business-like address, in which the strong centralizing proclivities of the Attorney-General, Swainson, were not altogether suppressed, but were toned down by the position which the Acting-Governor himself held in the province of Auckland. The greatest mistake in the speech was, perhaps, the persistency with which the Maori population of New Zealand was still estimated at one hundred thousand, and the assurance with which the Acting-Governor, without any communication with the people's representatives in Parliament, proceeded to indicate the allocation of a revenue estimated at a little over £200,000. Such an assumption of a duty, which so clearly belonged to the House of Representatives, was sure to precipitate the demand for an Executive under the control of the people's representatives, without which a Parliament would be a useless farce.

Five days after the delivery of the speech, a courteous, cautious, and colourless reply was proposed by Mr. Fitzgerald, seconded by Dr. Monro, and carried without opposition: thus clearing the way for what was evidently to be the chief work of the session—the demand for responsible government made to an Acting-Governor, an Attorney-General, and an Nominee Council who had no desire to part with the power or emoluments that they had so far possessed.

After the winding up of the New Zealand Company's affairs, its founder, Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield, had come out to New Zealand and taken up his residence at Wellington. He had been elected as one of the members for the Hutt district in the House of Representatives, and, both from his debating ability and from his well-known prominent connection with New Zealand affairs in the past, he naturally took a leading part in the first debates of the first House of Representatives. On the second day of June, nine days after the House met, he proposed, in a long and able speech, showing much acquaintance with constitutional history, the immediate subordination of the Executive to the control of the House, by the adoption of what is known as responsible government. The principle was unanimously supported by the House, only one member, Mr. Forsaith, contending against its immediate adoption and voting alone against twenty-nine supporters of Mr. Wakefield's motion. Twenty-three members took part in the debate which occupied three whole days.

Although Mr. Wakefield had taken the lead, and had most ably advocated the demand for Responsible Government, Dr. Monro and Mr. Fitzgerald were the two members selected by the Acting-Governor to consult with him as to the course to be followed. Dr. Monro was the leading Centralist in the House, and Mr. Fitzgerald was the only Superintendent who had, at that time, taken his seat in the General Assembly. Dr. Monro at once saw that their widely different views upon such a great practical question would make it impossible for them to act together, and therefore advised the Governor to allow Mr. Fitzgerald to select for himself two colleagues with whom he could harmoniously work. This was done, with the result that Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. Weld, and Mr. Sewell took the oath of office as members of the Executive Council on the 14th of June. It must not be supposed that the Acting-Governor had thus accepted responsible government either in the letter or the spirit. These representatives of the people had simply been invited to take seats in the Governor's Executive Council without holding any portfolios, and without any obligation on the part of the

Governor or his nominee officials to be guided by their advice. Yet six days after those three members had accepted such a hopeless and helpless position, Mr. Wakefield informed the House that he regarded the action of the Acting-Governor with a "supreme satisfaction—satisfaction without a drawback." The Legislative Council at once complained that they were not officially connected with the Executive Government, and one of their members, Mr. Bartley, was added to the Executive. We say "officially connected" because the Attorney-General, Mr. Swainson, who was practically the Acting-Governor, had, probably by his own advice, been most improperly appointed to be Speaker of that Council, and carried far more real power to the nominated Council than was allotted to the House of Representatives. In experience and ability as a constitutional lawyer, and in cool, quiet judgment and executive power, he stood head and shoulders above any rival in either chamber, and easily out-generalled them all.

The newly appointed Executive thought that they were backed by the power of the purse, which was naturally supposed to rest with the Representative House, and there was some "tall talk" about the "pains and penalties" that would be inflicted upon any nominee officials who dared to expend public money which had not been voted by the House; but, when the proper time came, Mr. Swainson quietly informed these dictators that the Constitution Act only authorised the House to control the expenditure of money *raised by parliamentary authority*, and gave them no control over money which was still raised under the authority of Acts passed by the Governor and his Nominee Council. During the whole twelve weeks of its existence, the House had passed no Acts for raising revenue nor for any other purpose, and had thus left all power of the purse in the hands of the despised Executive against which they had been fighting.

After seven weeks' struggle with the ably advised Governor, Mr. Fitzgerald and his comrades, on the 3rd of August, informed the House that on the previous day they had handed their resignation to the Governor. On the

receipt of the resignation, the Governor had privately and unofficially invited Mr. Wakefield to advise him, and Mr. Wakefield at once prepared a written statement for the House on the lines taken up by the Governor. This document he read to the House, and afterwards stated to the House that he had told the Governor he would take office as his adviser "if he considered that the Governor was persecuted and oppressed." Such a strange perversion of Responsible Government and of all the proposals and principles that he had at first so ably advocated at once put Mr. E. Gibbon Wakefield in a ridiculous position before the House. After a vote of thanks to, and confidence in, the retiring Ministers had been passed, Dr. Featherston made his first speech in the House, and, although ill, proposed in eloquent and stirring language :

"That this House deems it necessary to re-assert the principle that amongst the objects it desires to see accomplished without delay—both as an essential means whereby the General Government may rightly exercise a due control over the Provincial Governments and as a no less indispensable means of obtaining for the General Government the confidence and attachment of the people—the most important is the establishment of ministerial responsibility in the conduct of legislative and executive proceedings by the Government. That in the opinion of this House the time has arrived when the safety of the colony demands the full recognition of that principle, by the appointment to the principal offices of the Government of those who possess the confidence both of his Excellency and of both the Houses of the Legislature."

Both resolutions were forwarded to his Excellency and a reply received which was probably penned by Mr E. G. Wakefield. That belief was strengthened by an accidental omission which Mr. Wakefield at once supplied by a paper drawn from his pocket, and the supposition has never received any authoritative denial. Address and replies and debates on addresses now became the order of each day for a fortnight, when the unproductive session was brought to a close in a manner worthy of its character. In the last divisions of the full House which took place on

the 15th of August, the supporters of the extreme attitude, led on by the ex-Ministers, were 22 : being Bacot, Brown, Carleton, Crompton, Cutten, Fitzgerald, Gledhill, Grey, Harte, Kelham, King, Ludlaw, Merriman, Monro, Moorhouse, Picard, Revans, Rhodes, Sewell, Stewart Wortley, Taylor, Weld. Dr. Featherston was strongly supporting this party, but was too ill to be in the House on that day. The ten members who refused to take up the extreme attitude against the Governor and his irresponsible adviser, Mr. Wakefield, were Cargill, Forsaith, Greenwood, Lee, Macandrew, Mackay, O'Neill, Travers, E. Gibbon Wakefield and his son E. Jerningham Wakefield.

On the 16th, no quorum was present ; but, on the 17th, each side had matured its plans, and come prepared to distinguish themselves as Roundheads or Cavaliers in this small struggle with the representative of Royalty. Two messages were at once received from His Excellency and read :—the one enclosing returns of electoral rolls ; the other replying to a very hostile address, and notifying to the House that His Excellency “is painfully convinced that, as respects legislation for the service of the colony, the session has come to an end.” As soon as the latter message had been read, a third message was handed to the Speaker which was known to contain the prorogation. Mr. Sewell moved that the preceding message, No. 32, be at once taken into consideration. A free fight ensued, whilst His Excellency's last message laid unopened. This debate was not conducted in parliamentary language. The member for Wairarapa, Mr. Samuel Revans, spoke of Mr. Gibbon Wakefield as “a convicted felon,” and wondered how the Governor “could take the coward felon to his breast.” When called to order by the Speaker, Mr. Revans said :—“That his expressions were strong, and he would retract them if the House thought he should do so, although he must state them to be both warranted and true.” Mr. Fitzgerald moved that the doors be locked. This motion was objected to and withdrawn, but the doors were locked nevertheless. But one of the members for Nelson, Mr. Mackay, found his way in, and, being admirably adapted by nature for such a performance, he advanced to the table

with his hat on his head, a broad smile on his face, flourishing a gazette in one hand and an umbrella in the other. Amidst contending forces, the rebuke of the Chair, and loud cries of "Order," he was not allowed to reach the table; but he flung the gazette upon it and exclaimed, "Oh, you are no Parliament, here's the gazette in which you are prorogued." The hat was soon kicked about on the floor, and Mr. Sewell got possession of the umbrella and flourished it over the owner's head. The hat, of course, came to grief, but the umbrella survived, and is still highly-prized by Mr. Mackay's descendants. Mr. Fitzgerald proposed that:—"Mr. Mackay be expelled from the House for insulting the House while in session." Mr. Sewell thought the powers of that House were not greater than those of the British House of Commons, and, as that House of Commons could not expel Mr. Wilkes, he feared that the New Zealand House could not expel Mr. Mackay; but he should certainly have the highest possible penalty inflicted upon him. Mr. Mackay was, therefore, only adjudged by the defunct House "to have been guilty of a gross and premeditated contempt." When the particulars of this undignified farce reached Sydney, it was soon described as a tragedy of unparalleled atrocity by the press of that sinless community. The *Sydney Morning Herald* describes it as an event more to be lamented than the crimes of the French Revolution, and adds:—

"We defy the annals of any representative assembly to present us with a parallel scene to that which took place at Auckland on the 17th of August last. We may call up recollections of Cromwell's dissolution of the Long Parliament, of the celebrated scene of the *Jeu de Paume* at Versailles, or of the outrages committed in the name of order and reason in the National Convention; but they dwindle into insignificance when compared with the very disgraceful display of disorder, and even personal violence, which characterised the proceedings of the House of Representatives of New Zealand on that occasion."

After all, the House was only prorogued for two weeks; but even that short time was sufficient to show the majority that they had been contending with a more able lawyer

than any of those who had directed their own movements, and that all the pains and penalties they had threatened were as harmless as a child's prattle. They consequently came back to their work in a more humble frame of mind, and more prepared to proceed to some useful business.

In the meantime, the Governor had called four members of the House to his Executive Council ; but, as these were all chosen from those who had voted with the small minority, the House at once repudiated them. The Address in Reply, which was proposed by the new Executive, was rejected by a majority of 22 to 10, and an Address adopted, proposed by Dr. Monro, in which the House declared that "a mixed Executive, as now constituted, composed in part of irresponsible officers, and in part of members drawn from a small minority in this House—a Ministry constructed on a delusive theory of representation of Provincial Interests—is a form of government in which the House declares its absolute want of confidence." On the following day, these four members of the House, Messrs. T. L. Forsaith, E. Jerningham Wakefield, W. T. L. Travers, and James Macandrew, resigned.

The speech read by the Acting-Governor in opening this second session of the first Parliament was undoubtedly liberal, both in the popular and in the constitutional sense of that word—far more practically and even aggressively liberal than any Governor's speech has ever been since that day. It boldly proposed to substitute an elected, in the place of a nominated, second chamber—to give to the Superintendents and Provincial Councils the power "to frame and administer regulations for the disposal of lands by sale, lease, or depasturing licenses"—to extend the compensation given to the New Zealand Company's land purchasers to their equally deluded immigrants—and declared "that each Province shall, as far as possible, be left to govern itself in respect of all matters affecting its interests singly and subject generally to the minimum of restriction consistent with the general superintendence of the General Government, nothing being more objectionable for New Zealand than a General Government interfering or

meddling with the provincial authorities in matters of local concern." Such sentiments were not the sentiments of the Acting-Governor nor of Mr. Swainson, but were probably thrown down by the four minority Ministers to prove that their opponents were more bent upon a party triumph than upon obtaining any popular rights or provincial privileges.

The Address in Reply, proposed by Mr. Forsaith, was rejected by a majority of 22 to 10, and a strong expression of No Confidence in the minority Ministers substituted in its place. But the Governor was informed "that this House is ready to grant supplies to a Government conducted by the old Executive officers, and it humbly prays your Excellency to lay before it the necessary estimates at the earliest possible moment."

A Naturalization Bill, a Waste Lands' Bill, an English Act Bill, and some nine other Bills were passed, and even the great questions of Liquor Legislation and State Education were boldly talked of in both Houses, but without the slightest practical result. On Saturday afternoon, the second session of the first New Zealand Parliament was prorogued, by the Acting Governor in person, until the 5th day of July, 1855. The members of both Houses not resident in Auckland were returned to their respective provinces in the steamer Nelson.

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## CHAPTER XXX.

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### QUARRELS AND EARTHQUAKES. 1855-1856.

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Hearts are flowers—they remain open to the soft-falling dew, but shut up in the violent downpour of rain.—RICHTER.

AFTER returning to their homes, some of the members of the House continued their party fights with even less dignity and less fair play than they had exhibited under the Speaker's control. Not even the experience in public controversy and as public writers that had been enjoyed by Messrs. E. Gibbon Wakefield and James Edward Fitzgerald proved sufficient to restrain them from surpassing all their colleagues in coarse, bitter, vulgar, personal abuse of each other. In the *Southern Cross* of that period, some letters appeared from those two members of the House which would have been a disgrace to a brace of prize fighters, and which it was difficult to understand how men, with their education, and in their position, could have been induced to write with reference to merely political opponents.

At Wellington, the very decided proceedings of the popular Superintendent and of the members who had acted with him were generally approved; but, even in that province, the electors of the Hutt district declined to give any distinct expression of approval or disapproval of either of their members, Messrs. Wakefield and Ludlam, who had taken such completely opposite sides in all the party fights of the two sessions, and had so coarsely abused each other.

As neither of the representatives of the town of Nelson were public speakers nor, in any useful sense, prominent actors in the debates of the two first sessions, the public interest of the electors of the Nelson province naturally centred in the post-sessional addresses of the two able members for the Waimea, who both addressed their constituents at Richmond. Notwithstanding the constitutionally liberal speech that Mr. Travers had assisted to put into the Acting-Governor's mouth, his notoriety as a member of the short-lived "Clean Shirt Ministry," and his high and active bids for popularity, he met with only a cold reception at Richmond, and was, in a few days, followed by Dr. Monro, who was received, even by his political opponents, with great respect and with general approval, ably backed as he now was by the *Nelson Examiner*. His views on land legislation and centralization of government were by no means popular; but he had taken no part in the coarse, bitter language and ill-concealed eagerness for office which had been so early practised by less self-controlled men, whilst he had fairly estimated the difficulties of the Acting-Governor's position, and the great ability and trustworthiness of the Attorney-General, Mr. Swainson; and, what was perhaps most appreciated by his constituents, he had ably advocated an adjustment of the obnoxious debt to the New Zealand Company on the basis of territorial area, which left to Nelson a smaller share than the larger provinces of Canterbury and Otago.

In Otago, Mr. James Macandrew at once contrived to obtain that singular popularity which, notwithstanding the most marked exhibitions of imprudence, he more or less maintained for the remainder of his life. Fascinated himself with the glorious possibilities of a paper currency, he contrived to enlist the sympathies of the reckless Australians without alienating even his own cautious countrymen. He soon placed the elected popular Superintendent in a position more purely nominal than he had been previously left by the too modest estimate he had formed of the power and responsibilities of his important, responsible, and powerful position. Mr. Macandrew's powers were so varied, and his tastes so versatile that he

could claim equality and fraternity with men of the most opposite character. As an orthodox Presbyterian, he could rise to the level of Dr. Burns. As a placid consumer of whiskey toddy, he was quite at home with Mr. E. Jerningham Wakefield. As a projector of political railways and lines of ocean steamers; as a borrower, either private or public, and either with or without the consent of the lender; as a liberal donor of public money upon personal friends or supporters; and as a scorner of all economics and all economists, he far outstripped Mr. Sefton Moorhouse and even Sir Julius Vogel.

On the resignation of the office of Superintendent of the province of Auckland by the Acting-Governor, Colonel Wynyard, in January, 1855, a very fierce contest ensued between Colonel Wynyard's old opponent, Mr. Brown, and Mr. F. Whitaker, who had pulled the provincial wires for Colonel Wynyard during the Colonel's singular plurality of offices. The contest lasted through the first two months of the year. Each candidate had a newspaper at his service—the *New Zealander* supported Mr. Whitaker, and the *Southern Cross* very stoutly and successfully proclaimed the great merits and superior claims of its proprietor, Mr. Brown—the result being 729 votes for Mr. Whitaker, and 863 for Mr. Brown. The contest gave rise to volumes of speeches and letters, with petty accusations and conflicting charges of "old officialism" and of "radicalism;" but no important political principles were debated, no defined class interests were evolved; so that the contest leaves no permanent record except a barren, bitter, and by no means brilliant, battle between two rival newspapers.

In October of the same year, a general provincial election came off in the province of Auckland, in which Mr. Whitaker again figured as a candidate for the Superintendency, and, on October 25th, was again defeated. On that occasion his opponent was Dr. John Logan Campbell, who defeated him by a majority of 98, the numbers being Whitaker 1227, Campbell 1325.

On the 23rd of February, 1855, at 11 minutes past 9 p.m., a very severe earthquake was felt on both sides of Cook Strait, but especially at Wellington. The most reliable

report of this disaster is contained in a report supplied to the *Nelson Examiner* by Commander Drury of H.M. Sloop *Pandora*. In that report he says:—"We felt suddenly an uncommon and disagreeable grinding, as if the ship were grating over a rough bottom. It continued with severity for more than a minute; the ship slewed broadside to the wind; we were then in six fathoms, so that there was little doubt that it was an earthquake. Lights were seen running to-and-fro from all parts of the town, and evidences of consternation combined with a loud crash. Lieutenant Jones and myself immediately landed. We found the tide alternately ebbing and flowing. The first scene before us on landing was the Government offices entirely destroyed, the upper story, the falling of which had caused the crash we heard, lying on the ground. The stair-case, the Council Chamber, the papers and documents in heterogeneous confusion. An adjoining chemist's shop whose simples and compounds admixing had a decided bias to peppermint, while the doorway of the public house was a confusion of broken bottles. Amidst the general wreck of property but one life has been sacrificed, and not more than four other persons seriously wounded..... This would appear astonishing to a person viewing the wreck of the houses, the mass of brickwork from the falling of the chimneys, the dislodgment of furniture, the extraordinary rise of the tide, the entire destruction of some tenements, the collapse of others, the universal sacrifice of property, and the natural terror and despair among the inhabitants, all tending to far greater personal disaster than fortunately I have to narrate..... The hour was favourable to the escape of adults, who seized the children from beneath the tottering chimneys, themselves not having generally retired to bed. Few, if any, since 1848, have been rash enough to build brick houses. The most substantial two-storied house—Baron Alsdorf's Hotel—of lath and plaster buried its owner in the partial ruin. Government House, had it been occupied, must have destroyed its inmates; for, in every room, was a pile of brickwork, the chandeliers, etc., utterly destroyed. The guard had a wonderful escape from the guard-room, and the gun at the flag-staff turned over.

The elegant and substantial new building, the Union Bank, is, in its front, a perfect ruin, and I hear that the damage within is not much less. Opposite to this building, a considerable opening on the road emitted slimy mud, and the main street was inundated. The most substantially built wooden houses of one story, with the exception of the chimneys, are mainly standing. Those of less substantial calibre are in a state of collapse. There is a universal destruction of crockery, bottles, etc., and a pitiful loss of valuable ornaments, clocks, etc. Several stores are unapproachable until neighbouring dangers are removed.

“The principal shock occurred at 9.11 p.m. and it was by far the most severe. During the night, scarcely half an hour elapsed without a lesser shock, more or less violent, accompanied by deep, hollow sounds; but all these subsequent ones were of much shorter duration. For eight hours subsequent to the first great shock, the tide approached and receded from the shore every twenty minutes, rising from eight to ten feet and receding four feet lower than at spring tides. One ship, I heard, was aground at her anchorage four times. The ordinary tide seemed quite at a discount; for the following day (the 24th) it scarcely rose at all. On the 24th the shocks continued, but at greater intervals, but the tremulous motion was continuous.”

“The scene on the streets was novel, some people standing at their thresholds; groups upon mats clear of the houses or in tents in their gardens. Those who had suffered less than their neighbours were assiduous in rendering assistance. What a different scene would have occurred in the fatherland! With shops exposed and every temptation to plunder, there seemed to be neither fear nor thought of robbery, but a generous and manly feeling to ease each other's burdens pervaded all classes, from the Superintendent to the lowest mechanic, from the Colonel to every soldier of the 65th regiment. Nor can I forget to mention the ready asylum afforded by the merchant vessels in the harbour to the houseless and more nervous inhabitants.”

“On the 25th, at 12.55 a.m., there was a very sharp but comparatively short shock..... In crossing Cook Strait, we felt a shock in 26 fathoms, at noon, off Sinclair's Head;

and a slighter shock in 30 fathoms, off Queen Charlotte Sound.

“In these events there is much to be thankful for in the absence of fire. Had it been winter, the universal falling in of chimneys would have assuredly fired the wood houses. Had the first shock been an hour later, many lives would probably have been lost, as the population would have been in bed.”

For several weeks after writing the above, Commander Drury was engaged in H.M. Surveying Schooner, *Pandora*, in a systematic and scientific investigation into all the circumstances connected with this great convulsion. We make the following extracts or abbreviations from his report, dated February 20th, 1855.

“The centre of this convulsion must have been near the termination of the Rimutaka Range: probably between that and Cape Campbell in the Middle Island. From Cape Campbell south it decreased in intensity. It was severely but not seriously felt at Christchurch, and less at Lyttelton which is on a rocky foundation, and was only feebly felt at Otago. At Port Underwood and the Wairau it was probably more severe than at Wellington. At Nelson, far less severe. At Taranaki, still less severe, and becoming more feeble as it approached the north. It was felt by a ship 150 miles west of Taranaki. At Auckland, it was only known to some. On the east coast, as we approach the north, it began to decrease; the accounts from Hawke's Bay represent it as comparatively mild there; whereas, at the Wairarapa Valley, under the eastern boundary of the Rimutaka Range, the shocks were very severe. It appears to be an established fact that the lower ground has been most disturbed. It may be roughly estimated as extending its influence, in a slight degree, 500 miles from a common centre between Baring Head and Cape Campbell. The time it occurred is universally the same.

“We find that the extent of the upheaving at Wellington does not exceed two feet, and come to this conclusion on the supposition that the ocean where the convulsion is not felt must when the local cause is removed return everywhere to the same level. I am inclined to believe that the

upheaving, which certainly did take place on the 23rd ultimo, was the work of that instant, and within the following twelve hours when the sea was seen approaching and receding in such an extraordinary manner. This was not observed in 1848, because there was no change in the level.

“There is every reason to hope that nature is satisfied for years to come. There is no tradition to raise fears of a worse catastrophe, and, if buildings are accommodated to such occasions, it will only be remembered hereafter, that, with the loss of a single life and of some property which every individual shared, Providence granted us a large tract of land where it was extremely desirable, immeasurably exceeding in value the losses sustained, and by which the harbour has been rather improved than otherwise. I do not think that there is any reason to apprehend that this raised land will subside. In viewing this country geologically, we perceive there have been, at intervals, similar upheavings. We find shells and marine deposits at various levels, and the present generation of oysters and other shells now left above high water level will add another strata to the growing formation of this country.”

From the 16th of September, 1854, when the second session of the first Parliament was prorogued, to the 8th of August, 1855, the Acting-Governor and his nominee Council were left to their own devices. For all practical purposes, the Colonial or Central power of New Zealand was, for that period, vested in the person of the Hon. William Swainson. With no voice in the appointment of the Executive Government, the members of the House of Representatives, when dispersed to their respective homes, were powerless as infants, except those who were fortunate enough to have a voice in the living, active, triumphant Provincial Governments, in which all useful power had practically centred. Even when some of the members obeyed the very qualified invitation to meet in Auckland on the 8th of August, they found themselves a mere remnant, without any definite object or recognized leaders, and they were invited by the Nominee Executive to do nothing except to make provision for a dissolution and general

election, to be followed by the introduction of responsible government, and to pass an Appropriation Bill on the lines suggested by the existing Nominee Executive. Only seventeen members were in the House, the majority of whom were representatives of the province of Auckland. Neither of the Wakefields were there, and neither the Superintendent of Nelson nor the Superintendent of Canterbury nor a single representative from Otago. Such a House could in no sense be regarded as a colonial House of Representatives, and it was evident that yet another year was to pass before anything worth the name of representative central government was to exist in New Zealand. During the same session, the Legislative Council could only muster five members on a division, four of whom were resident in Auckland; but that did not prevent the Hon. Major Kenny from proposing to revise the Constitution, and to purge both Houses of Parliament from the presence of all provincial legislators. A less ambitious attempt to drive the obnoxious provincial favourites from the Nominee Council alone found two supporters in Major Kenny and the Hon. Ralph Richardson. Thus, although only supported by two, the invidious proposal was only lost in the Nominee Council by a majority of one.

During the year 1855, there was a general increase in the number of members composing the various Provincial Councils, and, all doubts having been removed as to their extensive powers, a great deal of legislation followed during the first sessions of these enlarged Councils. Nelson, less influenced by the denominational bias that dominated Otago and Canterbury, and assisted by the Commissioners selected from so many denominations, who had been appointed by Mr. Stafford, naturally took a lead in educational legislation, and, in 1856, passed the Act that has been so largely copied in the Colonial Act of 1876. This Act, like most of the other provincial education Acts, passed after it had embodied the great mistake of imposing a poll tax for the support of education, which gave a powerful lever to the advocates of denominational teaching, a lever which they were not slow to use, and one which

for some years, lessened both the popularity and the usefulness of the Act. The question of religious education by the state was, for some years, very ably debated both in the Nelson Provincial Council and in the correspondence columns of the *Nelson Examiner*. Great public interest was taken in this debate, and, for several years, amendments were attempted in the Provincial Council in both directions and much useful experience gained, which was more or less utilized by the framers of the Colonial Act.

During the same year the taxation of improvements was very fiercely fought in the same Provincial Council with varying results; but, ultimately, the taxers of improvements carried the day, and the example was followed in the Country Road Acts of most of the other provinces.

On the 6th of September, 1855, when the Parliament had been twenty-nine days in session, Sir Thomas Gore Browne arrived and took the oaths of office as the fourth resident Governor of New Zealand. In proposing a congratulatory address to the new Governor, the Speaker, Mr. Clifford, admitted, without the slightest reserve, that His Excellency would find little for which to thank the House of Representatives for their assistance, so far as having solved any of the many difficult questions that must at once engage his attention. Of the material prosperity of the colony under the influence of high prices for all New Zealand produce there could be no doubt; but, as to any political difficulties, he did not hesitate to confess most humbly that the House over which he had presided for three sessions had left them very much as they found them. In proposing the brief Address to the new Governor in Committee of the whole House, the Speaker said: "He believed there was not a single political difficulty that had agitated the colony from its commencement that was not still in being, or that did not still require solution. Unsettled land claims, the native question, the New Zealand Company's affairs, the forms of government for the colony, all had still to be considered. Nothing at all, in fact, had been definitely settled." So little was the Speaker himself disposed to claim for the whole of the three sessions' work of the first Parliament of New Zealand.

On the same day that he took the oaths the Governor sent his first message to the House of Representatives, in which he gave expression to his own views and intentions and also enclosed correspondence between himself and the Secretary of State, Lord John Russell, on the subjects of an elective Legislative Council, the power to dissolve Provincial Councils, removing the seat of Government. the New Zealand Company's debt and the establishment of Responsible Government.

Nine days after entering on office, the Governor prorogued the first Parliament of New Zealand, nominally until the first day of October. On the same day the House of Representatives was dissolved by proclamation. On the 26th of September writs were issued for the election of a new Parliament, so that the old Nominee Executive, with a new Governor, were left in the uncontrolled charge of the central government for another six months.

On replying to the congratulatory address presented to him by the House of Representatives, the Governor used these words: "I beg to assure you that I shall not weary in endeavouring to promote the welfare of the colony, and, disregarding all personal and party interests, I shall be guided solely by an earnest endeavour to decide justly in all cases and questions which may come under my consideration." The words are only remarkable because they express so unreservedly and distinctly the resolution in which Governor Gore Browne was destined so distinctly to fail. With strong social instincts, warm friendships, and ill-concealed dislikes, party feeling and party interest had more than their usual share in leading him too often from the paths of duty, of wisdom, of prudence, and of justice. As a personal friend he was faithful, honoured and respected; and, by most of his friends, he was defended in all his public actions. As a constitutional Governor, he obeyed implicitly the advice of his legal official advisers; but, as the responsible representative of Imperial and Colonial interests in Maori affairs, he allowed his personal friends to urge him to actions in which the Imperial, the Maori, and the Colonial interests were all most fatally sacrificed. With the best intentions, and with an amiable

desire to comply with the wishes of those who were in a position to know more than he could be supposed to know, he allowed himself to be made the instrument in taking the first false steps that proved so costly to England and to both races in New Zealand.

During the seven months that preceded the first meeting of the second Parliament Governor Browne took the opportunity to visit all the provinces, and, in his speech to the new Parliament, on the 15th of April, 1856, he expresses his satisfaction at the general prosperity and progress, the loyalty to the Queen, and the cordial reception everywhere accorded to himself as Her Majesty's representative, which has been repeated, almost in the same language, by every other Governor.

There was something quite original and evidently aiming to be prophetic in the language in which Governor Browne referred to the struggle that had commenced for the positions of responsible ministers. It is not difficult to fancy that Mr. Swainson foresaw how short-lived the first two Ministries would be when he penned the words: "If the men chosen for the honourable trust should prove unequal to it; looking for the applause and preferring the interest of a party or a province to that of the colony at large, then will the power they are unable to wield remain but a moment in their nerveless grasp, and, once released, it will oscillate backward and forward until seized by some statesmen worthy of their adopted country, strong in the rectitude and integrity of their intentions, and regardless of all considerations which can in any way hinder the progress of the public weal. Such are the men whose counsel I desire, and by whose advice I hope to be guided."



## CHAPTER XXXI.

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SHORT-LIVED ADMINISTRATIONS. 1855-1856.

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The duty of a state is to protect the rights and the freedom of everyone. Its action ought not to be manifested by violence, or arbitrary force, but by justice.—ABD-UL-AZIZ.

ONLY thirteen members of the first House of Representatives came back to the first session of the second Parliament. It was still difficult to persuade able men to leave their homes so long, and, apparently, with so little good purpose, especially as, without any serious sacrifices, they were able to accomplish, far more effectual public, service in their own Provincial Councils. A large proportion of those members who had been elected to the second Parliament either never went to the House at all or resigned before the first meeting of the House. But, when that meeting did take place, it was soon evident that some few abler and more trusted men had been prevailed on to accept a seat in the new House. The town of Nelson sent two coming Premiers in the persons of Edward William Stafford and Alfred Domett. William Fox, John Hall, William C. Richmond, Francis Dillon Bell, and William Fitzherbert made up seven of the new-comers who were soon to make themselves known to the Colony. Neither of the Wakefields came back to the second Parliament. Weld and Monro were absent from the first session, and Forsaith, who had shown so much independent courage in the first Parliament, and had headed, and

procured the title for, the short-lived "Clean Shirt Ministry," was not returned; but all three came back in 1858. The twenty others who were left at home were little missed; as even Moorhouse was not a polished debater and had not yet become popular as one of the boldest of provincial borrowers.

As both Mr. Fitzgerald and Mr. Weld were absent, the Governor naturally sent for Mr. Sewell, who was the only member left in the House who had represented the majority of the first House in its abortive attempt to form a responsible Government. Mr. Sewell at once applied to Mr. Stafford to join him in forming a Ministry, but without success. Mr. Domett also declined; whilst Mr. Fox and Dr. Featherstone were known to be distinctly hostile to Mr. Sewell's political views. After failing to obtain the assistance of any of the ablest and most experienced men of the House, Mr. Sewell would have placed himself in his only proper position if he had gone back to the Governor and reported his failure. But, like English soldiers, premiers do not always know when they are beaten, and Mr. Sewell resorted to a forlorn hope when he decided to meet the House with only Mr. Francis Dillon Bell as an assistant in the lower House, with Mr. Whitaker and Mr. Tancred in the Legislative Council. Mr. Bell was an industrious, clever, young official, who had, as a boy, worked under the Wakefields, and had learned to talk fluently, on either side, and, generally, on both sides of a question. No colleague could be more accommodating, more prompt, or more enduring; but none of Napoleon's boys were less able to withstand the shock of Wellington's guards than the versatile Bell was to stand before the withering sarcasm of the dauntless and always earnest Fox. In the Council, Mr. Whitaker was able enough, but gagged and perfectly useless to the Premier so long as he retained the Speaker's Chair, which he did retain until six days after Mr. Sewell's ministry had been practically beaten. Mr. Tancred was distinguished for his learning, his high character, and sterling worth, but not for the possession of even a moderate degree of debating power. On the first division of the House, after the formation of the Ministry,

Mr. Bell did not vote at all, and Mr. Sewell voted in a minority of five against twenty-one. On the second division, after a three hours' Ministerial Statement by Mr. Sewell, both voted in a minority of fourteen against nineteen. On the fourth division, fixing the amount of pension to the retiring Colonial Secretary, the Premier voted in a minority of three against twenty-six. On May 6th, nineteen days after accepting office, the Sewell Ministry was defeated by seventeen to fifteen on the Address in Reply, and at once tendered their resignation, advising the Governor to send for the Auckland Superintendent, Dr. Campbell, who had moved the Amendment to the Address in Reply.

Dr. Campbell soon pronounced himself 'unable to form a Ministry, as did Dr. Featherston who was next sent for ; so that, on the 7th of May, Mr. Sewell had to inform the House that he and his colleagues still held office subject to the pleasure of the House.

On the 14th of May, Mr. Fox made a full and very uncompromising statement of his views on the relations that should exist between the General and the Provincial Governments, which provoked an amendment from Mr. Sewell which was defeated by nineteen to seventeen. On the following day this was followed up by Mr. Fox, with a direct vote of No Confidence, which caused the Sewell Ministry to resign without waiting for any further debate or division. Still they advised the Governor to send for Mr. Stafford and not for Mr. Fox. Mr. Fox was the last man that Mr. Sewell or Mr. Stafford would wish to see in power ; but there was some excuse for this unwise and unusual advice, which Mr. Sewell endeavoured to justify by quoting an English precedent that certainly did not apply. The truth was, that, after the very plain declaration of the intention to subjugate the provinces made by Mr. Sewell, and Mr. Fox's still more plain determination to resist all such attempts to destroy the independence of the elected Superintendents, the House proved to be so equally divided between Centralists and Provincialists that neither the one nor the other could obtain a working majority in the House ; and Mr. Stafford, although sympathizing with

Mr. Sewell, was still free to adopt a policy of concession which neither Sewell nor Fox could consistently propose.

Mr. Stafford soon found that he could obtain the support of only one half of the House, and wisely declined to take office under such conditions. Mr. Fox was therefore sent for, and, although supported by exactly the same number of members as Mr. Stafford would have been, he boldly accepted the position, taking for his colleagues in the House, Messrs. Hall, Brown, and Daldy, and, in the Legislative Council, the Hon. Ralph Richardson. Not a moment was lost in preparation. Taking office on the 20th of May, Mr. Fox made his Ministerial Statement on the 21st. On being asked by Mr. Stafford "Whether and when he would be prepared to make a Ministerial Statement?" he replied in one word "Now."

But the race was not to be to the swift. The waiting policy of Stafford was the only one that could succeed with such equally divided forces, and a disturbing force was at hand which Mr. Fox had not reckoned on. Mr. Fox and his friends had barely taken their seats when Mr. Travers, a southern member, arrived. He was pledged to neither side, and was soon overwhelmed with the attentions and promises of both, which were afterwards graphically described by Mr. Travers himself in the *Nelson Examiner*. Mr. Travers was not a friend of Mr. Stafford's, and was not supposed to be a Centralist or a Conservative; but he was quite shrewd enough to see which was the rising, and which the setting sun; and gave his balancing vote accordingly.

Thus it came to pass, on Monday, the 26th of May, that the name of Travers appeared, in every division, immediately under that of Mr. Stafford, and, in every division, there was a majority against the Ministry. On the next day, five divisions were called for, in each of which a majority of one voted against the Ministry, and, on the following day, a vote of No Confidence was carried by the same majority, 18 to 17, and the Fox Ministry resigned.

On the 3rd of June, six days after the resignation of the Fox Ministry, Mr. Stafford met the House with a new Ministry, and with a well-considered Ministerial Statement. The Ministry consisted of Mr. Stafford, Premier and

Leader of the House; Mr. Sewell, Treasurer; Mr. Richmond, Secretary; Mr. Whitaker, Attorney-General; with the Superintendent of Auckland, Dr. John Logan Campbell, a member of the Executive without portfolio. As must have been expected, the Ministerial Statement carefully avoided the extreme centralistic views of Mr. Sewell, and the distinctly liberal protection and security to the provinces as laid down by Mr. Fox. The Centralists were not alarmed, the Provincialists were adroitly complimented, and the Premier was left free to shape their future control as the temper of the House might dictate. In figures and finance, Mr. Stafford showed himself more at home, and more prudent, than Mr. Fox; whilst, associated with Dr. Campbell, he was less dreaded by the Auckland members as to the removal of the Seat of Government. On this burning subject, he sided with none of the eager and interested disputants; but boldly pointed out the only proper place. When the property holders of Auckland, Wellington, and Nelson were each proclaiming the superior claims of their own provinces, Mr. Stafford, on the 3rd of July, 1856, said he was not prepared to support either of the propositions before the House. He would name a place that was intended by nature for the purpose—Queen Charlotte's Sound. The town of Picton had many advantages, such as large public reserves. Captain Cook had declared the harbour to be the finest that he had ever seen.

As an experienced and very successful Superintendent of a province, Mr. Stafford was far less dreaded by the Provincialists than Mr. Sewell; the Aucklanders were much less suspicious of his local predilections than of those entertained by Mr. Fox; and the many land speculators in both Legislatures had good reason to place more faith in him and in Mr. Whitaker than they were prepared to place in Mr. Fox's uncontrolled Provincial Councils.

But, apart from the many selfish considerations that too generally weigh in the choice of a Ministry, there were many very justifiable reasons why the Stafford Ministry was so soon supported by a good working majority in the House of Representatives. Mr. Stafford's good Provincial

work in Nelson had proved him to be an able, a prudent, and a very economical administrator. His knowledge of constitutional history, and of the various governmental experiments of the world, was accurate and extensive, and he had the knack of making it appear more complete than it really was. His temperament, though active, was practical and solid, without being too imaginative or ambitious. Without being either an orator or a time waster, he was a ready, concise, and methodical debater; and, whilst he made or retained few attached friends or personal admirers, he provoked no bitter animosity by indulgence in personalities or satire. Although an Irishman, he was never known to say a witty thing. Then, too, it was obvious to the House that, after the unpardonable failure of the first Parliament to pass any reasonable number of the many Acts that the new colony required, the most important work for the first Responsible Ministry should be the careful preparation of a New Zealand Statute Book; and, for that arduous work, it would have been hardly possible to find three men more exactly fitted to work together than Stafford, Whitaker, and Richmond. It will not now be disputed that the most useful collection of Acts that have been placed on the New Zealand Statute Book, and the Acts that have required the fewest amendments, are the Acts that were prepared by those three able and energetic legislators. Nor would they themselves have denied that their work was rendered more accurate and complete by the indefatigable supervision that it received from the ablest, the boldest, the most brilliant, and the most honest of Opposition leaders. Educated as a lawyer, with a constitution and a temperament that enabled him to work day and night, with a never-failing interest in all that affected the welfare of the Colony, with a ready command of language, wit, and satire always at hand, and with an unselfishness that sought neither fee nor reward, Mr. Fox was the very model of what an Opposition leader should be. Fearless, and even fierce, in his public attacks, he was singularly gentle, considerate, faithful, and generous in every private relation. Hating figures, underrating the importance of sound finance, but always overrating his



SIR EDWARD STAFFORD



friends and colleagues—willing to trust them beyond their deserts, and at all times ready to take their worst sins upon his own shoulders—he was never a success as a Premier, and never made public work profitable to himself; but New Zealand will always have reason to be grateful for the first five years that he spent as the honest, watchful guardian of her public interests, both in the House and in the public press.

Weary of the uncompromising party struggle that had paralysed the House, and not a little alarmed and disgusted the members with the results that had, so far, made Responsible Government impossible, an entirely altered spirit came over the majority of the members after the formation of the Stafford Ministry. Party divisions practically ceased, and useful measures were carried on their merits by a majority of two to one, or, more often, without any division at all. The Chairman of Committees, Mr. Carleton, expressed the feeling of many who had acted with him, when he said, on June 21st, "I am tired of Ministry-making, and am desirous of proceeding with the practical business of the country. I have done with party for the rest of the session at all events." As a consequence of this resolution, a good deal of useful work was got through during the next two months, and thirty-six useful Acts were placed on the Statute-book.

The many strong Provincialists under Mr. Fox were defeated by a majority so small that no Government could at this time stand against them, without consenting to grant to the provinces very nearly all that the Provincialists claimed when nominally in power. There was, in fact, a tacit understanding that the power of the provinces, as it existed during Mr. Fox's first short premiership, should be neither diminished nor increased. The five resolutions that he proposed on the 14th of May, and carried by 17 to 15, were, for some time, carried out with little alteration, and were often afterwards referred to as "the compact of 1856." Under these resolutions, each province was to retain two-thirds of its customs revenue, leaving to the General Government the remaining third and two shillings and sixpence an acre from its land revenue; whilst the

provinces were to retain all the powers granted to them by the Constitution Act without encroachment by the Colonial Government. A half million loan bill was passed which was a consolidated loan bill providing for the payment of £200,000 to the New Zealand Company; £120,000 to meet other debts due on the 1st of January, 1858; leaving £180,000 to be expended in the purchase of Native lands in the North Island; and it was hoped that this loan would be guaranteed by the English Government.

One of the thirty-six bills passed was a Natives' Reserves Bill, which was strongly opposed in the Legislative Council, on the ground that it took away from the Governor the power to make Maori reserves without the consent of his Responsible Advisers. It only passed the Legislative Council by the casting vote of the Speaker, and may be regarded as something like the first step towards transferring the control of the Maoris from the Governor to the Colony.

The General Assembly was prorogued on the 16th of August, and the strongly-seated Stafford Ministry set free, for twenty months, to work with some confidence in the preparation of measures to be laid before what proved to be the useful, although small and one-sided, Parliament of 1858.

On the last day of the session Mr. Sewell resigned his seat for the town of Christchurch, in view of an immediate visit to England on private, public, and ecclesiastical business.

Thus seated as Premier, Mr. Stafford resigned the Superintendency of Nelson, and paid a visit to that province early in October. He was well received by his old friends, but still more demonstratively by most of his old opponents. He took advantage of a dinner given to him at the Trafalgar Hotel to make a very able and useful speech, which was well reported in the *Nelson Examiner*, and copied into most of the New Zealand newspapers. That speech was characteristic of its author—simple, practical, and confident, but professing no faith in great financial manipulations. Upon not a few points his statements will apply to errors that are still in existence,

and will explain the delusions, the actions, and the beliefs of many honest men of the present day. He had been much annoyed by the refusal of the Nelson Provincial Council, led by Dr. Monro, to provide him with a Provincial Secretary, and, without directly referring to that circumstance, he made a statement that would apply quite as much to his new as to his old position, and is worth recording as the experience of such a thorough worker as Stafford undoubtedly was. He said :—

“On the one hand some persons expected that the Superintendent should make frequent visits to all parts of the province, while at the same time others required that he should perform all the routine duties of a clerk. At what time or place they expected him to consider what laws might be necessary they omitted to state. Those who wished the time of the Superintendent to be taken up with the mere mechanical duties of a clerk, either did not understand the character of the office, or, if they did, then they must desire that at least three-fourths of the powers, legislative and executive, which the Superintendent now possessed should be taken away ; otherwise they must not expect other than great evils from the exercise of these powers. For his own part he would say, that if, while he was Superintendent, he had been less in his office, the public affairs of the province would have been better administered ; and if he were again to hold a similar office, he would perform much less of the duties of a clerk than he had hitherto done.”

Another very common error upon which he endeavoured to enlighten his constituents is very well put :—

“Some people, he understood, were dissatisfied that in this arrangement Nelson had received no special advantage. Did they conceive that Nelson had a right to any peculiar advantage, or were they forgetful of the total impossibility of obtaining it ? He had, on the occasion of his nomination, warned the electors not to expect that anything could be obtained for Nelson at the expense of the colony. He had done so because he believed then, and still, that some people expected that their representatives in the Assembly were to obtain some boon for them. He had never

attempted to obtain any such, nor could any such attempt have been successful. Nor would his ministry at any time attempt to favour any one province at the expense of the others. It would be equally opposed to justice and to good policy for any Government so to act, as the inevitable and natural result would be a combination on the part of all the other provinces to oust a Government which studied the welfare of but one province, instead of the whole colony. They must not put out of sight the jealousies and suspicions of the various provinces—the anxiety of each to obtain as large a share as possible of the revenue of the colony, and to acknowledge as small a share as possible of its debts.”

Then he puts the justification of his half million consolidated loan in a clear light when he says :—

“When the present ministry came into office it found the sum of ninepence in the Treasury ; while at the same time there were debts, including that to the New Zealand Company, of about £300,000 to be provided for ; besides a further future liability for the purchase of native lands, which could not be stated exactly, but which was variously estimated at from £300,000 to £500,000 more.”

At this dinner party, Dr. Monro and his partisans, his J.Ps. and his special jurymen, were in great force, and contributed not a little to Mr. Stafford's gratification by the neat and handsome manner in which they proposed, and carried unanimously, resolutions complimentary to him. Besides which, the Doctor expressed the most sincere regret for any harsh language he had at any time used in the Provincial Council against the proposals of one who had undoubtedly done so much to promote the prosperity of Nelson.

Dr. Monro came forward as a candidate for the Superintendency of Nelson, and Mr. Travers offered his services as an opposing candidate in what he called the “Liberal interest ;” but some of his most conspicuous actions as a legislator were not approved by the majority of the electors of Nelson. He had been elected as a Provincialist and voted as a Centralist. He had promoted a bill for the control of the New Zealand Company's Education Endowment at Nelson, giving five votes to men

of large property and no votes to men without property. This was not the kind of liberality that the Nelson Liberals of that date wished to cultivate. Mr. Travers' services were therefore declined, without thanks, and a very genuine Liberal selected with whom to oppose the able, the respected, and the popular doctor who had long and ably headed the eager and successful land and privilege monopolists of Nelson. The man chosen by the Liberals of Nelson was a modest mechanic, who would never have thought of coming forward on his own account, and who was just then absorbed in the construction of a sawmill on the other side of the bay. In the early days of Nelson he had, for want of more congenial employment, been obliged to work on the roads for the New Zealand Company, where he had been not a little useful in restraining his fellow-workmen from acts of retaliation and of folly. In 1855 he had been elected by his neighbours to the Nelson Provincial Council, in which he at once distinguished himself by his clear debating power, his imperturbable temper and his political sagacity and experience, acquired as a disciple of John Bright, and as a committeeman in the Birmingham Mechanics' Institute.

After hearing all that Dr. Monro and Mr. Travers had to say for themselves, a few active spirits met, at the conclusion of Mr. Travers' last speech, and decided that neither the doctor nor the lawyer would suit them. A hardheaded Scotchman, named William Wilkie, long known as the most independent and uncompromising Liberal, and the most consistent public economist in Nelson, started off, across the bay, that same night, to fetch the favourite mechanic, John Perry Robinson, to Nelson, in time for the nomination, which was to take place in thirty-six hours. The wind and weather were propitious, and the would-be saw-miller was landed in time to make a noble and telling speech from the hustings to the electors of Nelson. The three candidates were proposed by three members of the Nelson Provincial Council. Mr. Charles Eliot proposed Dr. Monro, Mr. Robert Burns proposed Mr. Travers, and Mr. Alfred Saunders proposed Mr. Robinson. It was at once evident that Mr. Travers was

not in the race, and he soon retired, leaving the contest to be fairly fought out between the doctor and the mechanic. Those were not the days of universal suffrage, and the doctor's friends were still confident of success; but no election could have been fought more eagerly, more good temperedly, or more honourably on both sides, the Doctor and his friends being all the time perfectly confident of success. Mr. Robinson won by a majority of only 16.

Although a working mechanic and a poor man, Mr. Robinson had acquired a more than usual amount of useful knowledge. He had a good command of plain English which he spoke grammatically without any provincial brogue, and his official writings were concise, accurate, and sensible. His freedom from all class prejudice, and his strong faith in human nature, gave a charm to his manner that caused him to grow in popular favour and to be re-elected, with ever-growing majorities, during the nine years that he lived after his first election. The runholders and land speculators of Nelson, the J.Ps. and special jurymen never quite forgave him for his interference with their monopoly of power and privilege, and Mr. Charles Eliot, the proprietor of the *Nelson Examiner*, who had then become an ardent and very speculative runholder, never ceased to use the only Nelson newspaper to deprecate the choice of the Nelson electors.

Some months after this election, great public interest was excited in Nelson by the trial, in the Supreme Court, of a libel case—Robinson *versus* Hooper—which was the outcome of this contest. As it was to come before a Special Jury, every member of which had voted against Mr. Robinson, it was naturally regarded as a test of how much justice might be expected from that jury, when their unanimous political bias might be supposed to interfere with their sense of justice.

During the contest for the Superintendency, a brewer, named George Hooper, took advantage of the last issue of the only paper that would be published in the province before the day of election, to publish a letter, charging Mr. Robinson with having acted dishonestly as his agent at the Bay of Islands, in connection with the sale of beer in that

locality. The newspaper came out on Saturday, and no other paper would be published in Nelson until the following Wednesday, before which the election would be over. Mr. Robinson therefore called a meeting in the Oddfellows' Hall on the evening of the day on which the letter appeared in the *Nelson Examiner*, at which he explained what his conduct had been to the entire satisfaction and amusement of a crowded audience, which insisted upon Mr. Robinson pledging himself to bring an action for libel in the Supreme Court against Mr. George Hooper. This he undertook to do.

Mr. Robinson engaged Mr. Travers to conduct his case, which he very ably did. It was proved, in evidence, that Mr. Hooper did not understand a single figure in his own books upon which he had brought the charge. That he had sent Mr. Robinson to the Bay of Islands with some casks of beer, which turned sour in the warmer climate, and were quite unsaleable. That he afterwards sent consignments of better beer, accompanied by a letter, which was produced in Court, instructing Mr. Robinson how he was to mix the sour beer with the good beer for the "sodgers," who were supposed to be quite willing and able to drink it. This Mr. Robinson declined to do; so that the sour beer became a total loss, and Mr. Robinson was accused of disposing of it "otherwise than honestly." The gentlemen of the Special Jury could not agree with Mr. Hooper's idea of honesty—even to "sodgers"; but, as Mr. Robinson had won his election, they contended that the libel could have done him no harm, and therefore awarded only nominal damages.

In Wellington, Mr. Robinson soon became favourably known, and his opponents and depreciators were not in favour there; but in Auckland, and more especially in Canterbury, the election of "an ignorant mechanic" in preference to the accomplished Monro was notified with pious horror.



## CHAPTER XXXII.

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UNDERRATING THE DARKSKINS. 1856.

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“Pride costs more than hunger, thirst, and cold.”—FRANKLIN.

No Governor was ever likely to come up to Sir George Grey in the estimation of the Maori chiefs, who had been his trusted companions, and the recipients of his fascinating and never-failing attention, assistance, and courtesy. The Acting-Governor, Colonel Wynyard, had endeavoured, with more or less success, to carry on the policy of Sir George Grey, and was very ably and cordially assisted to do so by his trusted lieutenant, Mr. Swainson. But Governor Browne's tastes and talents did not lie in that direction. He would, of course, do justice to the barbarians; he would be as forbearing as possible to the quarrelsome manslayers and cannibals—but was he to treat them as equals? Was he even to consult them as to how they should be governed? Was he ever to arrange his own movements to suit their convenience? Was Lady Browne's drawing room to be open to the reception of a half-clothed savage with a black pipe in his mouth?

But Governor Browne had very soon to learn that the conciliation of these half-clothed warriors was by far the most important duty that the English Government had entrusted to him; and a wiser man would soon have seen that there were amongst them men born to lead, with as good heads and as good hearts as he would find in the less recently reclaimed races in his own country.

Only two months after landing in New Zealand, Governor Browne was informed that some dissatisfied chiefs had called a meeting of their peers, to consider what steps should be taken for the better protection of their rights and privileges. The chiefs were called to meet at Taupo, and their meeting resulted in a general determination to sell no more land to Europeans, to allow no individual chiefs to sell without the consent of all the tribes concerned; and the question was, for the first time, raised of the desirability of appointing a Maori king. In other words, Governor Browne and his Parliament were not to be respected and trusted by the Maoris as Governor Grey had been, and the "mana" of the Maori chiefs was to be restored to its ancient dignity and importance, whilst the ancient discords and divisions of the Maoris were to be avoided by the appointment of one Maori king.

This was a serious business, as the union of these long-divided and mutually destroying tribes evidently meant the foundation of a physical force to cope with which Governor Browne had no sufficient means at his command. But their union was by no means complete. Some of the most influential chiefs were not at the meeting, and the most potential of all, so long afterwards known as the King Maker, still hoped to obtain all their just rights by a personal appeal to the Governor, as he had always done in his appeals to Sir George Grey, with so much advantage to both races.

In January, 1857, Wiremu Tamehana Te Waharoa (sometimes Anglicized William Thompson), known as the New Zealand King Maker, went to Auckland, as a loyal subject of the Queen, as a consistent professor of Christianity, and as an undoubted lover of peace and justice, to calmly lay the complaints of his countrymen before the new Governor, and to point out the danger of any longer neglect of justice to the men who were so well able to take the law into their own hands. This was the first and the last chance which any New Zealand Governor ever had to convert the great King movement into a blessing instead of a curse to both races. The truly great man who now sought an interview with the Governor was the man

whose long-proved justice and veracity, and whose sterling desire for the peace, good government, and welfare of both races had already commanded the respect of all his own race—a respect which he never lost and which he never abused. If Governor Browne had only heard this mediator's wise, moderate, and reasonable proposals—if he had only enquired what his actions towards the Europeans had been in the past, or of the estimation in which he was held by all who really knew him ; or if he had only asked a phrenologist what he thought of the largely-developed moral sentiments, which made this Maori's head so remarkable for its unusual height, he would have known that a wise and friendly attention to such a man's proposals offered a most valuable opportunity to avert a calamity from which New Zealand was to suffer so much and to suffer so long. But more fashionable clothes and a whiter skin would have told more with Governor Browne than all the rare qualities which had made him so long the trusted adviser of his own race. It is impossible to believe that Governor Browne could have been correctly informed of the position and character of this chief, of his antecedents as a peacemaker and a restorer of stolen property, and of the grateful treatment he had on that account received both from Governor Fitzroy and from Sir George Grey. Yet the fact is authentically recorded that he was not allowed to see the Governor, and that, after waiting in Auckland some weeks, he returned home in disgust and despair and issued a circular to all Waikatos, informing them that he had altered his mind about the King movement, and, as he could not even get a talk with the present Governor, they must have a King of their own, who would now be supported by all his tribe—the great tribe of Ngatihaua. This settled the appointment of a Maori King, and the great chief Te Whero Whero, now to be called Potatau, who had been Sir George Grey's right-hand supporter, reluctantly consented to occupy that position, accepting, at first, only the title of Matau or Father.

Another great meeting of Maoris was called, to meet at Rangiriri in May, at which more than two thousand Maoris were present. The Governor, Mr. Richmond, and Mr.

McLean attended this meeting, and tried, when too late, to repair the mischief they had done by their insulting conduct to the King Maker. The chief convener of the meeting, Te Heu Heu, the Taupo chief, told them that the meanest Englishman had always been hospitably received by the Maoris; but that, when a Maori chief of the highest rank, and still higher estimation, visited Auckland, he had been rudely neglected and repulsed by the English rangatiras. The Governor was given to understand that the Maoris had no wish to interfere with truly English settlements; but that, when vicious Englishmen chose to live in Maori districts and committed crimes, the Maoris would deal with them in their own way. Potatau himself was far more conciliatory than Te Heu Heu, and told the Governor that he would be satisfied if he would listen to the wishes expressed in the Maori runangas, appoint good magistrates, and administer the law firmly and impartially towards both races.

The debates continued some days after the Governor left, and more chiefs were invited to attend at a third runanga, held very near Auckland, at which Bishop Selwyn and the Rev. Mr. Buddle were present. At all the meetings there was a great divergence of opinion, and the rival flags were literally, as well as oratorically, roughly handled. The Bible was freely, but not always very intellectually, quoted. Some of the King's friends were about as logical as the friends of the Stuarts, and contended that a king must be a good thing, because Paul had said that the King was the Minister for good and would execute wrath upon evil doers.

If the Governor and his ministers and the missionaries had unselfishly worked together, in the interests of peace and the welfare of both races, there was enough sincere Christianity and honest patriotism amongst the Maoris to have neutralized all the impatient antipathy of the more restless spirits and ambitious warriors, who were anxious to resent every real or fancied insult they received. But the European powers were even less prepared than the Maori chiefs to pull in any one direction. The Governor had very early discovered that it would be uphill work for him

to take any very strong steps, in Maori affairs, in opposition to the aims of the advisers he was required to obey upon other public business. Mr. Whitaker was an ardent speculator in Maori land; Mr. Richmond had very little of the lymphatic in his temperament, and was hourly grieved at the landless condition of his Taranaki relatives and friends, and with the unsatisfactory title held for the little land that had been acquired for that province, whilst Mr. Stafford saw clearly that a war with the Maoris was the thing of all others to be avoided by his Government. The Bishop had been grossly insulted by the Taranaki settlers, and was justly indignant with them for practically siding with a Maori murderer because he had contrived to condone his heinous offence in their estimation by advocating the sale of land to Europeans. The Bishop had no faith in Mr. Richmond, and made too little allowance for the difficulties of his position. His lordship fostered an exaggerated estimate of the rights of all existing landlords, and especially of Maori landlords, however questionable their title, and sometimes went so far as to absurdly compare, in his pastoral manifestoes, the poor, honest, land-utilizing farmers and gardeners of Taranaki with Ahab, the King of Israel, and his infamous wife, Jezebel; whilst he attempted to liken the last successful robber and monopolist of New Zealand forests and plains, for which he had no kind of use, with the robbed and murdered owner of Naboth's cultivated little vineyard. The Bishop was honest, courageous, and unselfish, and, no doubt, intended to be just; but there was as little justice in comparing the unfortunate Taranaki settlers with Jezebel, as there was in charging the Bishop with a desire to encourage the Maoris in their acts of cruelty and violence committed upon innocent settlers. Even the land purchasing agents and magistrates employed by the Government were jealous of each other; and were often more anxious to see their rivals proved to be wrong than to see the foolish promises of the Treaty of Waitangi effectually neutralized, as they had been in the South Island, by wholesale and early purchases. It was thus that all that was good in the Maori King movement was

effectually neutralised, and its dangerous elements were fostered and grew in strength from day to day.

With more leisure than the European colonists to study public questions and political institutions, with more fighting power in their own hands, and whilst contributing nearly half the customs duties, it was not reasonable to expect that a race of great intellectual power would rest satisfied to be governed by a Parliament in which they had no representation. From their point of view, nothing could be more fair than that they should be left to appoint their own rulers, to enforce their own laws, and to expend their own revenue. From a European point of view, and even with a far-seeing estimate of the ultimate effect upon the Maoris themselves, there were, of course, great objections to such a proposal ; but a Maori patriot might very well be excused for demanding some potential voice in the Government he was called upon to obey, and ought not to have been expected to accept, without any compensation, a system of Government under which the new arrivals had everything their own way. The monopoly of the whole country, so unwisely given to a few warrior chiefs by the Treaty of Waitangi, should have been neutralized as early as possible ; but the natural demand now made for a voice in their own Government, which was, at first, so much under the control of their most civilized and Christianized chiefs, should have been judiciously recognized as the most probable solution of an extremely delicate combination of difficulties, which had been chiefly produced and greatly aggravated by Governor Hobson's unwise treaties and still more unwise settlement in the extreme north, and in the midst of Maori warriors sufficiently armed and numerous to hold the new-comers entirely at their mercy.

The many writers who have insisted that the Maoris should, from the first, have had their fair share of representation in the Colonial Parliament, have never fairly estimated the inevitable outcome of such a proceeding, under the then existing circumstances. Apart from many other manifest objections, and from the fact that the very partially civilized race, if represented in proportion to their numbers, would have been an absolute majority in the

government of the whole country, there was the very obvious fact that the province of Auckland would have completely dominated the colony of New Zealand, and have made it utterly useless for the other provinces to have sent any members at all. So that, if the Maoris were at that time to be represented in any fair proportion to their numbers, it could only have been under some isolated conditions such as they now proposed to establish. But, at this time, both the Governor and his responsible Ministers were evidently deceived by the apparently easy success with which Sir George Grey appeared to get all his own way with the hardy and pugnacious warriors, whom he always treated with so much respect. Like most other Indian officers, Governor Browne underrated the power of the Maoris, and expected to command Sir George Grey's success without adopting the conciliatory means by which that success was obtained. Potatau himself complained to the permanent head of the Native department, Mr. McLean, in these words:—"I am no longer consulted as I was by Sir George Grey, and changes of great importance are made without my consent."

Te Whero Whero never sought the power and authority now forced upon him. All reliable authorities agree that the combined tribes had great difficulty in persuading him to accept the position, and especially the title of king. It is remarkable that the able and long-trusted chief, Waka Nene, continued to give Governor Browne the same wise, unselfish, able advice that he had so often given to Sir George Grey; and he was backed up by a Maori clergyman named Tamiti Ngapora, whose patriotism, truth, and high, unselfish aims ultimately commanded the respect of both races. Both Waka Nene and the Rev. Ngapora complained that the Europeans insisted upon selling spirits and firearms to the Maoris, and that good laws were not enforced against the convicts and other outcasts of society who were allowed to infest the Maori settlements, and to demoralize their countrymen. When Governor Browne was urged by the rash and ignorant spirits around him to arrest and confine Potatau, these well-informed and honest advisers persuaded him to let the great popular chief alone;

as even if it had been possible to arrest him, which it was not, any such persecution would certainly give to the King movement a force and importance that it might never acquire under the wiser policy of wholesome neglect or conciliation.

Early in 1858, a Maori outrage was committed at Taranaki, which led to a series of blunders by the Governor and the Government, well fitted to bring them both into



TE WHERO WHERO.

contempt and distrust in the estimation of their Maori subjects. The chief, Katatore, and three friends were riding unarmed on a road leading from Taranaki, when Katatore and one of his friends were shot down by Maoris in ambush under the direction of a chief named Ihaia. This occurred near the town of Taranaki, on the Bell block, in the sight of Europeans, and Ihaia admitted that the murder was contrived and directed by him. The friends of Katatore at once killed two of Ihaia's tribe, sacked his pah,

and destroyed his property and live stock ; but Ihaia escaped to the Kiraka pah, where he was besieged by Rangitaki with Katatore's friends, who prepared to burn Ihaia and his friends in the pah. Ihaia, however, again escaped, and ultimately made his peace with Katatore's friends, being defended, assisted, and almost justified, not only by the Taranaki settlers, but also by the Taranaki Provincial Council. No attempt was made to bring him to trial for the murders, and thus the Maoris were strengthened in the conviction, which both they and Bishop Selwyn so often expressed, that the soldiers were employed to enforce the sale of Maori lands, but not to enforce the British law against the murderers of the Maoris. There can be no doubt that if the British soldiers had been employed to bring Ihaia to trial on that occasion, the soldiers and their employers would have been very differently estimated by the Maoris and their friends, as compared to what was thought and said about them when enforcing the illegal and immoral sale of the Waitara block.

But, of the many false steps taken by Governor Browne and his advisers in Maori legislation and administration, none was so important, so incomprehensible, so costly, and so disastrous to both races as the removal of the wise restrictions imposed upon the sale of arms and ammunition to Maoris by Sir George Grey's proclamation of January 21st, 1846. Just when the progress of the King movement should have warned the Governor of the danger of such a proceeding, ten thousand strong, hardy, daring, desperate warriors were left to arm themselves as they pleased, and to spend the high prices they were receiving for their agricultural produce, not in agricultural implements, but in weapons of destruction. The only advantage the industrious, civilized settlers had previously possessed against the restless, war-loving, and war-practising race around them was thus given up, and over fifty thousand pounds were immediately spent by the Maoris in buying in stores of arms and ammunition, which were soon to be so effectually used in the unsettlement and destruction of both races.

In the commercial report of the Auckland *New Zealander* of November 21st, we find the following statement: "The only trade that evinces anything like activity is the native trade in arms and ammunition, which, since the removal or relaxation of the Arms Importation Ordinance, has been carried on with the most astonishing vigour. Immense stocks of powder, shot, and guns (chiefly double-barrelled) are imported by every vessel from Sydney, and most extensively purchased from licensed retailers by natives from all parts of the country. The prudence of such sales is more than questionable."

The effect of Sir George Grey's proclamation of 1846 had at once shown itself to be a step in the right direction; and the missionaries, led by Samuel Marsden, had consistently submitted to every sacrifice rather than be accessory to the sale of firearms; the wisest and most honest Maoris had earnestly petitioned against their sale; and the industrious and enterprising outlying settlers had expressed their alarm at the danger it must necessarily bring to them. But nothing was sufficient to arouse the easy-going Governor to a sense of the evil he was permitting to be inflicted on both races in New Zealand.

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## CHAPTER XXXIII.

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LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT. 1856-1857.

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Where spades grow bright, and idle words grow dull ;  
Where jails are empty, and where barns are full ;  
When church paths are with frequent feet outworn ;  
Law court-yards weedy, silent, and forlorn ;  
Where doctors foot it, and where farmers ride ;  
Where age abounds, and youth is multiplied ;  
Where these signs are, they clearly indicate  
A happy people and well-governed state.

—CONFUCIUS.

THE result of the session of 1856, and the power that a Ministry of Centralists had been compelled to leave unimpaired to the Provincial Governments, gave a stability and security to their authority that was soon used by most of the Provincial Governments to mortgage or to realize on their large landed estates. The greatest sinners in that direction were the sanguine Superintendent of Wellington, Dr. Featherstone, and the ever venturesome erstwhile leader of the Otago Provincial Executive, Mr. Macandrew. In both of these provinces, a special meeting of the Provincial Council was called as early as possible after their power over the provincial landed estates had been thus confirmed. Wellington authorised a loan of £150,000 at 8 per cent. interest and 4 per cent. commission, and Otago agreed to give a premium to large land speculators, by offering land in blocks of not less than 2000 acres at ten shillings per acre. The Provincial Council

also authorised the expenditure of £20,000 on the importation of immigrants, £6000 for roads £5,200 for education, and £2000 for steam communication.

In Canterbury, the price of land was steadily maintained at £2 per acre as soon as Sir George Grey's ten shillings per acre proclamation had been annulled. In Taranaki, there was no quantity of land to sell at any price, and in Nelson there was no valuable land naturally belonging to that port that had not been sold by the New Zealand Company. But the Superintendent of Nelson was a believer in cheap land, and many members of the Council were interested as purchasers. Besides which, there was a general impression that the Amuri land was so effectually severed by nature from the port of Nelson that it would ere long become a part of Canterbury. The same kind of danger was felt with regard to the land on the east coast which was actually so soon separated from Nelson. But a very radical Waste Lands Bill now passed by the Nelson Provincial Council, was disallowed by the Governor.

By sacrificing their best lands and encouraging injurious land monopoly, Otago soon obtained £150,000 from one Australian land speculator, and Nelson £50,000 from another: minus, of course, the large percentage that they were compelled to hand over to the payment of the New Zealand Company's debt.

There was much to justify a great portion of the large debt and the extravagant interest inflicted upon Wellington, in the fact that it was every day becoming more dangerous and more extravagant to leave the Maori title to the best lands of that province unextinguished. Indeed it is impossible not to admire the energy and irrepressible determination with which Dr. Featherstone obtained the money and forced the hand of the General Government to attend, with much apparent reluctance, to the interests of Wellington in the purchase of Native lands.

After voting £2500 for what they called provincial education, the Canterbury Provincial Council handed the whole sum over to the three largest denominations: giving £1700 to the Church of England, £250 each to the Presbyterians and the Wesleyans, and £300 to an

Inspector of Schools, to be appointed by the Superintendent, but who was also to be approved by the representatives of those large denominations.

The first Nelson Provincial Council was prorogued, for the last time, on June 18th, 1857. In its last session, eleven acts had been passed, seven of which were reserved for the Governor's assent, and all except a Waste Lands Act, were allowed by him. The non-borrowing Superintendent was authorized to raise £5000 on debentures, chiefly in order to push on surveys. Of this loan he says, in his closing speech:—"With reference to the Debenture Act, I consider it my duty to remark, that the amount which it is proposed to obtain under its operation is greater than I had myself considered necessary; and greater than I still considered it expedient at present to obtain; and, in the event of its receiving the Governor's assent, I shall consider myself at liberty to procure only such amounts in the first instance as will enable me to accomplish the surveys necessary for the growing demands of the province, and the construction of roads in those districts which are more immediately required to supply the wants of growing population." Of that Council, as a whole, the *Nelson Examiner* of June 20th says:—"Although the thought of Provincial Councils as bodies of law-makers does in New Zealand almost necessarily force one into reflections upon the number of law-making machines we have and the multiplicity of their products, we think we may safely say of the Nelson Council that it has always somewhat distinguished itself for moderation and good sense, both in the laws it has made and its general proceedings. One thing we may say of it in conclusion, and we believe it is the highest eulogium we can pass upon it—it has, if we mistake not, made fewer laws than any other Council in New Zealand."

A correspondent of the same paper says of Auckland a few weeks later:—"Our northern neighbours are about to be embroiled again in a general election. Their's seems to be an annual affair. Four superintendents in four years! It is high time they settled down quietly to work. The example they set is certainly not worthy of imitation if the

tone of their public press is any criterion." The *Lyttelton Times* observes "The contemptible character of Auckland party warfare is calculated to throw discredit upon the whole colony."

A meeting of the Otago Provincial Council was called for November 28th, and was addressed by the venerable Superintendent in a manner, and upon subjects, which only too plainly indicated that, although, as he said, he was only fifty days older than Lord Palmerston, he was not carrying his mental age as Lord Palmerston had done. The old gentleman delivered one speech for himself, and another for his Executive Council which, he said, was "entirely their own." He had evidently repented his mistaken early assertions that it would be his duty to be guided, in matters of public policy, entirely by a majority of the Provincial Council. The short, and necessarily unbusiness-like session was closed on the 16th of the following month.

In the contest for the Superintendency of the province of Taranaki, between the first Superintendent, Mr. Charles Brown and Mr. George Cutfield, the *Taranaki Herald* very suddenly forsook the existing Superintendent, whose latest proceedings were by no means popular, and took up the cause of Mr. Cutfield, who was evidently the coming man, and who was returned by an overwhelming majority on January 13th, 1857. In consequence of this unexpected desertion by the proprietor of the *Herald*, and the dismissal of a friendly editor, Mr. Brown and his friends started a second paper called the *Taranaki News*, the editorship of which was given to the dismissed editor of the *Herald*, Mr. Phenev.

Nelson was now the only province in New Zealand that had not more than one newspaper, and that one was more quoted by the other papers of New Zealand than any other colonial paper. It was for some time ably edited by Alfred Domett, and attracted a remarkable number of capable and well-informed writers as correspondents upon various political and other subjects. Mr. Crosby Ward had taken the place and pen of Mr. Fitzgerald in Canterbury, and there was certainly no scarcity of able and highly-respectable writers in that province ; but there was still a great deal of

the same class bias that pervaded the *Nelson Examiner*, with a strong remnant of that denominational prejudice from which the *Examiner* was generally free.

Long before Mr. Sewell reached England, it became known there that he was authorized to seek from the English Government their guarantee for a half million loan, and Mr. Labouchere, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, lost no time in informing the New Zealand Government that his Government could not advise Parliament to give that guarantee. Several weeks after this was known, Mr. Stafford sent a circular to all the Superintendents advising them that no such guarantee could be hoped for. But, on receiving further information on the subject, and no doubt influenced by the favourable report that Governor Browne and Mr. Sewell were able to give of Mr. Stafford's prudent and businesslike financial arrangements, Mr. Labouchere altered his mind, and brought a Bill into the British Parliament guaranteeing the loan. This Bill passed the House of Commons on the 7th and the House of Lords on the 14th of August. Thus saving the colony no less than £20,000 a year, or 4 per cent. on £500,000. Such a complete success had naturally no small influence in securing the position of the Stafford Ministry.

On the eve of the General Provincial Elections, Mr. Domett wrote a good article in the *Nelson Examiner*—which was copied into the *Lyttelton Times*—in which there was some very good homely advice; and the Rev. James Buller preached an excellent sermon upon the same subject. Mr. Domett wrote:—"All canvassing and cajoling, professing and promising, are a degradation to the candidate and an insult to the voter. Treating with indifference the promises, the coaxing and canvassing of candidates, you should choose men whose good qualities you have long known. If you have found any men always, in private life, honest and of sound sense, true dealing and generous and thoughtful of the good of others, then you may expect these men to be honest and true in public life."

In the Wesleyan Chapel in Wellington, the Rev. James Buller gave "a sermon for the times," in which he spoke with no uncertain sound of the duty of a Christian in public

work. He said: "Let no man tell me that I am now going beyond my province or the proper range of pulpit ministrations. I disclaim all sympathy with party objects. My aim and my duty is to declare unto my congregation the great principles of duty by which they should be governed on such occasions. It is right to say that caricature, misrepresentation, and foul names are weapons which truth never needs and righteousness cannot sanction. Insult, provocation, and reproach reflect no credit on those who use them. Such means must be denounced by every right-minded man. Unmoved, on the one hand, by intimidation or, on the other, by flattery, it is the duty of the Christian to seek the 'peace of the city' by giving his support to those who, by their talents and character, he believes to be most worthy of the public trust—not as 'men pleasers, but in singleness of heart, fearing God.'"

In the province of Nelson some gold was obtained, which directed a good deal of attention to that province during the year 1857; but very few large prizes were obtained, and even moderate wages could not be depended on; so that the excitement was never great, and no great addition was made either to the provincial or colonial revenue. Some few plodding diggers continued to work there until attracted by the richer fields of the south. An effort was made to take advantage of its mineral wealth to exchange the repulsive name of Massacre for that of Golden Bay.

Even the gold diggings, such as they were, did not revolutionize the calm and virtuous character of the Nelson Provincial elections, which were conducted with their wonted dignity and decorum, and returned the same Superintendent and nearly the same Provincial Council.

The year 1857 was the last of the four years in which the Provincial Governments of New Zealand may be said to have had everything their own way. They were, in fact, the four years of complete local self-government which intervened between the beneficent autocracy of Sir George Grey and the first example of real federal, although little opposed, party government, so ably commenced by Messrs. Stafford, Richmond, and Whitaker.

At the end of the year 1857, the Editor of the *Lyttelton Times* was able to say: "The General Government has been scarcely heard of within this province. The Assembly has not been sitting, and there have been no questions arising out of the action of the General Executive which have become of public interest among us."

Never before nor since were the people of New Zealand so universally, so completely, and so justly contented with their present condition and with their future prospects. The farmers were getting ten shillings a bushel for wheat, and six shillings for oats; greasy wool was one shilling per lb.; potatoes, six shillings per cwt.; butter one and fourpence, cheese elevenpence, and beef and mutton sixpence per lb. A first-rate cart horse would fetch £120; working bullocks, £35 a pair. Masons and bricklayers, carpenters and blacksmiths, painters and glaziers were getting full employment at from ten to twelve shillings a day; farm labourers, eight shillings; and bullock drivers, ten shillings. Whilst the necessaries of life were so high, and the producers were snugly making their fortunes, the cost of government was by no means extravagant. Only two paid Ministers were in the House of Representatives, and only one in the Legislative Council, and these three able men, who were ordering the confused finance of the colony, restoring its credit, and supplying a code of laws for future guidance, were literally working like Trojans for £800 a year, with very able assistants serving them at £300, whilst the members of the House of Representatives only received twenty shillings for each day upon which the House actually sat. In the provinces, the legislators and their clerical assistants were still less extravagantly paid. Stafford had proved himself a strict economist, both privately and publicly, and neither he nor his colleagues ever thought of borrowing for the support of any peace establishment, whilst each of the Provincial Governments had always the wholesome conviction that it was spending its own money upon its own provincial necessities, with no colonial, artificial fund to be scrambled for by which to aim at a present local advantage at the cost of a distant and colonial liability.

It was towards the end of 1857 that Mr. William Wilkie, who had so promptly—and almost forcibly—removed the Nelson Cincinnatus from his saw-mill at Takaka to the Provincial Throne of Nelson—the highest post that his fellow settlers could confer upon him, returned from a visit to Scotland with a printing plant and a family of printers—mostly girls—and started a second newspaper in Nelson, to be called the *Colonist*, the first number of which came out on October 23rd, 1857. Ever since the election of Mr. Robinson, the Nelson electors had felt themselves to be constantly and systematically misrepresented, both in and out of the province, by the ably conducted *Nelson Examiner*, and hence the effort to start, in some inexpensive way, a means of giving public expression to their objections to be ruled by the oligarchy of Original Land Purchasers, with the Magistrates and Special Juries appointed at their dictation. The father of the printing family, Mr. Nation, was called the proprietor; but what money was necessary was found by Mr. Wilkie and other friends of the Superintendent, who also contributed, in a somewhat fitful and very unpretending manner, some pretty clear declarations of policy and more or less moderate professions of political faith. Thus all the six provinces were, at this date, supplied with the means of ventilating both sides of most political and other questions.

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## CHAPTER XXXIV.

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COLONIAL LEGISLATION. 1858.

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“ He knows very little of mankind who expects, by any facts or reasoning, to convince a determined party man.”—LAVATER.

It was Saturday, the 10th day of April, 1858, when the second session of the second parliament met in Auckland for the dispatch of business. Fifteen resignations were at once received, and some applications for leave of absence. The three Wellington F's. were all absent, as well as three other representatives of that province. The Lyttelton F., Mr. Fitzgerald, had gone to England, from whence Mr. Sewell had not returned; but both Lyttelton and Christchurch country districts were ably represented: the former by Mr. Crosby Ward, and the latter by Mr. John Hall and Mr. John Ollivier. The South generally, but Wellington and Otago especially, were, during the whole session, without their fair share of voting power. On the first division of the session, only nineteen members voted: and, on the largest division of the session, only twenty-five votes were recorded. But few divisions were called for during the whole session, and, in the absence of Mr. Fox, the Opposition was by no means formidable, vigilant, or lively; so that, although a great deal of well-prepared business was transacted, the session was not remarkable for any exhibitions of debating power, and neither the best nor the worst features of party government assumed the force and prominence which afterwards became so evident.

Neither the Governor's Speech nor the Address in Reply were of the usual meaningless character. The business to be considered was plainly indicated in the Speech, and the House as plainly approved of the Ministers' proposals in the Address in Reply. No less than twenty-seven Bills were brought in during the first three days. But, when asked by a kind of half-hearted Opposition to "hurry up" with the Financial Statement, the Treasurer replied that he had done all that he possibly could; but, if that did not satisfy the House, he was quite ready to give place to a more expeditious financier. Mr. John Hall was a painstaking and judicious, but a very mild, representative of the short-lived Fox Ministry. In his first speech of the session he modestly expressed a hope "that, in consideration of the circumstances under which they were assembled, his Excellency's advisers would not be too sensitive upon the treatment of some of the measures introduced, and would not, on the rejection or modification of such measures take huff and throw up their offices. Such an event would be a misfortune at present, because there was in truth no one to supply the vacant places."

During the whole of this session, wonderfully little was said upon what was soon to prove such a vital question—the fearfully mistaken proclamation of June 25th, 1857, revoking Sir George Grey's proclamation of January 21st, 1846, forbidding the sale of firearms to Maoris. Colonel Haultain did his best to arouse the House to a sense of the danger, and to prove the mischief that had already been done. He was well supported by the Superintendent of Auckland, Mr. John Williamson, but all the other speakers were against him. Mr. Stafford said that it was very undesirable to force the Maoris to get arms and gunpowder from American smugglers. Mr. Hall said that the restrictions had been "an intolerable and unnecessary nuisance to the settlers in the South Island" and should have been confined to the North. A member for the town of Christchurch, Mr. Packer, informed the House that "the Government was, by imposing restrictions, exciting the very feeling it wished to repress—according to that principle of the human mind which makes that object most

difficult to obtain, or most strictly forbidden, to be most earnestly coveted." Mr. Brodie agreed with Mr. Packer. Mr. Williamson said "there was a great deal of anxiety felt by the out settlers at the increased facilities offered to the Maoris for the purchase of guns, and he had regarded it with the same feeling. To his own knowledge, the sale of arms to the Natives had increased to an alarming extent, and in several instances they had been imported for direct sale to the Natives." In replying, Captain Haultain said, that from information obtained from the missionaries and other reliable sources, he knew that the Natives were very scantily supplied with arms previous to the relaxation of the restrictions, and he felt sure that, instead of being relaxed, the restrictions should have been made much more stringent. Various attempts were made to show that the Natives were irritated by the restrictions; but the reliable Te Whero Whero even now maintained that Sir George Grey's restrictions were the right thing, and should be most stringently enforced. Two years later on we shall see that there were no two opinions in the House as to the folly of what had now been done by the Governor's proclamation, and even the Ministers, then, hastened to attribute the act which they now defended, to the Governor himself.

But the peculiar feature of the session, the one which excited the most interest at the time, which gave the first severe blow to the provinces, and affected the whole future history of New Zealand, was the New Provinces Act. The Bill was well calculated to immediately destroy the power and importance of the existing provinces, to set the country in opposition to the town representatives, and especially to humble the able and eloquent Superintendent of Wellington, supported, as he always was, by the brilliant and pugnacious leader of the Opposition. But what was most remarkable, was the peculiar facility that the Wellington members had themselves given to the House, and to the centralizing Government, to strike a crippling blow at their power by the immediate division of their province, whilst they were practically all absent from the House, attending to what they considered the superior claims of their own Provincial Government. Dr. Featherstone's bold financial projects,

and the formidable liabilities that resulted from them, had compelled him to keep the Provincial Council together whilst the General Assembly was sitting, and consequently to resign his own seat in that House, and his Provincial Secretary, Fitzherbert, was, of course, compelled to do the same. Mr. Fox had taken his passage to Auckland in the *White Swan*, had put his luggage on board, and was just stepping on board himself, when he was accosted by a deputation from the district that he represented, both in the House and in the Provincial Council, entreating him to stay and watch over their provincial interests rather than go to Auckland to fight vainly without the support of his colleagues for rights that appeared to them of less vital importance. Mr. Fox considered that his constituents had a right to say in which place they would be represented, and accordingly stayed in Wellington, and thus the three F's. were all retained from the House. Mr. F. D. Bell, Mr. Dudley Ward, and Mr. Valentine Smith had all accepted better paid positions, and had consequently resigned their seats in the House. Thus the province of Wellington, with about a quarter of the European population of the whole colony, was left with only one representative, and that one was boxed up in the Speaker's chair, unable to speak or vote except when the House was in Committee. Such was the state of the electoral laws at that time, that although Mr. Bell had resigned his seat two years before Dr. Featherstone had resigned his, none of the writs for any of the fifteen vacancies were issued until after the House met. What now sounds still more ridiculous, the Wellington writs were made returnable in forty days, yet they reached Wellington too late even for that distant date; so that the whole tedious process had to be begun again, and Wellington remained unrepresented during the whole session. Under such circumstances, the morality of every-day life would lead us to expect that some mercy would be shown to the unrepresented province; but the moral standard of party politics is not a high one, and even that code, if code there be, was stretched to its utmost limits to steal a march upon the brilliant leader of the Opposition and his provincial friends, so that the Bill was

carried by a majority of five, which the seven Wellington representatives, if present, would have caused to be lost by a majority of two.

Whilst in Committee, the Speaker, Mr. Charles Clifford, clearly explained the circumstances that had compelled six of the Wellington members to be absent, and then remarked, with a calmness and dignity worthy of a Speaker, and yet with the indignation of an honourable man: "If I had to choose between two courses, that of taking advantage of my opponents' absence, or postponing a measure until they could fight it out with me, the latter is the course I should adopt." Mr. Domett, on the other hand, with his usual bluntness, at once avowed his willingness to take advantage of his accidental position, or, perhaps we should say, of his willingness to do evil that good may come. He said: "I am as firmly convinced of the wisdom and good policy of this measure, and of the inestimable benefit it will in the long run confer upon the country, as I can be of anything within the range of human conviction; and therefore I do say, that if the present opportunity of passing it depends on the accidental absence of certain members, it is our bounden duty, as we value the welfare of the country, to seize the opportunity and pass it.

Mr. Richmond was even more vicious than he usually was whenever he was confronted with the three Wellington F.s. He said "those unscrupulous men who ruled the province of Wellington were playing a dangerous and despotic game. They refused to attend to their duties in the Assembly, and they must take the consequences..... To talk of unfairness because the House was proceeding to legislate in the absence of those who had chosen to stay away. It might suit a Bench of Alabama Justices, met to try the right of freedom of some unfortunate coloured man, to say that no fair trial could be had because the planter who claimed the poor nigger was not sitting with them, but that was not his notion of justice." Mr. Stafford was less reckless in his assertions, but displayed the same bitterness towards the Wellington Superintendent. Mr. John Hall made a vigorous and logical speech against the Bill, and especially against the monstrous doctrine that proposed to

take advantage of the accidental absence of the whole of the representatives from Wellington to pass an important constitutional measure that could not have been passed if they had been present. He truly said: "The absence of Wellington members at the present time was not a circumstance for which the late members were to blame. They had tendered their resignation at the earliest period after the expiration of last session at which they could do so. The fact that Wellington was at present unrepresented was attributable to the short time allowed by the Government for the return of the writs. It was most unfair to take advantage of that circumstance to pass a measure which would be rejected in a fuller House. When he was induced to assist in forming a quorum at the commencement of the session, it was under the belief that the Ministry would not press on any important constitutional changes without permitting them to be fairly considered by the colony. If the result of the session should be a radical alteration of the constitution opposed to the general wishes of the colonists, he should deeply regret having assisted in the formation of that quorum." The Bill was carried by a majority of thirteen to eight—none of the Wellington and only one of the Otago members being present. In fact, the Bill was carried through the House by the two northern provinces of the North Island; the South Island had nothing to do with its passing as the representatives of Nelson and Canterbury exactly neutralized each other—the whole of the Nelson members voting with the Government, and the whole of the Canterbury members voting against them. The Nelson members were all smarting under their recent defeat by the reigning Superintendent, and were, besides, principally interested in that portion of the Nelson province which they so soon contrived under the Bill to get separated from Nelson.

Satisfactorily as provincial institutions had worked up to this date, there could be no doubt that the New Zealand Constitution Act was susceptible of improvement, especially with a view to supply a clear definition of the relative powers of the Central and the Provincial Legislatures. As the Constitution Act had been framed by Sir George Grey,

the powers and the existence of the Provincial Legislatures were secured from encroachment or destruction by the power given to them to elect the second or revising legislative body, which, in that case, would have been the natural guardian of the powers by which it was elected. The nominated chamber, on the contrary, soon proved to be the natural enemy of Provincial Councils and especially of popularly elected Superintendents. We have seen the audacious resolution proposed, and almost carried, in the Legislative Council that no popularly elected member of a Provincial Council should be allowed to hold a seat in their nominated Chamber. From the first, that Chamber became the resort of men who were not popular among their own neighbours, and also of men who were deeply interested in land speculation and who, for that reason, clung tenaciously to the doctrine that money paid for land should be mainly expended in the immediate improvement of land sold, even though that land may have been sold at a very low price and in such large blocks that only one or two individuals would be benefited by the immediate expenditure of the purchase money. Against this manifestly unfair and impolitic proposal, there was always the opposite danger that the centres of population would use their large voting power to insist upon the land fund being expended, not for the development of new districts and in giving value to unsold government land, but in adding to the value of town and suburban properties. Ultimately, the latter became the greater danger, but, at the time the New Provinces Act was so eagerly passed by a rump Parliament, the former object was the motive power that drove it through both Houses, in both of which there was a very large proportion of land speculators.

The new Provinces Act might, in better hands, have been so framed as to guard, to a large extent, against both of these evils ; but the real object of its framers and supporters was, not to improve and reform, but to cripple and to degrade Provincial Governments by increasing their number without diminishing their costliness, and, by still leaving them to waste their time by passing laws on subjects, and borrowing money for objects, which the

united colony alone should deal with, and about which they would naturally and necessarily come in collision with the central government.

In the Legislative Council, the new Act was passed as a matter of course by acclamation—only one member, Mr. Blakiston, having a word to say against it. In that chamber it was quite unnecessary to continue any of the pretences that had been put forth in the House; so that it was there actually left to be proposed not by the wily Whitaker but by the guileless Tancred. He at once admitted that the charm of the Bill to him, as a Centralist, was, that it “would secure that control over provincial governments which experience had proved to be necessary.” Mr. Blakiston truly said: “The object of the Bill was clearly, by enabling the Ministry of the day to master the provinces in detail one at a time, to prepare the way for their complete subjection and the overthrow of what was called the Featherston or ultra-provincial policy.”

It was, of course, just one of those cases in which a revising Chamber should have held back any important Bill, however much they admired it, until it had been submitted to a fair meeting of the people's representatives, and should not have accepted the votes of thirteen out of thirty-seven representatives as a proof of the people's support of the proposed dangerous revolution; but the security supposed to be offered by a second Chamber against such catch legislation has too often been a matter of theory rather than of practice.

Of the eighty-eight measures that were brought into the House of Representatives, no less than nine were framed for the conduct and regulation of elections in which the Premier had evidently taken a great interest and it is not saying much to say that the laws relating to elections were very much improved. These Electoral Bills gave rise to some interesting debates, the most interesting of which was, perhaps, on the ballot. The two Ministers in the House of Representatives, Stafford and Richmond, spoke unreservedly in its favour, but did not make it a Government question, nor was there the slightest hint that they should resign when their proposal was defeated, in the

largest division of the session, by a majority of fourteen to eleven. Mr. Weld, who joined the Stafford Ministry in the following session, spoke strongly against the ballot. He said "it was un-English and opposed to the whole political arrangements on which English institutions were framed." The Canterbury members voted compactly against the Bill, as did the Nelson members with the exception of Stafford. Mr. Crosbie Ward said that "the first intimation of such a measure had been received in Canterbury with general feelings of indignation. The consolidated sense of England had pronounced against it. The adoption of a system of secret voting would fix a stigma on the electors of the colony in the eyes of the world and he sincerely hoped that the vote of the House that evening would prevent such a stain from attaching itself to the colony."

By far the best speech in the debate was the speech of Dr. Monro. He said: "it was a question of great importance involving a great principle which lay at the very root of the British Constitution. If secret voting were introduced it would have the effect of producing political stagnation and divesting political questions of all that life and interest which characterise them under the present system. He would ask were there no other means of discovering men's political principles than by knowing how they voted? If the proposed system were to be carried out and men were really to take advantage of secret voting, their whole life would need to be a secret; and how, in that case, could there be any free discussion or any political life or energy? It would lead to hypocrisy and dissimulation. As a public trust, the franchise should be exercised in public, and not only electors, but a large and influential part of the non-electors—women—had a right to know how the electors exercised their trust. Would it not be allowed that such women as Mrs. Stowe, Mrs. Somerville, and Miss Martineau were worthy of this confidence, and were not their opinions entitled to respect and influence in deciding the political views of the stronger sex. The freedom of discussion and the open expression of political opinion pervaded the British Constitution generally and

was its greatest security. Let them fix their eyes on the Mother Country and follow her institutions."

Mr. Hall's words in the debate are chiefly interesting when viewed in connection with the work which he was to accomplish ten years later, when, as Premier of the colony, he carried through the House a complete batch of liberal electoral laws. In this debate on the ballot, he expressed his entire concurrence in Dr. Monro's views, and said that "by the ballot a man was to be protected in a system of lifelong hypocrisy. It might also protect those who were sincere and conscientious; but, in any case, it would undoubtedly protect the hypocrite, and that class he did not wish to see protected."

An efficient and not very costly Audit Act was introduced by the Government, and carried, without material alteration, through both Houses. The House evidently recognized that the Bill was an honest effort to really put the expenditure of the Executive under the control of the House. Mr. Daldy objected to any interference in a financial matter from the Nominee Council. He referred to the retention of the Auditor, but Mr. Williamson well pointed out, that, as the Government of the day were usually supposed to command the support of a majority of that House, and as the Auditor ought to be independent of the Executive, it seemed necessary to give the Auditor every possible protection against the Executive, whose expenditure he would have to keep within legal limits. By far the most useful and best-informed debater in this business was the accurate and painstaking John Hall, who, even under a Stafford Government, found it necessary to advocate simple, clear, and promptly-rendered accounts, saying that, in England, the complete accounts were published within five or six days of the close of each financial year.

The Representation Apportionment Bill brought out, for the first time, the debate between town and country representatives which has since so often been repeated; but this feature was apparent in the debate only; as, in the division list, the burning question of the seat of Government being secured to Auckland was evidently the one motive power that collected the Auckland votes, and, with one

exception on each side, sent them all to vote with Ministers in favour of an apportionment based only on population. So that this Bill, also, was only carried through the House in consequence of the absence of the representatives from Wellington and Otago.

For the purpose of this Bill, the European population was, in some cases, reckoned up to the end of the year 1856, and, in others, to the end of March 1857, and, at those dates, amounted to 46,551: the province of Auckland containing exactly one-third of that population; Nelson, one-sixth; and Wellington, something less than one-fourth. The exact numbers given are:—Auckland, 15,518; Wellington, 11,010; Nelson, 7,509; Canterbury, 6,230; Otago, 3,796; New Plymouth, 2,488. This is the first enumeration in which the whole European population of the colony began to exceed that of the Maoris. The Act was carried in the House by fourteen to nine, but lost in the Council, with very little ceremony, by seven to five. Most of its opponents in the Council were from the south, and they very plainly stated their objection to the Bill to be that it did not give enough voting power to property.

Messrs. Stafford, Richmond, and Whitaker were all professors of liberal electoral views, and really effected some very good work in that direction; but the complacency with which they allowed some of their most important electoral proposals to be set aside by the Council to which they had the right of nomination soon caused them to be more trusted by the Conservatives than by the Radicals of the colony. A list of the Acts passed in this session, or a reference to the statutes of 1858, will show at once that the attention of Ministers had been directed less to political measures of any kind than to measures of general utility, so largely demanded in a country that had had no previous opportunity to make the many laws required for a colony now left to its own governing resources. For such work, Stafford's extensive knowledge of constitutional history, as well as his experience as Superintendent of Nelson, gave him special qualifications. Besides the many electoral laws, great attention had been paid to the improvement of arrangements for the administration of justice, the treatment

of lunatics, the control of Savings and other Banks and of Native Schools. The collection of customs duties and the exemption of articles that were not worth the expense of collection, the apportionment of the Public Debt and the regulation of land scrip and land orders had all been attended to, and the Governor was justly made to say, in his propogation speech, "It affords me great pleasure to express my sense of the attention you have paid to the numerous measures brought under your attention during a laborious session of more than four months—a session which I feel assured will be regarded as one of unusual importance, and especially remarkable for the exclusive devotion of your time and energies to the practical work of legislation."

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## CHAPTER XXXV.

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### THE NEW PROVINCES.

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“The New Provinces Bill was a sudden trick of Ministers, played off upon a thin House by an unfair majority. . . . So soon as it was known that the province it was intended to plunder, the province most interested in the operation of such a measure, could not be represented in the House that session, the Bill was brought in and ruthlessly crammed down the throats of an impotently struggling minority.”—W. SEFTON MOORHOUSE.

THE most sincere and best supported complaint that was made against the Stafford Government during the session of 1858 by both sides of the House was made on the ground of their alleged neglect, or at least their want of success, in arranging an interprovincial mail steam service for the colony which they had been so distinctly requested by the previous Parliament to complete. After so much close office and head work in the incubation and final passage of so many new Acts, it is not unnatural to suppose that the Colonial Secretary and Treasurer felt that they were entitled to some change of scene and of occupation, in seeking which they might also improve their acquaintance with the ports to be connected by the steam service, and with the provincial authorities whose powers and aspirations they sincerely wished to keep within very definite boundaries.

Accordingly, after due consultation and arrangement with their less fatigued colleagues in the Legislative Council, and adjusting their offices and employees to the many changes demanded by the voluminous legislation of the session they had passed through, Messrs. Stafford and Richmond embarked on a visit of inspection to the Southern provinces, during which they learned much, and accomplished more than they had previously been able to do in arranging a moderately useful steam service.

On returning through Nelson about the festive Christmas season, they were naturally fêted by Mr. Stafford's constituents in what had now become the city of Nelson. Although less of the statesman, Mr. Richmond was more of the orator and of the social conversationalist than Mr. Stafford, and his bright, cheerful, outspoken, warm-hearted utterances, both public and private, to the southern electors, were not a little helpful to the Government of the far more reticent Stafford. But it was not until Mr. Richmond got back to his own constituents in Taranaki, and Mr. Stafford had left for England, that the former felt quite at liberty to come out with a thorough-going anti-democratic, anti-provincial, and anti-American speech; the report of which pleased Governor Browne so much that he sent a copy home to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who, in his turn, communicated his approbation of "the truly British and anti-revolutionary sentiments of the Colonial Treasurer."

Soon after Mr. Stafford's return to Auckland, and after duly disallowing the Provincial Borrowing Acts passed by the Provincial Councils of Auckland, Wellington, and Otago—the one for £40,000, and the other two for £25,000 each—he started for a visit to England; thus practically leaving Mr. Richmond to be the Governor's only responsible adviser during the eventful year of 1859. Mr. Richmond had already obtained a great influence over Governor Browne, who was probably glad to be left alone with him. He was, beyond all comparison, the most fascinating and companionable of the Governor's advisers—wonderfully well-informed on an endless variety of subjects; honest, refined, and intellectual in all his tastes; ardent, active, and industrious to a fault; a good lawyer; a thorough

gentleman in his manners; and the Governor's constitutionally legal adviser upon all other subjects. No one can wonder that the easy-going Governor Browne was prone to look to the same quarter for advice on the one subject upon which alone he was himself responsible for his official actions. It is quite true that a more cautious, a more far-sighted, capable man than Governor Browne would have seen that all Mr. Richmond's surroundings were such as would probably warp his judgment upon any question of acquiring land for Taranaki, and would have preferred to seek advice on such a subject from more disinterested quarters; but Governor Browne was not a sage, his mind was not a judicial mind, and the training of a military officer, especially in India, is not one that is calculated to teach him to put any very defined limits upon the trust to be imposed in his personal friends.

It was during this year that diphtheria made its first serious appearance in New Zealand, principally in Auckland.

An action for libel against the *Wellington Independent* was very properly sent for trial to Christchurch where the defendants were successfully defended by Mr. Fox on November 15th, 1858. This led to a jubilant entertainment in Wellington, at which Mr. Fox was presented with a testimonial, and the occasion used to express general admiration of his conduct and that of his constant friend, the Superintendent of Wellington.

At the end of the year a census was taken, which gave the European population of the colony as 61,199, distributed as follows:—Auckland, 18,177; Taranaki, 2,650; Wellington, 11,728; Hawkes' Bay, 1514; Nelson, 9,272; Canterbury, 8,967; Otago, 6,944; Stewart Island, 51; military and other families, 1896. During the same year Mr. Fenton estimated the Maori population at 56,049; but there is every reason to believe that the estimate was much too high. At this date there were 700 Europeans residing in Collingwood, 300 of whom were gold diggers. At the end of this year Judge Johnson came to Nelson to hold a court; but, notwithstanding the gold diggings, there were no criminals there to try and he was presented with a pair of white gloves.

Mr. Macandrew, who had forfeited his seat in the House through non-attendance, was again elected for Dunedin in January, 1859, although he only received 44 votes; so small, still, was the interest felt in the South in the election of members for the House of Representatives.

Mr. Sewell and Bishop Selwyn returned to New Zealand in February, 1859. Some of Mr. Sewell's assertions made in England were at once attacked by the three Wellington Fs., joined by Messrs. Dudley Ward and Charles Clifford. Mr. Sewell vigorously defended himself in long letters to the newspapers. The new Bishop of Nelson—Bishop Hobhouse—left Southampton for Nelson on December 19th, 1858, and arrived early in the following May.

During 1858, Mr. J. E. Fitzgerald had been much occupied in making enquiries in England as to the best method of connecting the port of Lyttelton with the Canterbury plains. His attention had been directed to the road by Sumner; but, early in 1859, the question became the burning one in Canterbury, and Mr. Bray, an engineer, advocated very ably the long tunnel and shorter road under the mountain, and his views were very zealously supported by the Superintendent—Mr. Moorhouse—and by many other well-informed and courageous men.

On the 28th of March, Mr. Fitzgerald wrote to the Canterbury Superintendent making some interesting proposals for the introduction of salmon and deer.

As might have been expected, no time was lost by those districts where the population was scant and the landed estates large, to claim, under the New Provinces Act, separation from the large centres of population. Hawkes Bay, with its 1514 inhabitants—about one-tenth of the population of Wellington province—was the first to claim a right to control and to appropriate to its own use and benefit the extensive area by which it was surrounded, or about one-third of the whole province. In forming the New Act, the Government had taken care to have no more Superintendents elected under the popular provisions of the Constitution Act, in which the large and small proprietors voted equally, with no plurality of votes to large properties. Under the New Act, the election of the Superintendent in

the new provinces was transferred to the Provincial Councils, elected, as they were, by a system under which the same man could have a vote in every electoral district in which he was a holder of property. In Hawkes Bay, which was the first district to claim separation, ten councillors had been elected without difficulty, and upon them devolved the duty of electing a Superintendent. There were, of course, abundance of candidates, but the ten Councillors proved to be exactly equally divided between a Captain Newman and a Captain Carter, and neither Councillors nor Captains would budge one inch to render an election possible. But ultimately, and long after the election ought to have been an accomplished fact, the dignity of these respective Captains was supposed to have been sufficiently secured by the simultaneous retirement of both and the election of a Mr. Thomas Henry Fitzgerald. Mr. Fitzgerald said that he accepted the office without salary, and only for such a time as would enable the Council and the electors to judge by their own observation whether their Superintendent should or should not occupy a seat in the Provincial Council. Mr. Ormond was elected Speaker, and Mr. Tiffen Chairman of Committees.

On Monday, March 29th, a public meeting was held at Beaverton, in the Wairau, at which a petition praying for separation from the province of Nelson was adopted by a majority of 30 to 11. Dr. Muller occupied the chair, and the speeches in favour of the petition were much more energetic and more applauded than those objecting to it.

On the 16th of June, an attempt was made at Wanganui to follow the example of Hawkes Bay in separating from the province of Wellington. The chair was taken by Mr. Thomas Powell. The advertisement calling the meeting set forth that it was called "for the purpose of taking into consideration the expediency of immediate separation of these districts from the Wellington province, and erecting them into an independent province." Mr. John Gibson moved, and Mr. George Wright seconded:—"That this meeting is decidedly of opinion that immediate separation from the province of Wellington will be the most conducive to our interests, and, acting under that feeling, do hereby

resolve that a petition to His Excellency the Governor be immediately prepared for signature by the electors for that purpose." The resolution was opposed by the Member for the district, Mr. Fox, and an amendment, moved by Mr. Watt and seconded by Mr. Patterson, was carried, adjourning the meeting until that day six months.

Early in October, it became known in Nelson that the General Government had, without any consultation with the Provincial authorities of Nelson or any sufficient investigation as to the truth of the allegations of the petition or of the genuineness of the signatures attached to it, not only granted the petition, but had actually granted more than was asked for, and brought the boundary of the new province absurdly close to the very capital of the province of Nelson. The legal number of signatures had only been obtained by the insertion of the names of dead men and of absentees, resident in England; but no enquiry was made, no investigation was sought for, and no opportunity given to the old province to point out the deception or to refute the allegations. So indecent was the haste with which Messrs. Richmond and Whitaker sought to accomplish the division, the impoverishment and the humiliation of the provincial powers which they chose to regard as injurious rivals to their own central and conservative control.

It was, perhaps, in the year 1859, that New Zealand horses attained their highest position in the estimation of the racing public. In 1858, Mr. Henry Redwood had taken some good horses—Zoe, Zingara and Chevalier—to Melbourne and sold them well after showing what they could do. But he told the Australians that there were still some good horses left in New Zealand, and that they might expect to see him next year at Homebush. He kept his word and took four New Zealand horses to Homebush in time for the Grand Metropolitan Meeting of New South Wales, to come off on the last day of May and two first days of June. The best horse—a gelding named Strop—was not, at the time of the race, his own horse. He was a Nelson bred horse, and a son of the first Nelson bred horse Il Barbriere, but had been sold, before leaving Nelson, to Mr. Wood of South Australia. Like most of the Il Barbriere

descendants, he was a long stayer, and, at the Nelson races, he had run three miles in five minutes and forty-two and a half seconds; but Australian sportsmen naturally enough doubted the accuracy of that record, although they were quite prepared to look upon New Zealand horses, trained by Mr. Redwood, as something very formidable, notwithstanding the sea voyage which must tell against them. Besides old Strop, Mr. Redwood took a five year old chestnut horse named Potentate, and a five year old mare named Miss Rowe, and a three year old filly. Old Strop won all the best prizes, beating the Australian crack Veno in a three mile race, which was run in the shortest time on record at Homebush. Of this race *Bell's Life in Sydney* says;—

“Jonathan, thorough game to the last, strained every muscle down the distance, but was completely out-paced, the favourite winning with apparent ease by a couple of lengths. A fine struggle between Veno and Emperor for third place resulted in a dead heat. Time—five minutes and fifty-two seconds, the shortest time ever accomplished over Homebush, and it is unquestionable that Strop was not called upon for his best.”

Miss Rowe ran in two races which she won easily, and Potentate, with the heaviest weight up, easily won the Homebush Handicap on the first day; but, in the Publican's Purse, on the second day, he broke down in both fore legs and came in lame and second. The three year filly, Io, only ran in one race, in which she had a very bad start and came in second. Nothing could be more fair and friendly than the manner in which Mr. Redwood and his victorious horses were received at Homebush. The handicaps placed on his horses proved to be by no means excessive. New Zealand, and especially Nelson, were justly proud of the success of Mr. Redwood's well chosen and well trained horses. Mr. Redwood was always a favourite—both in New Zealand and in Australia—and well he might be; as he usually did better for his friends than for himself. Although never practising for profit, he was a first class veterinary surgeon, a most intelligent and successful trainer, who dealt in no mysteries or secrets, an excellent judge of

animals generally and of the race horse in particular. He brought a great number of good, useful horses to New Zealand, and took not a few racers from New Zealand to Australia, after he had trained and proved them. But he had none of the secretiveness or cunning of the money making turf horseman. He loved his horses as he loved his children, and enlarged on their good qualities which might have been more profitable to him if less known ; so that he often bought when he should have sold, and sold when he should have bought. He well knew that old Strop had been trained too long, and that he always required to be trained hard to keep down his internal fat. His legs were already showing signs of too much work, and there was every probability that his best days had gone by. Yet Mr. Redwood looked with loving eyes on the horse that had served him so well at Homebush, and, after that meeting, gave Mr. Wood £800 for him rather than let him go out of his hands to Adelaide.

The first of the Australian Champion Sweepstakes of 100 sovereigns each—the total value of the stakes being £2750—for which twenty-four horses were entered, and for which Strop was the favourite from the first to last, was to come off in four months' time, which fact seemed to justify a high price, and any artful man could have made a great deal of money with Strop at his command even without winning the race. But Mr. Redwood was not artful, and had, besides, a reputation as an honourable sportsman that he had no wish to lose. Four months continued training was all against an old horse already too stale on his legs, and Strop, although the favourite up to the time of starting, was only able to take fourth place in a three mile race, five and a half seconds slower than the one he had won, in June, without being called upon to do his best at Homebush. The race was won by a three year old carrying a light weight.

Besides making Nelson and Marlborough famous for race-horses, Mr. Redwood had the best farm and the best mill in Marlborough, and was the first to introduce and to work the steam plough in New Zealand. He was altogether a most valuable, enterprising colonist ; but, like Jethro Tull

and many other sanguine and leading improvers, he was never in any danger of becoming a millionaire.

At an auction land sale in Nelson, on Saturday, May 14th, over 50,000 acres of land on the Cheviot Estate were sold to Mr. W. Robinson at the upset price of ten shillings an acre; the only alleged competitor having been brought off by him for the sum of £500.

On the 21st of April, an American ship, the *Franklin*, and a Tasmanian barque, the *Terror*, each laden with about 600 tons of sperm oil, were wrecked on the Chatham Islands, but no lives were lost.

On the 3rd of September, the first meeting of the unemployed was held in Christchurch in the Oddfellows' Hall. About two hundred persons were present; but they were not all unemployed; as the Superintendent himself was there and made a very telling speech, and Mr. Michael Hart ably occupied the chair. W. H. Barnes proclaimed himself as the leading convener of the meeting. James Lang informed the meeting that he was a stockman and had walked twice between Christchurch and Lyttelton without being able to procure employment in that department of labour. Luke Judd, Peter Kinnard, Luke John and W. Magrath harangued the meeting, and succeeded in carrying resolutions to the effect that the United Kingdom and the neighbouring colonies should be placarded with bills, warning labourers not to come to a place where employment could not be got, and where a man could not live under a pound a week.

As Mr. Fitzgerald, after consulting English engineers, still continued to strongly urge the construction of the Christchurch and Lyttelton railway *via* Sumner, a local Commission was appointed to consider Mr. Fitzgerald's and Mr. Bray's proposals. The names on that Commission were E. Dobson, Provincial Engineer, Chairman; T. Cass, Chief Surveyor; John Ollivier, Provincial Secretary; R. J. S. Harman; James Wylde, and Henry Whitcombe. On the 29th of August, 1859, they reported to the Superintendent:—

“We are unanimously of opinion that the views as propounded by Mr. Fitzgerald are professionally unsound,

and that the best and cheapest line of railway that can be laid down between Lyttelton and Christchurch is the proposed direct line by Cookson's Valley." This report may be said to have finally settled this important question in favour of the long tunnel and the short line by way of the Heathcote Valley. In October a report was received from Mr. G. R. Stevenson, which had been seen and approved by Mr. Robert Stevenson, entirely endorsing Mr. Bray's opinions, and estimating the cost of the direct Heathcote Valley line at £245,071, and that by way of Sumner at £327,632. In December, the Provincial Council passed a Bill authorising the construction of the direct railway, and a Loan Bill to authorise borrowing £70,000 at 6 per cent. interest.

On August 14th, a native whare in Victoria Valley, Mongonui, accidentally caught fire. The whare was owned by a European named Thomas Phillips, who had married a native woman much younger than himself. Both husband and wife had hastily but safely escaped from the dwelling, when Phillips rashly returned to rescue a saddle which he thought he could reach, leaving his wife in safety outside; but the devoted woman, who was covered with a blanket, seeing that her husband was stupified with the smoke and in evident danger, rushed in, threw her own blanket over him and pushed him outside, but, for want of the protection of that blanket, perished herself in the flames.

On the 30th of August, the Provincial Council of Wellington met, and was, as usual, addressed by the Superintendent, in a very able and somewhat daring speech. He had got into difficulties with his Council and found, when too late, that, without the power of dissolution, responsible Provincial Government meant the abdication of his own power to fulfill his own promises to the electors. But he had not hesitated to boldly resume, and even to stretch to the utmost, the full powers that the Constitution Act gave to an elected Superintendent; and not only so, he had, with a revenue of £63,831, spent £87,722 without any authority from the Council. Still, he had done nothing selfish, and nothing about which his undoubted patriotism could be called in question. He did not attempt to conceal

his belief that the Colonial Government purposely managed matters so as to exclude the Wellington members from the House, whilst they forced on the New Provinces Act which gave a third of the whole territory of the province of Wellington to little more than a tenth of its population. He proposed to spend £10,000 in extending the Wellington wharf, to expedite the purchase of native land, and to obtain more revenue by selling hilly land, unfit for agriculture, at five shillings an acre. He pointed out, in the most forcible manner, the folly of Governor Browne in repealing Sir George Grey's regulation to prevent the sale of arms and ammunition to the Maoris, under which the Maoris were practically disarmed; whereas, since the repeal, they had already become better supplied with munitions of war than they had ever been before, and even better than their European neighbours.

The two most Conservative newspapers—the *Nelson Examiner* and the *Canterbury Lyttelton Times*—were, at this time, indulging in the most violent articles against the Superintendents of Auckland, Wellington, and Nelson, and invariably gave publicity to each other's productions upon what they considered the most interesting of subjects. In all such articles, they took the unsupported position that the Council and the Superintendent were elected by the same electors, and invariably ignored the important difference of the one vote to each elector that had returned the Superintendents, and the great plurality of votes to property by which the Council had been elected, although that was the real ground of offence which made Superintendents so obnoxious to them, as they were to the Legislative Council and to the land speculators in the House of Representatives. Those popular Superintendents were by no means tyrants, but firmly and mildly supported the rights of the people who elected and re-elected them again and again without the advantage of universal, or even of manhood suffrage, and notwithstanding the low estimation in which they were held by the Original Land Purchasers of Nelson, and by the somewhat narrow denominationalists of Canterbury.



BISHOP HADFIELD.



On Tuesday, the 15th of October, the Provincial Council of Otago was opened by the last speech from its first Superintendent. The aged patriarch was not well enough to read the speech himself, and was probably not responsible for the whole of it; but some parts of it were unmistakably his own, and afford a grand evidence of the high value that, with all his declining powers, he still proudly set upon moral worth, upon high character, upon the plodding, honest industry of the countrymen he had helped to lead to New Zealand. Apart from the interest that must ever attach to the latest public utterances of such a pure-minded, honest leader, there is a sterling value and a moral and religious wisdom in the unconcealed pride with which he refers to the incalculable advantage that the Caledonian province had secured by the high character of the first emigrants who were to attract so many of their stamp to follow in their wake. Whilst expressing calm satisfaction with the material prosperity that had resulted from their good colonial work, he soon warms with more congenial satisfaction when he says, what he would not have been able to say with so much cheerfulness one or two years later:—

“The next evidence of progress to which I would direct your attention is the very superior character of our immigrant labour—a fact which is the subject of remark and even surprise to visitors to other places no less than of thankfulness and gratification to ourselves. Looking to the extremely popular character of our constitution, it is impossible to over-estimate the value of this advantage. We have it as a consequence of the care and discrimination used in laying the foundation of this settlement. As like draws to like, so the solid and respectable elements in the first selections have attracted and put in motion a progressively increasing stream of emigrants from the old country of a similar character..... The character of the emigrants set in motion thereby will be always determined by that of those who have gone before.”

With regard to the multiplication of provinces he says:—  
“It would be a mere multiplying of expenses, breaking up unity of design, and frittering away the funds by abortive

attempts at public works without the competent advice which a small province could not separately provide. I repeat therefore that in my deliberate opinion the whole affair is a hasty grasping, on the part of the present Ministry, at a species of centralization prejudicial to and in arrest of the progress of the whole colony..... I protest against the rights and well-being of this province being trifled with by any Ministry of the day at their own discretion."

On the 14th of September, the Canterbury Pastoral Association held its first show of sheep. The station of Mr. Benjamin Moorhouse, on the Rangitata, was selected for the gathering. The judges were Mr. R. Wilkin and Mr. G. Matson. The prizes, in the first and second classes were awarded to Mr. David Innes; in the third, to Mr. Alfred Cox; in the fourth, to Mr. E. H. Fereday; in the fifth and sixth, to Mr. B. Dowling; in the seventh, to Mr. E. Chapman; and in the eighth, to Mr. G. W. Hall. At the close of the Show, a hundred ewes were presented by the exhibitors to Mr. B. Moorhouse's infant son, with the strongest expressions of satisfaction at the liberal hospitality with which Mr. and Mrs. Moorhouse had contributed to the success and to the enjoyment of the Show.

The attention of the Wellington settlers was for some time diverted from their political entanglements by the revelation of one of the most diabolical murders that have ever come to light, committed on an apprentice named Francis Muir by a series of fiendish cruelties upon a strong, healthy lad, which were continued from the 1st of July to the 22nd of August, when death relieved him from his terrible sufferings. The murderers were John and Charles Straker, master and mate of the barque *Smarebrook*, from London; but, as the master took a less active part in the brutalities than the mate, his crime was called manslaughter and he was let off with six years' imprisonment—only the mate being sentenced to death, which was most unaccountably commuted to penal servitude for life.

In August, wheat was 12s 6d. a bushel, and scarce at that in Sydney; and, in consequence of excessive exportation, the settlers of Nelson were left, towards the end of the year, literally without bread to eat. The millers

had, for some months, been giving 16s. a bushel for wheat and latterly could get none at that price; so that, in November and December, flour was doled out as a great favour at £35 a ton; whilst bread was sold at sixpence a pound.

During the year Mr. Roachford, a surveyor, explored the unsettled portions of the province of Nelson, and, as mining surveyor, Mr. Burnett reported on the value and extent of the coal mines on the west coast of that province. The great Austrian geologist, Dr. Hochstetter, spent some months in New Zealand, first at Auckland and afterwards at Nelson. In each province he was assisted by a staff supplied by the Provincial Government, and all his expenses were borne by the province. Both in Auckland and in Nelson he gave a lecture with some account of his work, in which he spoke with great caution, and said it would take years, instead of weeks, to explore a country so inaccessible and so irregular in its formation. The country was, he said, exceedingly attractive to a geologist as it "presents a scene of the grandest revolutions and convulsive struggles of the earth, which, continually changing the original form of the land, gave it by degrees its present shape." He left Nelson for Sydney on his way to Europe in the beginning of October.

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## CHAPTER XXXVI.

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WIREMU KINGI. 1859—1860

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“Justice commands us to have mercy upon all men, to consult the interests of the whole human race, to give to every one his due, to injure no sacred, public or foreign rights, and to forbear touching what does not belong to us.”—CICERO.

WE have seen that, early in 1859, Mr. Stafford left the government of New Zealand to his able and enterprising but less prudent colleagues, Richmond and Whitaker. Unforeseen events made his visit to England a general failure, whilst complications that were distinctly dangerous before he left, caused his absence from New Zealand during the purchase of the Waitara to be immeasurably disastrous. The proclaimed objects of his journey to England were to persuade the British Government to share in the expense of establishing a steam mail service between England and New Zealand *via* Panama, and to make arrangements for the emigration of some of the married men and their families connected with the various militia regiments embodied during the Crimean War.

With Lord Derby's Government, Mr. Stafford had succeeded so far as to prevail on them to call for tenders for the New Zealand Panama Mail Service; but, before the tenders came to be considered, the Derby Government had been succeeded by the Government of Lord Palmerston, and that Government declined to proceed any further with the Panama project. At the same time, the breaking out

of the Italian war, and the probability of its becoming a European war, was fatal to any interference with the British militia forces. So that Mr. Stafford returned to New Zealand, in the first month of the year 1860, without having accomplished either of the chief objects of that visit; and found his Government drifting fast into a Maori war, recklessly provoked, in a bad cause, without preparation, and with the Maoris armed as they had never been armed before. Few public men have ever been placed in such a remarkably difficult position. Of the several courses that were possible to him, all seemed to bristle with evils that no man would like to face. In theory, he was not responsible for anything that the Governor had done with the Maoris. But Mr. Stafford knew well that that was only a theory, and that all his prudent economies would be scattered to the winds and the prosperity of the Colony made impossible, if the Governor were allowed to bring on a war with the well-prepared Maoris. He knew, also, that the Governor had really, if not officially, taken the advice of his colleagues; and that, by the rules of Party Government, he was responsible for all that his colleagues had advised or sanctioned in his absence, so that he was bound either to proclaim his agreement with what they had done or to retire from office. The latter was the only honest course open to him; but that would have been called cowardly and would, at least for the time being, have been fatal to him as a public man. So that, although he truly desired to serve New Zealand, yet, like most other public men, he chose to give up to Party what was meant for mankind; and he did it so completely and loyally, that he allowed very few persons to know how much he dissented from all that had been done about the Waitara land, and with the really noble Wiremu Kingi in his absence.

What had occurred, and what destroyed forever the trust and confidence of the Maoris in European justice, and consequently resulted in something like a ten years costly, disastrous, inglorious war, has been related in many forms and by many writers of both races at various times and with various objects; but, now that most of the actors and most of the parties interested are in their graves, we can

only come to the conclusion that that war, like most other wars, was the result of careless misunderstanding, of imperfect representation, of impatient cupidity and a haughty refusal to acknowledge that the first step taken by the aggressors was taken in ignorance under misapprehension, and resulted in manifest injustice.

After the murders of his own countrymen committed by Ihaia, and the refusal of the Government to employ their soldiers to bring him to trial, the confidence of both the friendly and the unfriendly Maoris was very much shaken, and a very general feeling prevailed that it was not safe to rely on the impartial justice of the new Governor, his officers, and his ministers. They saw, too, that men whom they were told were paid to act as their protectors were getting every day more anxious to please Mr. Richmond, and that Mr. Richmond was never so pleased as when he saw a prospect of getting more land from the Maoris to supply his land-needing friends at Taranaki.

Whilst affairs were very evidently drifting in this direction, the Governor, Mr. McLean, and Mr. Richmond were together at Taranaki, and the Taranaki settlers took the opportunity to express their gratitude to Governor Browne for the anxiety he had shown to purchase Maori land for their occupation. When the Governor and Messrs. McLean and Richmond were all present at a public and apparently friendly meeting of Maoris, a Maori chief, named Teira, came forward and publicly offered to sell Governor Browne a block of land some ten miles from the town of New Plymouth, now become historical as the much disputed Waitara block, containing about 600 acres. The Governor turned to the Land Purchase Commissioner, Mr. McLean, and asked if he would accept the block. Mr. McLean replied, "Yes, Your Excellency, I think so." The Governor then asked Mr. Richmond, "What do you say, Richmond?" to which he replied, "Certainly, Sir, if there is a good title." Teira was then allowed to advance, and he laid a mat at the Governor's feet. What followed is thus described by Governor Browne in one of his dispatches to the Imperial Government. "Te Rangitaki said to his people 'I will only say a few words and then we will

depart.' He then said 'Listen Governor! Notwithstanding Teira's offer I will not permit the sale of Waitara to the Pakeha. Waitara is in my hands; I will not give it up. Ekore, Ekore, Ekore. I will not, I will not, I will not. I have spoken.'"

Wiremu Kingi, who is variously named in history as Te Rangitaki, Wiremu Kingi, and William King, then left the meeting, followed by his tribe. In the same despatch, and upon many other occasions, Governor Browne refers to this action of Wiremu Kingi as discourteous and offensive to him; but better informed authorities upon the manners and customs of the Maoris all agree that Kingi's action on that occasion was perfectly dignified and respectful, and that he had taken the only effectual means of proclaiming in the way well understood by his own people that his decision was final, irrevocable, and admitted of no further discussion. He had, in fact, promised his dying father that that block of land should never be sold as long as he lived. As the principal Chief of the tribe who jointly owned the land, he was distinctly called upon to stand on his own dignity as well as to firmly protect the interests of those who depended on him, when the Governor was really insulting him, as well as wronging his whole tribe, by proposing to purchase the land he was living on from an inferior Chief, who had no valid authority to sell it. It will be better to state here that, some years after Wiremu Kingi had been driven into exile, forced into rebellion, and the Maoris generally taught to give up all belief in British gratitude or justice, a properly appointed court of arbitration decided, without any evidence from Wiremu Kingi himself, that his claim on behalf of himself, and others dependent on him, was undoubtedly just and legal.

But the extent of the provocation Kingi was suffering, and the magnitude of the Governor's folly on this occasion, cannot be duly estimated without taking into consideration the motives under which Teira was acting, and the debt of gratitude that the colony was then owing to Wiremu Kingi. The facts have never been disputed, and have been placed on record by writers of the most undoubted veracity of both

ances, and have as often been quoted without contradiction in the New Zealand Parliament.

Teira's son had been engaged to an attractive Maori young woman, who afterwards altered her mind and married a nephew of Wiremu Kingi. Wiremu Kingi had frankly acknowledged that an injury had been done, and had sent Teira a horse and thirty sovereigns; but Teira was not to be propitiated so cheaply, and now sought to injure Wiremu Kingi by getting him embroiled in a dispute with the Governor.

The obligations that the colony owed to Wiremu Kingi had better be given in the words of Riwai Te Ahu, a Maori clergyman often quoted in Parliament by Dr. Featherston, and as often referred to by the universally venerated Archdeacon Hadfield as a man of the most undoubted veracity. He was a near relation to Teira, and less nearly related to Wiremu Kingi. In concluding a long letter to the Superintendent of Wellington, Dr. Featherston, dated from Otaki, June 23rd, 1860, the Rev. Riwai Te Ahu thus writes:—

“Wiremu Kingi acted like a friend to the white people of Wellington in December, 1843. We went from Waikanae with Archdeacon Hadfield. We saw Haerewaha tried by Mr. Halswell in the Courthouse at Wellington. He was found guilty, and taken to prison. There all the natives of Wellington rose and wished to kill the pakehas in the town. Wiremu Kingi at once exerted himself to put down the movement, and it ended.

The second time was in 1846. Governor Grey sent for Wiremu Kingi to go to him on board H.M.S. *Castor*, which was anchored at Kapiti. He went. Governor Grey then asked him whether he would go to Te Paripari to assist against his foe, Te Rangihaeata. Wiremu Kingi immediately assented; he did not raise any objection on the ground that Te Rangihaeata was his relation. In the morning we returned to Waikanae. Wiremu Kingi at once summoned his various hapu, and told them that they were to go to Te Paripari. We slept that night on the way at Whareroa. In the morning we reached Te Paripari. He took 140 men with him. I accompanied them, and

then returned to Waikanae. They made prisoners of eight men belonging to Wanganui, who had joined Te Rangihaeata. When these men were taken they said to those who captured them, 'Wait; who knows whether you will not be served hereafter in the same way.' (I daresay Wiremu Kingi now remembers this saying.) They were brought to Waikanae, and then on Governor Grey's steamer. I have no doubt there are pakehas who saw these men whom Wiremu Kingi captured. What return does the Governor now make to Wiremu Kingi for these acts? Wiremu Kingi always upheld the authority of the Government. He always refused to have any connection with the Maori King up to the very time when hostilities took place at Waitara. I end here.

From your friend,

RIWAI TE AHU.

Otaki, 23rd June, 1860."

When the Venerable Archdeacon appeared in the New Zealand House of Representatives at the request of the House—which he did on the 14th of August, 1860—the first question put to him was: "How long have you known William King, and under what circumstances?" To which he replied: "I have known William King since December, 1839, when I went to Cook Strait and took up my abode at Waikanae." The second question was: "What do you know of William King's personal character, and of his public character in his relations to the British Government previously to the commencement of the present war?" The Archdeacon's reply was: "During the four years I resided at Waikanae I formed a high opinion of his personal character. I am not aware of any act of violence of which he was guilty, except on one occasion, when, during my absence, he struck a man down for attempting to burn my house. With reference to his public character, he gave most material assistance to the Government after the unfortunate massacre at Wairau. He rejected the proposal of Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata that he should join with them in an attack on Wellington, and exercised the whole of his influence to prevent any of his tribe from

doing so. During my absence from Waikanae for a few days, an attempt was again made by Te Rauparaha and others to unite William King and his tribe with others in a hostile attack on Wellington ; but he again positively declined to take any part in such a proceeding. In the war with Te Rangihaeata, he co-operated with the Government against that chief, though he was a near relation of his. Sir George Grey, who was on board a vessel at Kapiti, asked his assistance ; he returned the same day to Waikanae, and proceeded with 140 men to Te Paripari, when on the following day he captured eight prisoners, who were in arms against the Government, and handed them over to the authorities. They were tried by martial law, and seven were transported ; I believe they were sent to Hobart Town. Without going into further particulars, I believe that his conduct at that time gave universal satisfaction. He assisted the British Government on all occasions when his assistance was required. I could name other instances."

The missionaries and the friendly Maoris all agree that Teira had no right to sell the land, and that Wiremu Kingi, who denied his own right to sell it, had every right, both as the chief and as a part owner, to forbid the sale. The joint owners told Dr. Featherston that "Teira had no more right to sell the 600 acres than a man owing one acre in Wellington would have a right to sell the whole town." But the unfortunate Governor no longer sought nor listened to advice. He possibly, although not probably, knew nothing of the salvation of Wellington by the friendly Wiremu Kingi. He talked of Maori obstinacy and insolence, of his own dignity, of the sovereignty of the Queen, and of the certain effect of the army with banners which he could call from the west and from the north. Thus he proceeded hastily to take the fatal steps which led on to the ten years disastrous and humiliating, although intermittent, contest with men who were so willing to shed their blood in the service of the Queen, so long as her representatives appeared to them to symbolize protection, justice, and appreciation of their courageous services.

On the 2nd of April, the Assistant Native Secretary was instructed to write to Wiremu Kingi, and to tell him that

“the Governor’s rule is for each man to have the word about his own land ; that of a man who has no claim will not be listened to.” Once more the patient and friendly, but firm chief replies to the Governor, on April 25th, “Friend, salutations to you. Your letter has reached me about Teira’s and Retimana’s thoughts. I will not agree to our bed room being sold. I mean Waitara here. For this bed belongs to the whole of us ; and do not you be in haste to give the money. Harken to my word. If you give the money secretly you will get no land for it. You may insist but I will never agree. Do not suppose that this is folly on my part. No it is true. I have no new proposal to make either as regards selling or anything else. All that I have to say to you, Oh Governor, is that none of this land will be given to you—never—never. Not till I die. I have been told that I am to be imprisoned. I am very sad because of this word. Why is it ? You should remember that the Pakehas and the Maoris are living quietly on their pieces of land, and therefore do not disturb them.”

Writing, in July, to his constant and trusted friend, Archdeacon Hadfield, who had so bravely worked with him in resisting the destruction of the Wellington settlers in 1843, he says, “I am not able to discover wherein consists my guilt. If I had taken any land belonging to Europeans then my fault would have been proved, or if I had insulted any European then my accusation would have been just. But they are bringing guilt to me. (Or, are forcing me to become a guilty man)..... I thought you might have influence with the Governor and Mr. McLean to cause Parris’ proceedings to be stopped with reference to the Waitara.”

Writing later to the same friend, he says, “They say that Teira also owns this block of land. No ; that piece of land belongs to us all. It belongs to the orphans, it belongs to the widows.”

Just as this noble patriot was doing his utmost to save both races, it is painful but instructive to see that a writer, who knew nothing of the Maoris or of their adviser and protector, was permitted to write of a man, whose shoe latchet he was certainly not worthy to unloose, in the

following disgusting language :—“ Archdeacon Hadfield’s behaviour throughout is most reprehensible. He has evidently advised and supported Wiremu Kingi throughout; he has abused his influence over the Natives to the purpose of political partisanship; and has addressed a letter to the Queen’s representative, full of little sneering allusions, alike unworthy of his office as a minister, and his character as a gentleman. He has been long known for a bitter controversialist, with a large organ of self-esteem, to whom Sir George Grey, for his own purposes, paid court; neglected, his mortification has led him into something not very unlike treason. Certain we are that under any other than English rule, he would have been arrested and packed off long ago, if he had not been disposed of more summarily; and he himself points to a prison as his probable destination; like the madman we once read of, who used regularly to place himself at Bedlam for safe custody during his periodical attacks of insanity. Altogether, the reckless manner in which he first rushes into the thick of the fray, and then the consciousness he displays that his dealings with the natives will not bear publicity, furnish forth a heavy charge against him, requiring the fullest explanation. Until then, his usefulness is gone, confidence is lost, and an unpleasant suspicion engendered as to all his future proceedings.” This gem of literature was, of course, copied into the *Lyttelton Times*.

In defiance of every protest, the Waitara land was purchased, and Teira and his friends were paid £200 on account of it.

On the 25th of January, 1860, Mr. Richmond wrote to Commissioner Parris, stating that “the Governor had determined that the survey of the land should be proceeded with without further delay. Should resistance be made the survey party will quietly retire, and you are then to intimate to Lieutenant Murray that the assistance of a military force has become necessary. Military possession of the block will therefore be taken and kept by the forces, and the survey is to be prosecuted under the protection of the troops.”



## CHAPTER XXXVII.

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### DECLARATION OF WAR.

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“I can conceive of no means so calculated to restore the confidence of the natives in the justice of the Government, as a determination, evinced by this House, to protect them from acts of injustice, no matter how high the powers by which those acts are perpetrated.”—DR. FEATHERSTON.

EVEN now, with marvellous tact and forbearance, Wiremu Kingi had provided a means of arresting the survey without any risk of bloodshed. Women were employed to hug and hold the surveyor's arms, and to carry off their chains and pegs, and to obliterate their survey lines. The Rev. Rewai Te Ahu tells us that the women were to stop the surveyors whenever they trespassed on the plots in which any women were interested, and that “it was the wife of Potukakariki and their own two daughters and some other women of their hapus who drew off the Governor's surveyors from their own pieces of land.”

On the same day, a proclamation was issued in Maori which has been thus translated: “Whereas the natives of the Queen are about to begin their work against the natives of Taranaki who are disobedient, and are fighting against the Queen's authority; therefore I, the Governor, do proclaim and publish abroad this word. The law of fighting is now to appear in Taranaki, and remain in force until countermanded.” The proclamation was not inaptly described by Mr. Forsaith in the House of Representatives as a declaration of war by the Governor.

The employment of the women, so distinctly confined to the defence of their own plots of land, was a stroke of wisdom that the Governor had not foreseen or provided for, and that left the commander of the troops in some doubt as to how he should proceed. Lieutenant-Colonel Murray therefore wrote to Wiremu Kingi expressing his regret at the rebellion of the Chief, and his own reluctance to employ the troops which he was ordered to do unless all such rebellion ceased. To this Wiremu replied, "You say that we have been guilty of rebellion against the Queen, but we consider that we have not, because the Governor has said that he will not entertain offers of land which are disputed. The Governor has also said that it is not right for one man to sell land to Europeans, but that all the people should consent. You are now disregarding the good law of the Governor and adopting a bad law. This is my word to you. I have no desire for evil, but on the contrary, have great love for the Europeans and Maoris. Listen, my love is this. You and Parris put a stop to your proceedings that your love for the Europeans and Maoris may be true. I have heard that you are coming to Waitara with soldiers; and therefore I know that you are angry with me. Is this your love for me to bring soldiers to Waitara? This is not love, it is anger. I do not wish for anger; all that I want is the land. All the Governors and the Europeans have heard my word, which is that I will hold the land. That is all. Write to me. Peace be with you."

On the 1st of March the Governor arrived at Taranaki with what troops he could muster. A block house was built on the north and on the south side of the town, and the outlying settlers were called in. On the 13th and 14th of March, the Waitara block was surveyed under military protection. On the night of the 15th Wiremu Kingi built a pah on the land, and, on the following day, pulled up and burned the survey pegs. The Governor thought he had nothing to do now but to take them all prisoners or shoot them down. But, before doing so, he thought it right to send Mr. Parris with a merciful but haughty letter, which ran thus: "Misguided people, your pah is invested.

Surrender at once or I will commence to fire on you. Though your offence is great, the Governor will be merciful to you if you surrender. If I fire upon you, your fate is sealed." The Maoris refused to receive or to look at the message ; but ordered Mr. Parris to take it back to the Governor as there had been "enough korero." The troops with their twenty-four pound howitzers were set to work. The Maoris kept them at a respectful distance, and three Europeans were dangerously wounded. The troops laid on the ground all night, and were occasionally fired on by the Maoris, who had very little food, water or ammunition, and might all have been destroyed or captured in a few days by hunger alone. In the morning, the guns, two twenty-four pounders, were brought nearer, under cover of skirmishers, and a breach effected, which was rushed by the soldiers in great style ; but neither a dead nor a live Maori was to be found inside—not one having been killed, but all having quietly departed before daylight. The disappointed Governor had to report that it occupied the troops two days to destroy a pah that a few Maoris had put up in one night, and from which they departed almost unharmed at their own time and in their own way. All the officers were astonished at the skill with which the hasty structure had been contrived and executed, defended and evacuated by men who were not supposed to be engineers, and whose officers had never purchased a commission.

Such were the steps that led to the long and disastrous war between the two races, and such was Governor Browne's first experience of war with a race of men so different to those he had met in India. It is hardly too much to say that his two days' experience of actual warfare before that despised pah, was a fair sample of what usually resulted when our brave and well trained soldiers, led by British officers, came in contact with the equally brave Maoris, led by their proved and practised and astute chieftains, who trusted, not to forms and rules and precedents, but to their own good eyes and brains.

Governor Browne was thus suddenly made a sadder, and perhaps a wiser man ; but certainly not a wise one. He

should have seen at once that each step he had taken had been a false step, and especially that what he now wanted was not more men to throw away under these incapable purchasers of their own commissions, but some really capable leaders, such as Sir George Grey had so easily found ready made to his hand in Whero Whero and Waka Nene.

But Governor Browne's first step in trouble was like that of Governor Fitzroy—an abject appeal for help to Australia. The help came with extraordinary expedition, and with it came some excellent advice from the Governor of New South Wales ; but both help and advice proved useless.

To the Home Government the appeal was equally urgent. That Government was told that a much larger number of troops than had ever been sent before was “necessary to maintain possession of the colony at all.” And that he must, besides, have “a steam gunboat and a steamer of war.”

The women and children of Taranaki, numbering some 1200, were sent for safety to Nelson, where they were naturally received with much sympathy and kindness, and were also assisted by contributions from other provinces.

Although thousands of outlying settlers and even the towns in the North Island were unprotected and entirely at the mercy of the well-armed Maori warriors, the soldiers were madly permitted to set an example of general pillage, murder, and devastation, which, but for the beneficent influence still retained by the abused missionaries and especially by Archdeacon Hadfield, would certainly have led to the extermination of the European settlers. Wiremu Kingi still announced that he made no war upon unarmed settlers, but, with all he could do to restrain his followers, five settlers were murdered, on the 27th of March, not far from Taranaki, and we have the almost incredible fact to record that, on the following day, soldiers, sailors, and volunteers sallied forth to inflict indiscriminate revenge upon the Maoris in general. We are told that the Governor himself addressed the militia and volunteers when they started by way of the sea beach, while the troops proceeded by the main road. And, more extraordinary still, Colonel



TAWHIAO.



Gold himself tells us that he was delayed in joining the volunteers "by the disposition of the rebels to get round our left, and so to cut us off from the main road," so that, although he could hear that the volunteers "were hotly engaged," he did not go to their help; as he had "received strict orders to get home before dark, having throughout the day kept up a frequent fire of rockets on the pah and on any groups of rebels we observed." These "hotly engaged volunteers" would probably have been annihilated



BISHOP SELWYN.

but for a most heroic and unexpected rescue which came from the blue-jackets under Captain Cracroft of H.M.S. *Niger*. Pillaging and burning thus became the order of the day on both sides; and the Governor reported that farms, mills, stacks, and food had been destroyed "with good effect." After abandoning the volunteers to their fate and getting home to his good night's rest, Colonel Gold was sufficiently refreshed to go in search of some more groups

of Maoris and homesteads to fire on. On the 20th of April he was able to destroy a large number of houses and the machinery of a water mill with large quantities of wheat and grain at a large Maori settlement ; and, on the 4th of May, he reports regretting that he could do no more in the south, but he felt "assured that the destruction of the mills and crops, corn, houses, canoes, and ploughs at the different stations will severely cripple the resources of the Taranaki Natives this winter." It is a strange fact, too, that whilst all these cruel and reckless proceedings were being enacted, and were strongly condemned by the suffering and better-informed northern settlers, especially by those at Wellington, they were generally approved by the representatives of the South Island, whose information, at the time, as to the real facts of the case, was so remarkably deficient.

The cruelty and injustice to Wiremu Kingi had thus been completed. Without one act of violence or aggression on his part, he was now driven from civilized society to seek refuge in the forests and mountains that he knew so well. Still justly retaining the respect of such well-informed judges as Bishop Selwyn and Archdeacon Hadfield. One of his latest acts in Taranaki was to sign a proclamation enjoining his followers to respect the persons and property of the Baptist minister and other persons who had refused to carry arms against him ; and his followers required these gentlemen to wear white scarves so that they and theirs should remain unharmed in any destruction or pillage that might at any time occur.

When there was thus no longer any hope that the justice of his cause, the great service he had rendered to the Wellington settlers, and the blameless character of his life, would protect Wiremu Kingi from persecution, the Bishop acted with his usual courage, his usual candour, and his usual disregard to consequences. On April 28th he sent a strong protest to the Government, in which he justly complained that martial law had been proclaimed by the Governor before a single Maori had taken up arms or committed any breach of the peace. He demanded a regular investigation of Wiremu Kingi's and all other titles by an impartial tribunal, with all the usual precautions

for the security of truth and justice, and then went on, somewhat unwisely, to assert what was not even strictly true, that "the colony was avowedly formed not for the acquisition of territory for the English race but for the protection of New Zealanders." With his usual contempt for popularity, he demanded that "this primary object shall not be sacrificed to the aggrandisement of the English Provinces."

But Archdeacon Hadfield had more, both of the wisdom of the serpent and of the gentleness of the dove, in his composition, and took a course well fitted to stagger the Governor and to command the attention of the Secretary of State. His large flock of trusty and trusting disciples met in a public meeting at Otaki, and agreed to a petition to the Queen, asking her to remove the Governor who had treated Wiremu Kingi with so much injustice, and to send them a governor like Governor Grey, "who only punished Maoris when they were wrong."

This petition was signed by 497 Maoris, and was forwarded to the Governor for transmission to the Queen by Archdeacon Hadfield. But, although received in April, it was not sent Home until May. Every effort was made to prove that the petition had been first written in English, was only a translation of some European production, and did not originate from the Maoris at all but from Archdeacon Hadfield. No publicity was given to these suspicions at the time, so that no opportunity was given to the Archdeacon to deny or refute them; but, after the meeting of the House of Representatives, in July, these insinuations soon appeared in print, and gave him the opportunity to send, through the Governor, a most able and convincing letter to the Secretary of State, proving that the petition originated at a public meeting of over five hundred Maoris, without any suggestion from him, and was both genuine and spontaneous. But he added how much he was gratified, and how much he was sure the Secretary of State would be gratified, with such a grand proof of the hold which religion, civilization, law and order now had upon the strong Maori character; how much he was delighted to see that, under great provocation, and at a

time of great excitement, and after several days of discussion and deliberation, the Maoris had decided to send a humble and loyal petition to the Queen. In conclusion, he added, "I would further observe, that, whereas the natives of this country are a high-minded people, and at present have no legal tribunal to appeal to for the protection of territorial rights, there will be great danger, if they are debarred from using the right open to all British subjects of petitioning the Crown in a constitutional manner for the redress of their wrongs, that they will be driven to seek redress by force of arms."

Such a petition, supported by such a letter from a man living amongst the petitioners, and one who was so justly trusted and implicitly believed by all who knew him, could not be without its effect; and was, in fact, complied with more literally than the Maoris could have expected, by the actual re-appointment of Sir George Grey.

Equally good advice came to hand from Sir William Denniston, the Governor of New South Wales. With the troops, ships, and munitions of war came a friendly letter to Governor Browne, a copy of which was, at the same time, sent by him to the Secretary of State, commenting severely upon the views and intentions expressed by Mr. Richmond. Sir William said "My view of the Maori is very different—he is the subject of the Queen, and, as such, is entitled to have his rights respected and his feelings considered; he has shown an aptitude for civilization which ought to be encouraged; his efforts to raise himself in the social scale should be assisted. If this policy were carried out steadily and consistently, all causes of disaffection would soon be done away; there would be an end to these petty warfares which, while they cause a large expenditure, result in nothing but an aggravation of the feelings of hostility between the races. The Government, it is true, would be abused by certain classes of the white population. The land speculators might grumble; but I feel convinced that the prosperity of the colony and the happiness of the people would be promoted by such a change of system."

Such an accumulation of good advice, from quarters that could not be despised, evidently shook the Governor's

confidence in the wisdom of his constitutional advisers, and the infallibility of the loud and popular voice from the South. But he was constitutionally incapable of boldly retreating from his false position, and retracing his misguided steps. He gave up the first avowed object of the war by ordering that Wiremu Kingi should not be further pursued nor attacked. Even the friendly Maoris were not prepared to assist in the destruction of a chief whose cause they believed to be a good one, and who was clearly resisting an unjust attempt to set aside the rights of his race. Even Mr. Richmond could now see that Kingi's claim to a voice in the sale of Waitara might, after all, be a good one, or, at any rate, that it would be pronounced a good one by men who would be certainly regarded, by impartial judges, as less interested and better informed than himself.

But the war was continued almost avowedly for the purpose of obtaining some signal success that would restore the lost reputation of British soldiers in New Zealand.

The soldiers were doing much better under General Pratt than they had done under Colonel Gold; but the rough, broken, roadless country, with its rivers, forests, mountains, and swamps, constantly fought against them, and gave an advantage to the men who could always choose a position easy to defend, and where no heavy cannon nor baggage waggons could be brought against them. Their knowledge of the country, their power to live on fern root, to swim the rivers, to wade the swamps, and to penetrate the dense forests, enabled the Maoris always to decline an engagement in which the soldiers were really prepared to meet them. Soldiers and officers alike soon became disgusted with a conflict in which their apparently superior equipment usually told against them, and in which they were almost invariably out-witted by naked men. Still more hopeless was it to expect that settlers, who had long been most peremptorily forbidden by their own governments to practise the use of arms, and whom the present Government was now unprepared even to supply with arms, would successfully compete with men who were now universally armed, and who had, from childhood,

cherished the art of fighting as the supreme object of their ambition—as the main necessity of their existence.

The King Natives called a monster meeting at Ngaruawahia in May, at which over 3000 Maoris attended, and at which their favourite orators freely expressed their opinions of the King movement, and these opinions were generally in its favour, but so temperately and peacefully expressed as to offer a fine opportunity to the Governor to have come to honourable terms with them. It was soon evident that their main grievance was the conduct of Governor Browne in denying Wiremu Kingi's rights as a tribal chief without any proper investigation, and going to war without consulting Whero Whero and other friendly chiefs, as Sir George Grey had always done. Their chosen King, now called Potatau, but still better known as the able and friendly Te Whero Whero, spoke in the most temperate and friendly tone of the English. The more eloquent orator and king-maker, Te Waharoa, in characteristic language, said, "Let us find out who is in the wrong. Let us not take up an unrighteous cause. Let us search out the merits of the transaction, so that if we die we may die in a righteous cause.

Kopara Ngatihimetu said, "Let us have patience until our friends who have gone to Taranaki return; then we shall know the real merits of the case. If the land was paid for before the flag reached it, the Governor was right; if not, then the matter cannot rest where it is. If the mana and flag went before, then we must contend for our land."

The chief Native Land Commissioner, Mr. Donald McLean, attended that meeting for eight days, and made a long speech with much less than his usual success. He evidently was not at all sure that the war without enquiry was the right thing; and the Maoris, although, with one exception, they heard him quietly, heard him impatiently, as they had begun to regard him as the tool of Mr. Richmond. His report of the meeting to the Governor was timid and undecided, like that of a man defending a cause in which he could not himself believe. But the report of such a temperate meeting under so much

excitement, was eminently calculated to show the Governor that there was yet room for repentance on his part ; and that further bloodshed and irritation might be avoided by a just and reasonable, although late, enquiry into the validity of Wiremu Kingi's claim to a voice in the sale of the Waitara.

On the 29th of May, Mr. McLean somewhat hastily left the meeting in order to avoid witnessing the erection of the flagstaff and the hoisting of the King's flag, which he found himself powerless to prevent, and which was resolutely and enthusiastically effected at 10 a.m. on Thursday, May 31st. His presence at that meeting, and his uncompromising efforts to oppose the appointment of a king, and to represent the appointment as necessarily hostile to the Governor and to the Government, did not fail to have a bad effect upon the powerful tribes which were there so largely represented. He, above all other men, should have known that with men, who from every point of view were so superior in physical power, and still more in physical endurance, compromise was the only thing possible to obtain, and, up to that time, an honourable and honest compromise on both sides was certainly possible.

But the sagacity and prudence, and the lingering friendship of Sir George Grey's old comrade, Whero Whero, which would have been such a powerful lever in Sir George Grey's hands, were destined to pass away before Sir George could again appear on the New Zealand stage. Only twenty-five days after the King's flag had been hoisted a hundred feet high, and vociferously cheered by three thousand friendly warriors, the old warrior King had passed peacefully away and could no longer be a factor in the destiny of New Zealand. He was succeeded by his son, under the title of Potatau the Second, to whom the honour was more acceptable than it had ever been to his father. Pomp, power and popularity had their usual charms for this younger potentate ; so that he soon became the figure-head, rather than the controller, of the kingly power, with less influence, less self-reliance and less European sympathy than his firmer, more active and more experienced father had so long exhibited.



## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

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### THE SESSION OF 1860.

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“Thrice is he arm'd who hath his quarrel just ;  
And he but naked, though lock'd up in steel,  
Whose conscience with injustice is corrupted.”

—SHAKESPEARE.

ON Monday, July 30th, 1860, the third and last session of the second New Zealand Parliament was opened in Auckland by a speech from His Excellency, Governor Gore Browne. The members had been ordered by proclamation to meet at Wellington, on May 23rd ; but, in consequence of the war, the Governor could not leave Auckland, and, after two other prorogations, the Parliament finally met at the time and place above named, to the great disappointment of the Wellington members and settlers.

Although there had been no general election, less than half of the members who had attended the Parliament of 1858, returned to the Parliament of 1860. Seventeen of the members had resigned their seats, and seven members now came from Wellington, who had not attended the previous session. As an intelligent investigator, and as a patient and indefatigable worker, Mr. Hall's absence was much regretted on both sides of the House ; but, upon the whole, it will be quite safe to say that the seven members

who now came from Wellington, brought more talent to the House, than was lost by the absence of the seventeen who had not returned. Mr. Sewell, too, had now returned, with a general reputation of having done good work in England, and with a consequent power and influence, greater than he had before enjoyed, and greater than he was destined long to maintain. Although Wellington and Nelson, brought the lion's share of debating power to the House, they completely neutralized each other upon every important division; the Nelson members voting in a block, in favour of the Government and the war; the Wellington members voting against both. Canterbury was about equally divided against itself. Taranaki voted for war at any price, Hawkes Bay, with equal zeal, voted for new provinces on the same terms. Although the population of Otago had increased from three thousand to twelve thousand, there had, as yet, been no proportionate increase in her representation; but the little she had spoke against the war, and voted for it; whilst Mr. Macandrew was too hotly engaged in provincial warfare at home, to come to the House at all. Auckland, left to itself, would have opposed the war, but not unanimously, and the balance of votes in its favour supplied from Taranaki, Hawkes Bay, Marlborough and Otago was just sufficient to give the Government an uncomfortable existence throughout the session, and to prevent any vigorous and effective steps being taken for a timely restoration of a lasting peace.

As Mr. Stafford was known to entirely disapprove of the war—or at least, of the steps that had led to it—and as he was, for party purposes, often accused of not being in sympathy with his colleagues, and the Governor upon that subject; his ideas of loyalty to party, compelled him to make stronger professions of approval of all that had been done in his absence, than he would have been likely to make if those actions had been his own. The Governor too, with all his faults, was an extremely loyal partisan, and never at any time, however great the temptation, attempted to put blame upon his Ministers for giving him advice that it was his business not to have accepted. But, with every allowance for party claims, or official etiquette, it is impossible

now to read the first allegation in the Governor's opening speech, without a sense of humiliation for the daring departure from well known and well proved truths of which that speech was so unhappily made a record. At the very outset of the speech, these words are used :—

“The immediate occasion of this disturbance of the public peace has been an attempt, on the part of a native Chief of the Ngatiawa tribe to forbid the sale to the Crown and forcibly to prevent the survey of a piece of land, to which *he neither asserted nor possessed any title.*”

The speech was not a long one, and was practically confined to what was called the “Native Insurrection,” there being only a very cursory allusion to the approaching general election, the simplification of land titles, and the re-distribution of the representation of the colony.

The Address in Reply, although longer than the speech itself, was a true echo of the speech, and such as might have proceeded from a House in which an Opposition member was not to be found. It was, too, proposed in a most bellicose speech by the member for Hawkes Bay, Mr. Fitzgerald, in which Wiremu Kingi was called “a strong bully” whose rights, “if ever they did exist,” must have ceased with the Treaty of Waitangi. In language more forcible than elegant or convincing, he went on to say that the present war “was owing to the weak and vacillating policy of former Governments..... With respect to the insurgents, they must receive a sound thrashing; the sugar and blanket policy should be altered; and it was necessary also that the Sale of Spirits Ordinance should be swept away, and so remove a standing cause of irritation, as there was no reason why a Maori should not enjoy a glass in moderation as well as a European. By this time we must be convinced that the natives were not children.”

The Reply was seconded by Mr. Heale, a member for the suburbs of Auckland, and was carried without a division or a word of opposition.

In the Legislative Council the Speech and the Reply received far more attention. Mr. Swainson could not endorse either; but, for the rest of the Councillors, the Reply was only far too mild. Sir Osbourne Gibbs proposed,

and Captain Curling seconded, the following vigorous addition :—

“ We pray Your Excellency to carry into effect the most vigorous and energetic measures to put down at once and for ever the existence of turbulence amongst the native population, and thus to establish and ensure the peace and prosperity of this colony.”

Other amendments were proposed, but no division was called for, and the Government Address in Reply was passed without division or alteration.

The real debate on the policy that had produced the war was commenced on August 3rd, when Mr. Richmond, in a long speech, introduced the Native Offenders Bill. The speech, which was well reported, was the speech of a lawyer, not of a statesman. It was most deeply blemished by the glaring suppressions made in partial and selected quotations from the expressions of Wiremu Kingi, and by offensive appellations and comparisons referring both to Wiremu Kingi and to Archdeacon Hadfield. It was a speech that no impartial hearer could admire, as it did his cause no good and it did himself and the Government a great deal of harm. It irretrievably committed the Government to the utterly untenable position that Wiremu Kingi had denied any claim in the land, and was acting as a land leaguer, and not as a chief responsible for the protection of the rights of his tribe. Mr. Richmond also placed himself in a light unworthy of his high position and of his own personally high character when he descended to speak of Wiremu Kingi as the “ leader of a mob,” and, by unmistakable inference, compared Archdeacon Hadfield with Guy Fawkes.

Mr. Richmond was followed by Mr. Carleton and Mr. Forsaith. Mr. Carleton at once asserted that he could himself prove that Wiremu Kingi had claimed proprietary rights in the Waitara block. Both spoke very temperately ; but Mr. Forsaith made by far the best use of his time, and threw down a bombshell by reading letters from Wiremu Kingi to Archdeacon Hadfield.

After the production of these letters, some speeches of no great weight were allowed to occupy the time until the

Government could decide upon what was to be said about the troublesome letters produced by Mr. Forsaith. Then Mr. Weld, who had just been added to the Ministry, came forward with his first ministerial speech, and soon made it evident that the Archdeacon was to be assailed as something like a traitor for not coming to the Government with these letters directly he received them. He concluded his speech with a hope that the whole colony "would emulate—for no man could surpass—the conduct of the gallant settlers of Taranaki."

Mr. Bell was the next speaker on the ministerial side. His speech was, as usual, very long, continuing until after midnight; but it was more than usually direct and bold in his attack upon Archdeacon Hadfield. He is reported to have said, "I cannot conceive how any man, having the interests of the country at heart, or desiring to serve the Maori race, could withhold these letters from the knowledge of the Governor. How a minister of the Gospel, the friend and adviser of this chief when war was raging—even while blood was being shed—should have preferred keeping them secret, only to find a paltry triumph in making them known in this House when it was too late."

After Mr. Bell's speech had come to an end, the House adjourned until the following Tuesday, August 7th, and then came the great speech of the debate by Dr. Featherston, which was certainly one of the most able, eloquent and effective speeches ever made in the New Zealand House of Representatives. He produced letters and signatures from the best possible authorities proving, beyond the possibility of doubt, the unpardonable inaccuracy of the Governor's speech, and that Wiremu Kingi had steadfastly and constantly asserted his right and interest in the Waitara block, and that he was beyond a doubt the principal chief, and, as such, entitled to be first consulted as to the disposal of the land. He further brought evidence of how, in his last years, Wiremu Kingi's father had enjoined and entreated his son not to sell the land. He reminded the House of the gratitude that the whole colony, but especially Wellington, owed to Wiremu Kingi and to Archdeacon

Hadfield for the preservation of the inhabitants of Wellington from the savage fury of the relentless Rangihaeata in 1843, and again in 1846. He scorned to reply to the vulgar attacks that had been made on the noble Archdeacon, and that could only recoil upon those who dared to speak of him as a traitor. Then, winding up his masterly array of indisputable facts, he concluded :

“I honestly and conscientiously believe that this war is an unjust and unholy war. Is it not most revolting to urge that from any sense of policy or pride, we should go on shedding blood in a cause which we believe to be unjust? I would remind honourable members that, as the natives have not in this House any representatives of their race, we are bound by a sense of justice, by that love of fair play which ever has been, and I trust ever will be, the distinguishing characteristic of our nation, to protect their interests, to mete out equal justice to the absent as to the present, and to prove that our superior civilization is not a pretence and a delusion. For my own part, I know of no higher duty that can possibly devolve upon this House than to prove to the natives of this country that it is a tribunal to which a just appeal for redress will never be made in vain.”

No member of the House ever liked to rise immediately after the eloquent Doctor ; but the Colonial Secretary had arranged to follow him, and the task was one which would, under any circumstances, have been irksome to him ; so that he rose at once to do his best. He would have succeeded better in a financial or constitutional debate. He could produce no rebutting authorities to compare with those produced by Dr. Featherston and Mr. Forsaith ; so that he left them both unanswered, and only tried to produce a laugh by comparing Mr. Forsaith with one of Gulliver's grilgrigs. He, however, took the opportunity of explaining the relations of the Ministry to the Governor in Native affairs, in which he said, “We are entirely and fully responsible for advising and concurring in the course taken by the Governor as to the Taranaki land question.”

The English clergyman at Taranaki and the old Wesleyan minister, Mr. Whitely, were often quoted both

by Mr. Stafford and by Mr. Richmond ; as, in sympathy with their congregation, they gave a more favourable view of the actions of the Government than any other missionaries had done.

Mr Richmond came next with his right of reply. His speech was not very long, but distinctly angry and undignified. It dealt largely in assertions and contradictions unsupported by any authority or evidence. He accused Dr. Featherston of putting words into the mouth of Wiremu Kingi "which were never got from Wiremu Kingi, as even Wiremu Kingi himself would never have tried such a bare-faced falsehood." He concluded his angry speech by saying, "The Archdeacon writes, 'I did what I considered more likely to uphold the dignity of the Governor and my confidence in him. I wrote to Wiremu Kingi that his forcible ejection from his land was absolutely impossible.' We shall, I fear, never get to the bottom of this matter. If such advice has been really given, then I say upon the head of the man who gave it rest, I believe, the blood and misery of the present war."

Such a long and important debate upon the first reading of a Bill was quite contrary to the usual parliamentary practice, but was forced on by Mr. Richmond's long speech on introducing the Bill, and the general impatience of the members to debate the Native policy of the Government. There was, as usual, no division on the first reading ; but on the second reading a division was taken, as the Government had staked its existence on the result. The division was made more close than had been expected, by the default of two of the Otago representatives. Mr. Gillies, having strongly and ably supported the first, voted against the second reading ; and Mr. Bell, having spoken with unusual force and decision in favour of the first reading, had to redeem his character by speaking more strongly against the second reading and not voting at all. Only one of the four Otago members voted ; as Messrs. Macandrew and Taylor did not come to Auckland.

The division was a large one, giving thirty-six votes out of a possible thirty-seven. The House had been anxiously whipped ; as it was, in fact, a vote of confidence or no

confidence in the ministers and their War Policy; and with the exception of the two lawyers, Messrs. Gillies and Sewell, who could seldom be placed with any certainty, the division list, which we give below, may be regarded as fairly representing the attitude taken by each member on the War Policy throughout the session:—

## AYES, 19.

Brown	Fitzgerald	Moorhouse
Campbell	Haultain	Richmond, J. C.
Clark	Heale	Stafford
Cookson	Jollie	Weld
Curtis	Kelling	
Domett	King	<i>Teller.</i>
Farmer	Monro	Richmond, C. W.

## NOES, 17.

Brandon	Forsaith	Rhodes
Carleton	Fox	Sewell
Carter	Gillies	Symonds
Daldy	Graham	Williamson
Featherston	Henderson	<i>Teller.</i>
Fitzherbert	Renall	Ward

This division did not take place until September 11th. Practically the same debate under different headings, such as the Native War, Native Affairs, etc., was continued, with a few short interruptions, through the whole of August and a great part of September.

After the first reading of the Native Offenders' Bill had been agreed to, on August 7th, Mr. Carleton came on with a motion well adapted to gain the support of unbiassed members, and to put the Government in a suspicious position by resisting it. He simply proposed the appointment of a committee of ten to enquire into the circumstances that had led to the Taranaki war. The debate on this question was called a debate on the Native war. It was adjourned from day to day, and, on the 10th of August, was skillfully mixed up with a long motion proposed in a fearfully long speech by Mr. Sewell. The motion proposed

an entirely new Native policy, including a Board of Advice on Native Affairs to control the Governor, and a gradual individualization of Maori titles. It was very evidently brought forward, in the interests of the Government as a more harmless employment of the House than Mr Carleton's short and simple but much dreaded proposal for enquiring into the treatment of Wiremu Kingi.

Mr. Carleton and Mr. Sewell were both men of considerable debating power, and were only inferior to Mr. Bell in their power of wearying the House with formal and unreasonably long speeches. They had both more than a common conviction of their own importance, and more than a common determination to be either fore horse or no horse at all. In other words, their services could only be relied on by offering them a leading position in the direction that their co-operation was desired. A few such men are commonly found in every House of Representatives, who are ready to work in almost any direction, so long as they are allowed to take some conspicuous position. Mr. Carleton was fussy, pedantic and ostentatious, never allowing the House to lose sight of the fact that he had received a classical education. Mr. Sewell was an industrious, gentlemanly, well-informed lawyer, and very capable of somewhat capriciously promoting or retarding any business that came before the House. He was apt to dwell too much on details, and to raise needless alarms and difficulties without much steady adherence to or belief in great principles; but he ultimately accomplished some useful work by making some approach to the South Australian simple system of land registration and conveyance. To such men it was of course gratifying to have been put forward as the proposers of motions that were to receive such long and earnest attention from the House.

In debating Mr. Carleton's motion for an enquiry, Mr. Fox—"the Rupert of debate"—with his usual daring disregard to consequences to himself, departed from the recognised practice of the House so far as to make a decided attack on the action of the Governor in his attitude towards the Maoris. His object was plain enough, and was no doubt patriotic, as he knew that, from a financial point



DR. FEATHERSTON



of view, it was of the utmost importance to keep plainly before the Imperial Government the impression that the war was caused by the actions of their own representative. No one will suspect Mr. Fox of any desire to exonerate either Mr. Stafford or Mr. Richmond from any mistakes they had made in the Waitara purchase, or in accepting or undertaking responsibility that they ought not to have incurred ; but still we are driven to the belief that, both in the House and in his published account of the war in New



SIR THOMAS GORE BROWNE.

Zealand, Mr. Fox has gone somewhat too far in claiming for the colony exemption from all responsibility for the mistakes committed by Ministers, and too long defended in the New Zealand Parliament. True as it undoubtedly was, no New Zealand Parliament, before or since, has ever listened to such a strong indictment against the ruling Governor as that made by Mr. Fox, on August 9th, 1860, when he said :—

“ He trusted, in approaching the part of the subject on which he must now touch, that he would be charged with

no want of respect if he made occasional reference to His Excellency the Governor—a departure from the usual practice of the House which was rendered absolutely unavoidable by the fact that His Excellency had assumed 'the entire and sole responsibility of the administration of Native affairs,' and it would be therefore impossible to criticise the acts of that administration otherwise than as the acts of the Governor..... If Sir George Grey unduly acquired personal influence over the Native mind, Governor Browne had utterly neglected this means of conciliation. What part of the Islands had he familiarly traversed? Where was his person known among the Natives? How much time had he devoted to personal intercourse with them? Whole districts—large and important districts—nay, by far the larger portion of the Native territory—had never been visited by him, and the inhabitants, he regretted to say, not only were ignorant of the person of the Governor, but even friendly Natives treated his name with insult and contempt. He had utterly neglected this most important means of influencing the Native mind—means which, legitimately exercised, could not fail to have been attended with the very best results, but to the neglect of which much of the bitterness of the Native feeling towards the colonists was attributable. Then, a great political machinery—which was not at Sir George Grey's disposal, but was at Governor Browne's—had been entirely disregarded. He alluded to the 71st section of the Constitution Act, which enabled the Governor to establish Native districts within which, as between Natives, Native laws should prevail. Here was a machinery which, if judiciously used, might years ago have effectually stopped the formidable King movement, have diverted its course into favourable channels, and made it a bond of union with British power, instead of a movement full of peril to the peace—nay, the very existence—of the colony. The Governor had thought nothing of this King movement: it was, according to his own manifesto, 'only talk, which would pass away.' What! was the crowning of a King in 1858 only talk? Where were those irresponsible and semi-responsible advisers—that great McLean and

those able Ministers—when His Excellency was allowed to believe for two years that the King movement was ‘only talk,’ and their obvious means of meeting it were so neglected? Then, having neglected all personal influence, having failed to use the political machinery at his disposal, His Excellency next told the Natives, by acts far more convincing than words, that they were an independent nation, and owed no allegiance to British power. For what else could they think, when he allowed them unchecked to carry on long and bloody wars among themselves? Four bloody wars, the Native Minister had told us, were raging between tribes in one year; the Native Secretary actually standing by the contending armies and looking at the battle, as the honourable member for Hawke’s Bay had said he had seen him doing, without interference or remonstrance. .... Well, then, having neglected the machinery of friendly influence and of political institutions—having taught the natives that they were regarded as an independent and separate people—His Excellency next invited them to arm themselves for the impending struggle. In 1857, long after the King movement was in full progress, long after the signs of disaffection were manifest to every eye, His Excellency, for no assignable or conceivable reason, repealed by Proclamation those wise restrictions on the sale of arms and ammunition which his predecessor had imposed; and thus not only invited, but enabled, the natives to do what they had since most effectually done—arm themselves to the teeth from one end of the island to the other. And now, having prepared them for the struggle, he took steps to bring it on—he effected this unfortunate, this ill-judged, this ill-timed, this incomplete purchase of that miserable 600 acres of which they had heard so much. Why did he, at such a critical time, add this culminating cause of war to the others less threatening? Why was it necessary to buy, why necessary to survey, why necessary to take possession at this particular crisis? The honourable member for Wallace had offered, as the Governor’s reason for the step, his humane desire to put a stop to those feuds which existed about land among the natives at Taranaki. This reason was entirely

inconsistent with the tenor of His Excellency's own documents; but, were it true that His Excellency acted from a chivalrous and humane desire of this sort, where was his humanity, where was his forethought for those unfortunate European settlers whom he involved by his act in wide-spread ruin at the seat of war, and in imminent peril—peril yet impending—from Taranaki to Wellington—nay, through the length and breadth of the land?" True as all this was, it would have been better said by any one rather than by one who, as Leader of the Opposition, was liable, at any moment, to be called on to act as the confidential adviser of the Governor.

In the same speech Mr. Fox spoke unfavourably, and with far less justice, of the Native policy of Sir George Grey, and, in so doing, he no doubt laid the foundation of the hostility that afterwards existed between himself and Sir George: a hostility which amounted to nothing short of a national calamity, when, as Governor and Premier, they were so soon afterwards called upon to work together for the restoration of national peace.

As might have been expected, the ablest speaker on the Government side of the House had been appointed to answer Mr. Fox. Dr. Monro made a long and able speech; but it was not an answer to the speech that had just brought such heavy charges against the Governor and the Government. With all his ability, and with all his opportunities of perusing every paper that the Government could place in his hands, Dr. Monro made no attempt to deny or to palliate the heavy charges, so distinctly enumerated against the Government and the Governor by Mr. Fox, but practically endorsed them by complimenting Mr. Fox on his able speech, and entreating him not to tell such dangerous and unpleasant truths. He pointed out how ably the Maoris were really represented in that House by such men as Mr. Fox and Dr. Featherstone, and then proceeded to give fatherly advice to Mr. Fox and his friends in his usual moderate and well-chosen words, a specimen of which we must give.

"He would also wish to impress upon the members who addressed the House, the necessity of care and discretion

in the language they used. He was told that the Native race were listening with extreme attention to their debates, and narrowly canvassing their proceedings, and that words spoken in the House were caught up by them, and produced very considerable effect, according to the nature of the words, either for good or evil. He would therefore respectfully submit to honourable members, whether the circumstances of the colony did not require that they should put some restraint upon their tongues. It would be unnecessary for him to say that the present occasion was one which required vigorous and united action, and he could not suppose, that any honourable member would so far lose sight of public duty, as, in a crisis of this sort, when the maintenance of authority, the existence of a neighbouring province, and the lives of its inhabitants, were at stake, to act upon any considerations of party spirit ; but, he would put it to honourable gentlemen on all sides of the House, whether it would not be well to leave some things unsaid, which they might perhaps wish to say ; and, by such a continence of the tongue, thus refrain from heaping fuel upon a fire which was already burning too fiercely. It had often been said—and there was much truth in it—that parliamentary government was not well adapted for the successful conduct of public business in emergencies, requiring secrecy and concentration of force. The debates in Parliament, in the early part of the Crimean war, would be fresh in the recollection of many of his hearers, and they would remember, that while the English operations appeared to be hampered by conflict of authorities, and the requisitions of a machinery rendered necessary by the peculiar form of our government—while the consequences of this were tardiness and indecision of movement, in the first instance ; at all events, our allies the French, appeared to have an immense advantage, and contrasted with us most favourably, both in their condition in camp, and in the celerity and secrecy of their movements. If any advantages were to be gained from secrecy and celerity in carrying on war with a civilized enemy, how much more essential was it that we should be extremely careful not by an unnecessary amount of talk, to divulge our plans, or even to allow expressions to escape from

us which might tend to infuse fresh courage into those who had already taken up arms, or drive those who at present wavered into the ranks of the rebels. He trusted that this debate would not be continued much longer ; and he thought the course most consistent with public duty would be this : that, when the vote was once taken, the minority should consider the questions raised as concluded ; and, instead of keeping up a constant and chronic irritation upon questions which could now lead to no practical issue, they should admit that the great point to be attained was prompt executive action, and a hearty co-operation to rescue the colony from the most imminent danger which impended over it."

But, as the long debate proceeded, the impossibility of sustaining the allegations in the Governor's speech, and the misguided action of the Government in refusing a Committee of Enquiry, became every day more apparent, even to the most determined supporters of the Government. Even the pugnacious mover of the admiring Address in Reply, Mr. Fitzgerald, had grown wiser, and assured the House that "there was considerable anxiety upon the subject in that part of the province which he represented, which could only be allayed by a comprehensive and deliberate course of enquiry." Accordingly, on the 9th of August, Mr. Fitzgerald proposed, as an amendment on Mr. Carleton's motion, that, instead of a committee of ten, there be an enquiry by a committee of the whole House. But the Government voted against Mr. Fitzgerald's motion, and modified, and somewhat reluctantly supported, one proposed by Mr. Sewell, which many of their friends were not prepared to resist, and which was consequently carried.

Mr. Sewell's motion was "That the Venerable Archdeacon Hadfield be requested to attend at the bar of this House to give evidence as to the causes of the Taranaki War, and be subject to questions as to the same : and that the Chief Land Commissioner, Mr. McLean, shall also be summoned as a witness, and examined on the same subject."

On the 14th of August, Archdeacon Hadfield and Commissioner McLean were in attendance when the House met at noon ; and the Archdeacon, at the request of the

Native minister, consented to be first examined. The examination of the two witnesses occupied the whole of the day. There was a painful difference in their evidence as to the conduct, character and claim of Wiremu Kingi; as well as a striking contrast between the simple, unsuspecting, though very careful answers of the Archdeacon and the forensic, fencing attitude of the Commissioner, who was evidently most anxious to side with Mr. Richmond. All the questions had to be put in writing, and had, for the most part, been prepared beforehand by Mr. Fitzherbert and Mr. Richmond. The absolute completeness with which two able and respectable witnesses had refuted each other could not be satisfactory to either party in the House, and the result was silent disappointment rather than triumph on either side. The Archdeacon was undoubtedly the abler Maori linguist, and personally knew Wiremu Kingi and the other claimants as his intimate neighbours and friends, which Mr. McLean could not pretend to do; but then there was room for the suspicion that the Archdeacon's personal attachment to the Maoris might have biased his judgment of their actions and intentions; and although his knowledge of Maori titles, customs and rules of precedence and inheritance was surpassed by none, there was the undisputed fact that, whilst his experience had been generally confined to his own locality, that of Mr. McLean had extended over the whole North Island. The simple result was, that although the supporters of the Government were evidently less confident, and were ashamed of the way the Archdeacon had been abused in the House, the practical change on the divisions was very small indeed.

Neither the long evidence nor the six weeks' debate had done more than to very slowly weaken the Government down to the lowest point of possible existence, with the worst of all results, as the miserable War Policy was thus neither distinctly condemned nor vigorously prosecuted.

Although the Native Offenders' Bill had passed its second reading by a majority of two, it was not destined to become law. On September 25th, Mr. Stafford moved that the House go into committee on the Bill, and Mr. Sewell

moved as an amendment that the House would do so that day six months. A division followed, in which thirty-six members were again persuaded to vote, and this time to divide their votes equally: Mr. Bell voting against the Government, and Colonel Haultain not voting at all. The Speaker gave, by parliamentary rule, his casting vote in a way that would keep the Bill alive for another division, although his personal convictions would have led him to vote in the other direction. Mr. Stafford at once moved that the Bill be discharged from the Order Paper, and the crestfallen Government humbly proceeded to other pressing business. Not a word was said about resigning their seats. When speaking on the second reading, Mr. Fox had said in reply to a taunt from Mr. Domett that, "There was a time when those seats were an object of honourable ambition and worthy of the aspiration of any man in that House; but that was four years ago, and he should think that no one would now deem it an honour to occupy seats in which the present ministry had ever sat. As they had sown, so let them reap. The responsibility was theirs of having got the Colony into the crisis, and theirs must be the responsibility of getting it out."

Such small result from six weeks exhausting, provoking, bitter debate had taken the fire out of both the political armies; and brought them once more back to pay some slight attention to the ordinary work of the session which the short period that now remained of their parliamentary existence rendered imperative. So that, for this session, the debate on the war may be said to have ended in a drawn game.

So hardly was the Government pressed in the vain attempt to carry its Native Offenders' Bill that it was the 9th of October before Mr. Stafford ventured to face the House with a Bill to restrain the sale of arms and ammunition and to restore, with increased stringency, the precautions that Sir George Grey had taken as soon as he came to the colony, but which Mr. Stafford's Government had so unwisely repealed. It was a humiliating task that he now had to perform—to admit in the face of a well-informed and merciless Opposition how wise and necessary

were the regulations that he had repealed in 1858. The thousands of guns and the tons of gunpowder that were consequently now in the possession of the able and war-loving Maoris were facts that could neither be concealed nor underrated; and all that Mr. Stafford could now propose was little better than locking the stable after the steed was stolen. It was, no doubt, with the manly consent or probably with the direction of the Governor that Mr. Stafford now informed the House that the repeal of Sir George Grey's regulations was, in 1858, "pressed by the Governor upon his advisers, and not, as had been so often asserted, pressed by his advisers upon the Governor."

The Bill now proposed was extremely arbitrary and gave powers to the Government that a liberty-loving people would not willingly leave in the hands of any government; but the majority of the House felt that the wholesale arming of the Natives must be stopped at any cost, and carried the second reading of the Bill—but referred it to a select committee proposed by Mr. Fox, which modified some of its most objectionable features; after which the third reading of the Bill was carried without a division, although, even then, it was one of the most remarkable restrictions of the liberty of the subject that necessity has ever forced upon a civilized nation. Select committees are usually forced upon a badly supported government, and no less than thirty select committees were appointed during this session.

On the 26th of October, a Miner's Franchise Bill was passed almost without discussion in the House of Representatives, disastrous as it was soon to be on the Government, and especially upon the financial policy of the colony. The Bill was at that time supposed to affect only a population of six hundred or seven hundred persons at Massacre Bay; but soon came to apply to nearly half the population of the colony. It was in any case a fatal mistake to lower the franchise first, and only, to that part of the population which, for the most part, had no tie either territorial or social that would give them any consideration for the permanent welfare of the country. To admit, without requiring a day's residence in the district, any man

who had spent twenty shillings in the purchase of a miner's right, was clearly providing a most dangerous facility for the purchase of a seat. Little as this was thought of at the time, it was undoubtedly the first step in the elevation to power of the most reckless adventurers, and to the adoption of a financial policy, stimulating to the present, but destructive to the future progress of the colony. Only Messrs. Fox, Gillies, and Daldy voted against the third reading of the Bill.

A solid week was taken up in the discussion of an Act to amend the New Provinces Act, which ended, on October 18th, in the amending Bill being rejected by a majority of one. The Government having been previously defeated by a majority of eleven in opposing a refund to the provinces of money paid by them to the Colonial Treasurer in payment for Native lands.

The Financial Statement made by Mr. Richmond on September 24th, which in those days was spoken and not read, was one that reflected the greatest credit upon his ability, his rigid economy, his straightforward honesty, and his clear, simple statement of accounts, so evidently made with the object of enlightening and not of confusing the members and the country. The Statement embraced an account of the revenue and expenditure for three financial years ending on the 30th of June, 1859-60-61. Even the war was not allowed to introduce any confusion into his perfectly clear and intelligible statement of accounts, and the whole Statement contrasts most strikingly with the documents that have been contrived with so much art, and printed and read to the House since the days of Sir Julius Vogel, who first taught the Colonial Treasurers of New Zealand not to enlighten but to mistify by their Financial Statements the members of the House of Representatives.

During the year 1859, salaries had been voted by the House for three Ministers—a Colonial Treasurer, a Native Minister, and a Treasurer; but only one of these salaries was drawn, as the Treasurer had himself done the work of the three. No Native Minister was appointed for two years after the salary had been voted; and during the year that Mr. Stafford was away in England, although doing the

same kind of work for which Mr. Fitzherbert and Sir Julius Vogel were afterwards so lavishly paid, he had drawn no salary at all.

During the current financial year, 1860-61, the revenue was estimated at £224,000, and the expenditure proposed was £163,000, leaving £61,000 to be handed in monthly payments to the provinces.

In the Legislative Council, on October 29th, Mr. Whitaker proposed the second reading of an Indemnity Bill, when Mr. Swainson took the opportunity to deliver a most eloquent speech as an antidote to all the fire-eating orations that had been delivered in that Council during the session, in which the Government had been urged to brook no delay but to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour and firmness. In the concluding paragraph of his speech Mr. Swainson said :—

“ It will be a poor triumph then, Sir, for a powerful nation like Great Britain to crush by the sword a few barbarous tribes, who, relying on our justice and good faith, have placed themselves within our power. It will be but little to the credit of a great and civilized nation like Great Britain if she should be unable to govern, except by the sword, a conquered remnant of the Maori race ; but it will not be a small reproach to ourselves personally and individually—to the members of the Government and to the members of the Legislature—if it shall have to be recorded against us that, through our default, we have marred the success of one of the noblest experiments that have ever been recorded in the annals of our history.”

The last action of the second Parliament of New Zealand was to give, on November 5th, an enthusiastic and unanimous vote of thanks to its Speaker, Mr. Charles Clifford, who had for six years performed the duties of Speaker with so much satisfaction to all parties in the House. The vote was proposed by Mr. Stafford and more warmly seconded by Mr. Fox. Mr. Sewell took the opportunity to enlarge upon his performances with Mr. Mackay's historical umbrella in 1854, and upon the solemn and ridiculous manner in which his action had been censured in the Australian Colonies.

It was Mr. Clifford's last appearance either in the Chair or in the House. He did not allow even Mr. Sewell and the umbrella to lessen the good taste and good feeling with which he replied to the warm and sincere expression of thanks that had been rendered to him. He thus concluded his last speech in that House: "My last wish is that this House may ever be so guided by Providence in all its acts as to ensure the honour, the security and the happiness of the people whose destinies are confided to its care."

At two o'clock the Assembly was prorogued by the Governor, and, by a proclamation in the Government Gazette, the House was dissolved on the same day.

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## CHAPTER XXXIX.

1860—1861.

“ If you were born to honor, show it now ;  
If put upon you, make the judgment good  
That thought you worthy of it.”

—SHAKESPEARE.

ABOUT a month before the meeting of the 1860 Parliament, the first province created under the New Provinces Act at the last meeting of Parliament, came into early disgrace by the suspension of payment, and, after the House had met, was still unable to meet its engagements with its contractors.

Seven days after the House had met, and seven months after he had ceased to be Superintendent of Otago, the leader and founder of the Otago settlement passed peacefully and painlessly away under an attack of paralysis. In the session of 1858 he had been the only Otago member to appear in his place in the House of Representatives, where he spoke, in very forcible language, against the New Provinces Act. He died at the age of seventy-six. He was borne to his grave, with every mark of affection and respect that the citizens of Otago could show for their departed leader. He died in blissful ignorance of the very irregular proceedings of his successors ; so that the peace of his last days, and his honest pride in the moral and religious character of his countrymen, were not disturbed by any suspicion of the daring liberties that were being taken with the revenue of Otago province, as soon as the control of that revenue had been transferred from his honest hands—from his straightforward simple minded rectitude.

Two weeks after the dissolution of the House, the Governor so far complied with Mr. Fox's idea of a Governor's duty, as to pay a friendly visit to some twenty or thirty chiefs who had come to Orakei to pay their respects to a venerable friendly chief named Kawau. For this purpose he proceeded to the Orakei beach in the barge of H.M.S. *Iris*, accompanied by his best assistant, Mrs. Browne, by his private secretary and by his Native secretary, Mr. McLean. He was met on the beach by friendly cheers and speeches, and returned a speech which was interpreted by Mr. McLean. The tone and apparent aim of his speech may be gathered from a very few sentences. He said, "You hear of disturbances and threats against the Europeans. But I do not attach much importance to all that is said, Some few robberies have been committed on our settlers, but I am assured that the Chiefs of Waikato oppose these acts of a few of their followers. I am thankful for your friendly sentiments, and I believe that similar sentiments prevail elsewhere. My desire is for peace and order, and that the disturbances at Taranaki should be confined to that place. I trust that Potatau's last words for good will be observed by Waikato, and that the Chiefs will continue as they are now doing to exert themselves to carry out his parting injunctions to be friendly to the Europeans."

But the Waikato Chiefs were very far from being infants, and they had heard far more about Colonel Gold's "robberies" than they had heard of those of which the Governor now spoke; and they knew that the robberies, burnings and devastations of Colonel Gold had been ordered by the Governor and approved of by him as "likely to have a good effect." So that, although the presence of Mrs. Browne and of their aged host, Kawau, who had been so constantly on good terms with the Europeans, preserved a strictly polite attitude towards the Governor, their real convictions might, no doubt, have been expressed in the nursery rhyme when,

"Kitty answered, nay, nay, nay,  
Love's not shown by what we say;  
Love is shown by what we do?  
I think Kitty's right. Don't you?"

But the Governor was not the only great man who at this time was bent upon convincing and charming his audience. The late members of the House were already meeting their constituents and their rivals, and it was soon evident that there would be a great change in the personnel, if not in the policy of the next House of Representatives. The seven Wellington members all came back in a body except the Speaker, who had gone to England; but his place was filled by an equally firm supporter of the three F.s, so that there was no strength gained or lost in that very stronghold of Opposition.

The compact war party from Nelson—now Nelson and Marlborough—was considerably weakened. Mr. Stafford was not able to go to Nelson before the election came off; but, on the 16th of February, he was there to thank the Nelson electors for having returned him in his absence, and to do his best for the yet unelected candidates who were sure to support him. He had a large meeting, and was well received. The proprietor of the *Nelson Examiner* was in the chair, and Mr. Stafford was of course well-reported in that paper. But, as he had to defend what he did not believe in, he did it badly; and, if he did not injure the friends whom he intended to serve, he certainly was led to make statements that after revelations must have made him regret. Of the war he said—

“It has been asserted by those who oppose the present Government, that the war now unfortunately existing at Taranaki was entered into by the Government in order to obtain a paltry 600 acres of land. So monstrous and absurd a charge as that a Government would coolly plunge a country into a civil war on grounds so unjust for an object so despicable carries its own denial—its most signal refutation on the face of it.”

Considering how plainly and unmistakably that “paltry 600 acres’ had been the cause of the rash war, this was really no better defence than pleading the atrocity of a crime as a proof that the prisoner was insane, and therefore not guilty. Mr. Stafford also announced in this speech that “many reasons would soon

compel him to withdraw from the public affairs of New Zealand."

Mr. Domett, who had at the nomination to speak for himself and for Mr. Stafford, was rough and ready as usual. He told the Nelson electors that he would go to Auckland if they wished him to do so, and would sell the coat off his own back to carry on such a necessary war; but he could not think it any honour to be sent where so few persons were willing to go, and he did not care a rap whether they sent him to Auckland or not. He and the Premier were opposed by the very popular Superintendent of Nelson; but the Superintendent's views were far too pacific for the Nelson citizens of that date, who did not in any case approve of the Superintendent leaving the province to spend three or four months in Auckland, so that the two old members were again returned.

Dr. Monro's unreasonably hostile attitude towards the Superintendent and his supporters had made him very unpopular in the province of Nelson; so that he had to seek election in the new province of Marlborough, and to offer himself for the town of Picton, where he only succeeded by giving a positive public promise that he would not accept the Speaker's chair. In that province Mr. Weld was defeated for the Wairau by Mr. Eyes, a supporter of the Opposition, and had, as Mr. Fox said, to offer his services "to his own shepherds or his own sheep at Cheviot." In Dr. Monro's old Waimea district, Mr. Saunders, who strongly condemned the war, defeated the constant Ministerial supporter, Mr. Kelling, by 125 votes to 60. Mr. Travers offered himself for the Collingwood goldfields, but was defeated by a majority of more than 2 to 1 by a young man, quite new to politics, named Richmond, a supporter but not a relation of the Treasurer.

Although Taranaki had ceased to be a settlement, and was now only a military camp with the women and children at Nelson, she was still allowed to send three members to Parliament; so that Mr. Richmond was able to secure the return of his two most able relatives for that province.

In Canterbury, the changes were all in favour of the war as the Canterbury press continued also to be. She gained

in numbers, having now nine members ; but she lost more in quality than she gained in quantity. Fitzgerald, Sewell, John Hall, and Moorhouse had all ceased to represent the episcopal province ; so that Mr. Weld, who had been driven across the border from Nelson to Canterbury, and Mr. Crosbie Ward were now her only able and experienced representatives. After spending an enormous sum on advertisements, Mr. Jolly managed to get 20 votes from Timaru ; but, as there were only 15 against him, he was well-pleased with the result. Mr. Moorhouse was a candidate for Akaroa ; but, as he was absent in Melbourne seeking contractors for the Lyttelton tunnel, and was suffering some very short-lived unpopularity in consequence of some severe newspaper attacks made upon him in his absence by Mr. Fitzgerald, he was easily beaten by an opponent little known to fame either before or since that election.

The city of Dunedin, which had been so long unrepresented by the perpetually absent Macandrew, was now well-represented by McGlashan and by Thomas Dick, both opposed to the war policy. Mr. Gillies got elected for Bruce accompanied by Mr. Mantell. Mr. William Colenso now came to the House from Napier, practically taking the place of Mr. Thomas Henry Fitzgerald ; and Mr. John Davis Ormond now appeared in the House for the first time as the member for Clive.

Only three of the old members for Auckland survived the general election, and eleven new members came in. The surviving three were all strong opponents of the war, the eleven new members were as equally divided as they could be—six opposing and five supporting the war.

Thus the total result of the general election was the return of no less than twenty-six new members, of whom nearly half came from Auckland, yet the net result was to leave the House just as it had been before—as equally divided as it could be on the war policy. Amongst the new members were some few who were destined to be long known and distinguished in the after political struggles of New Zealand :—such as Mr. (afterwards Sir) Harry Atkinson, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Maurice O'Rourke, Messrs.

Reader Wood, J. D. Ormond, and Thomas Dick. During this recess, the long-known names of Dr. Daniel Pollen, Messrs. Henry Sewell, and William Douglas Hall Baillie were added to the list of Legislative Councillors.

By the Provincial Elections at Wellington, which came off in March, the long political war between Dr. Featherstone and the Wakefield party in the Provincial Council was most successfully brought to a close, and Dr. Featherstone restored to even more than his original popularity and power. The Doctor was, without opposition, elected, for the fourth time, to the position of Superintendent, after which a Provincial Council was elected containing all his old friends and only one of his opponents. This enabled him to re-appoint his old Executive, and to get the necessary legislation passed early enough to allow him and his able supporters to get to Auckland in time to enforce their opposition to the unjust and cruel treatment of their old friend Wiremu Kingi.

But, whilst the great questions of war or peace—justice or injustice—capacity or incapacity—were depending upon the vigilance and concentrated intelligence of the electors of New Zealand, a cause of diversion arose in the South which attracted a large share of public interest, and inflicted the second severe blow upon the once flourishing provincial institutions of New Zealand. On this occasion the blow came, not from without, but from within, and gave the strongest possible support to all that had been said and done to curtail the power and influence of the elected provincial superintendents.

The Otago Provincial Council met for the despatch of business on December 12th, 1860. The Council was opened by the Superintendent, Mr. Macandrew, in a long and a remarkably enterprising speech, full of projects fitted to engage the attention of a great and wealthy nation. But the members of the Council were not all inclined to soar so high; and they came to the conclusion, that before replying to such high-flown ideas, they had better condescend to look into their own small affairs, and see what was being done with the little money that did belong to them, as the Auditor's report laid before them was not a little startling.

For this purpose they appointed a committee of five of Mr. Macandrew's own countrymen, who, in six days, presented the Council with a printed report, showing that the Superintendent had been soaring far above all common restraints, and had been as ambitious in his private as he had advised them to be in their public undertakings. As the result of their investigation it appeared that in February and March—being the two months following the Superintendent's election—His Honour had borrowed from Mr. McGlashan, the Provincial Treasurer, the sums of £486 and £600 of public money on the plea of urgent private necessity, and with a promise to restore on the following day. This money had not been repaid when the accounts were audited on the 30th of June, and there was no evidence that it had been paid yet. That an order for £1712, payable to the signatures of Messrs. James Macandrew and W. H. Reynolds was, in consequence of the Superintendent's misrepresentation, paid by the Treasurer to Mr. Macandrew alone and the payment repudiated by Mr. Reynolds. A cheque, given by His Honour to Mr. McGlashan for £835 13s. 4d., was dishonoured at the Bank, and marked "no effects." A balance of £1073, which should have been in the Bank, was said by the Provincial Treasurer to be in the hands of His Honour.

On being examined by the Provincial Council, the Provincial Treasurer told the Council that "he had told the whole truth whilst the Superintendent had adopted the opposite course and refused all explanation. From his long friendship with Mr. Macandrew, and at his urgent request, he had been induced to act as he had done and he now left the whole matter in the hands of the Council." Mr. McGlashan produced some characteristic letters that he had, from time to time, received from the Superintendent, reproaching him for "making such a fuss about nothing." Whilst the Auditors were making up their reports in September, six months after the money had been borrowed without any receipt, and for twenty-four hours only, His Honour wrote to Mr. McGlashan :

“What a pity it is you did not entrust the whole affair to me. I could have polished it off as smoothly as you please. If you would only leave me to manage matters it would be all right still. I regret exceedingly that you should be so much annoyed about this little matter. The Oriental has promised to put me in funds but I cannot well press them for it before they open, although Anderson told me that he would meet my views as soon as he can get the necessary documents from his boxes.”

To the Provincial Council the Superintendent wrote, on December 17th :

“The Superintendent would only add, in conclusion, that assuming that the chief object sought by the promoters of the report to be to get rid of him officially, that object will be obtained in due course without the public business being longer suspended.....It is the intention of the Superintendent to relinquish forthwith.”

On the receipt of the report and evidence, and after the examination of Mr. McGlashan, the Provincial Council unanimously agreed to petition the Governor to remove Mr. Macandrew from the position of Superintendent, and appointed their Speaker to proceed at once to Auckland to lay the petition, with the report and evidence, before the Governor. The Speaker accordingly left for Auckland in the *Lord Ashley* on the following day, and returned, in the following month, with Dr. Knight the Colonial Auditor, who had been appointed by the Governor to enquire into and to report on the Superintendent's proceedings. It was June before Dr. Knight's report was made public, and then it did nothing more than confirm and repeat all that the Commissioners appointed by the Otago Provincial Council had made public six months before. The report contained no practical recommendation, and, as it was not possible to remove Mr. Macandrew from a position that he had ceased to hold, there was practically nothing to recommend and little use in such a tardy report. In the meantime, Mr. Macandrew had replaced the borrowed money, had resigned his office of Superintendent, and had stood for re-election. Although he did not succeed, he was supported by nearly one-third of the recorded votes of the electors.

Whilst the election was impending, the *Otago Colonist* of May 10th wrote:—"Were Mr. Macandrew restored to office, the credit and character of the province would be irretrievably ruined, and corruption and falsehood would permeate through every artery of the body politic. We call upon all who would save our adopted land from becoming a mockery and a by-word to 'Awake, arise, or be for ever fallen.'"

The *Lyttelton Times* of May 11th wrote:—"The impending contest for the Superintendency of Otago involves much more than any election which has yet been held in these islands; for it will affect not only the material prosperity of the province, which is sufficiently important in itself, but also the political future of the whole colony, and the moral character of its people."

As usual in such cases, Mr. Macandrew found no difficulty in attributing the whole affair to some bad feeling or bad motive actuating his accusers. The electors were informed that Mr. Dick wanted to be Superintendent himself; that Mr. Gillies had long wanted to be Treasurer. Major Richardson was, he said, delighted with an opportunity to visit the Governor at Auckland; and Mr. Tarlton and Mr. Walker were the agents of a "political party bitterly opposed to him, with the sole view of carrying their ends by casting doubts upon his integrity as Superintendent of the Province."

"So little mercy shows who needs so much!"

On May 24th—some weeks before the Colonial Auditor's report was made public—the election of the Otago Superintendent came off, with the result that Major Richardson was elected by 292 votes: Macandrew obtaining 189, and McMasters 106.

Whilst all this unpleasant political agitation was annoying the electors of Otago, and greatly damaging the moral reputation of which they and their late Superintendent had been so justly proud, gold, and rumours of gold, were seen and heard in various directions, and every industry was more or less stimulated by the prospect of a rush of gold diggers. In December, 1860, 14,000 sheep were landed in

Otago within ten days, with a large number of cattle and horses, all of which were so soon to be wanted.

Early in the same month, the King Maker, Tamehana Te Wahawa openly declared his intention to advise the active support of his tribe to protect Wiremu Kingi from the unjust persecution he was suffering by the action of the Governor. The well-informed and conscientious King Maker had met Wiremu Kingi, and had most carefully enquired into his claims, with the result that he had not the slightest doubt that Wiremu Kingi not only had a claim upon the Waitara block, but that, as the principal chief, he had the first claim to be consulted before the land could be sold. He consequently decided that the action taken by the Governor, and the cruel persecution of Wiremu Kingi were violations both of Maori laws and customs, and of the Treaty of Waitangi, and must, therefore, be resisted by the Maori king and his subjects.

On Tuesday, February 5th, seven chiefs, who came as delegates from Waikato, Waiuku, Auckland, Thames and Otaki, interviewed the Governor with proposals of peace. Ahipene of Waiuku handed the Governor a document, which he said expressed what the chiefs proposed. The proposals were :—

1st. That the piece of land at Waitara should be set apart, to be afterwards settled by a Court or Whakawakanga.

2nd. That the causes of evils, whether as regards men, the land or property, should be now unloosened or forgiven.

The Governor replied that such proposals were quite inadmissible, as there must be proposals for the recognition of British law for the future, and compensation for the devastation committed at Taranaki, and for the murder of boys at Omata.

Ahipene replied that the chiefs of course expected that there would be questions of different kinds to settle ; but the proper way was to put a stop to bloodshed first, and settle all such details afterwards. He would only "expose himself to ridicule for his presumption if he attempted to arrange all such details with the Governor."

The Governor replied that it was not possible for him to make peace on such terms; that Waikato had gone to Taranaki without a cause, and taken up arms against the Queen; that it was not to be expected that after joining in an insurrection, after spilling so much blood, and after utterly devastating an English settlement, they could obtain an unconditional peace and be at liberty, whenever they pleased, to renew hostilities.

The Taranaki papers, the *Nelson Examiner*, the *Lyttelton Times*, and even the *Auckland Southern Cross*, were still clamouring for revenge, and insisting that the Natives must have "a good thrashing" before any peace could be made with them. The poor Governor was sadly afraid that he might come under the dreadful condemnation of "making peace at any price;" and thus these really friendly and Christian Chiefs were sent away without any hope of arresting the bloodshed they deplored, or of any impartial enquiry into the injustice they were suffering.

Mr. McLean was, however, very unwilling to allow these potential friendly Maoris to be driven to desperation, and obtained leave to go with some friendly Waikato Chiefs to Taranaki, to treat with Tamehana te Wahawa. He arrived there on the 18th of March, just as three soldiers had been killed, and two officers and six soldiers wounded. His mission was so far successful that, on the 20th, Tamehana te Wahawa led off 400 Waikatos on their way home, and hostilities were altogether suspended. The Taranaki and Ngatiruanui retired from Omata to Kaihihi, and Wiremu Kingi, after an interview with Mr. McLean, retired some distance inland.

On the 21st, Mr. McLean returned in a steamer to Auckland, and, after reporting what he had done, the Governor, with the Native Minister and the Attorney General, accompanied him back to Taranaki where they arrived on the 27th of March.

Already the war-loving newspapers had begun to rail against Mr. McLean, and to express their hope that no treaty would be concluded that was not dictated by their

trusted friend the Governor. Wiremu Kingi sent his brave fighting chief, Kapuorua, and his own daughter, to arrange terms for him ; but the friendly offices of the daughter—which were strictly in accordance with the usual Maori custom where peace and friendship were to be offered—were haughtily rejected by the Governor, with the result that the man who had been most cruelly wronged by the war was not included in the offered terms of peace, and not at liberty to support his own claims at the promised enquiry into his right to the land and to the home from which he had been so unjustly driven.

The terms of peace dictated by the Governor were :—

“1. The investigation of the title to, and the survey of, the land at Waitara to be continued and completed without interruption.

“2. Every man to be permitted to state his claims without interference, and my decision, or the decision of such person as I shall appoint, to be conclusive.

“3. All the land in possession of her Majesty's forces, belonging to those who have borne arms against her Majesty, to be disposed of by me as I may think fit.

“4. All guns belonging to the Government to be returned.

“5. All plunder taken from the settlers to be forthwith restored.

“6. The Ngatiawa who have borne arms against the Government must submit to the Queen and to the authority of the law, and not resort to force for the redress of grievances, real or imaginary.

“As I did not use force for the acquisition of land, but for the vindication of the law, and for the protection of her Majesty's native subjects in the exercise of their just rights, I shall divide the land (which I have stated my intention to dispose of) amongst its former owners ; but I shall reserve the sites of the blockhouses and the redoubts, and a small piece of land round each, for the public use, and shall exercise the right of making roads through the Waitara district.

“On your submission to these terms you will come under the protection of the law, and shall enjoy your property,

both lands and goods, without molestation. In conformity with the declaration made on the 29th of November, 1859, the rights of those who prove their title to any part of the piece of land at Waitara will be respected."

Unfortunately, just as the terms of peace were almost concluded, General Cameron and his staff arrived in the *Airedale*, and met the Governor and his Staff at Taranaki on the 30th of March; whilst General Pratt and his Staff left for Melbourne on the 3rd of April. Although General Pratt, like all other British officers, had been generally outwitted by the clever Maori leaders, and had therefore, not been able to accomplish much; he was a brave, intelligent officer, equally respected and trusted by the soldiers and the volunteers. On his return to Melbourne, he received a great ovation and the thanks of both Houses of Parliament.

The arrival of any General, or of any additional forces, just at this critical time, would have been a misfortune to New Zealand; the arrival of such a General as General Cameron would, at any time, have been a misfortune to any country. Perpetually overweighted with a sense of his own dignity and importance; he was as touchy and as intractable as any pampered city alderman. Whilst scorning all advice, he was utterly unable to adapt his proceedings to the country and to the people he had to deal with. He would, to the last, lavish enormous resources upon the most ridiculous preparations to fight the Maoris where they would never come to be fought, whilst he constantly failed to see the most obvious means by which the unencumbered Natives were certain to elude all his costly preparations. Such proceedings always culminated in the maximum of expenditure with the minimum of result.

But, as the General had come, he must of course be employed; so that, on the 8th of April, the terms of peace were altogether altered and put into much harsher language, without a word about investigating the title to the Waitara Block, and all sorts of impossible restorations were now demanded. Most of the soldiers were transferred from Taranaki to Waikato, where war material could be more easily landed, and where the General thought that cannon could be more effectually used and transported.

To a deputation, consisting of Messrs. Richmond, H. Atkinson, C. Brown, Good and Hulke, who had been elected at a public meeting in Taranaki, the Governor stated that "no great time for negotiations would be allowed, and if the terms were not quickly accepted he should put the affair in Major-General Cameron's hands and ask him to do his best."..... "It was," he said, "most unjust that the loyal inhabitants should be left to suffer great loss whilst the rebels went off scot free." No Natives could come under the terms of peace now offered by the Governor without first acknowledging himself to have been a rebel—which Wiremu Kingi never was.

Speaking of the Taranaki refugees, when opening the Nelson Provincial Council on the 11th of May, the Superintendent said: "You generously, and with a confidence for which I am thankful, left it to my discretion in conjunction with my advisers, to advance such sums as the exigencies of the circumstances might require; and it cannot fail to be to you, as it has been to me, a source of much pleasure to know that the sum of £6000, which I advanced before arrangements could be made by the General Government, aided materially to ameliorate the condition of those whose unfortunate position presented so strong a claim to our sympathy and support."

On the 5th of April there was an important auction sale of high class merino sheep by Messrs. Miles and Co. in Christchurch. The sheep had been bred from sheep imported from Spain, Germany and England by Mr. Rich, of Auckland; and their high quality as wool growers was, on this occasion, acknowledged in the most practical way by the experienced wool growers of Australia, who purchased the best animals offered, at prices varying from £60 to £90 each. In noticing these sheep, the *Melbourne Argus* says: "These New Zealand sheep are large and apparently very hardy, besides having remarkably fine fleeces, so that the admixture of this blood promises to be beneficial in every way."

During this month arrangements were completed for the separation of Southland from the province of Otago. The

gold diggings were every day growing in importance, and the residents in Otago were more than satisfied with their prospects, notwithstanding the separation. The *Otago Colonist* of April 12th bids the seceders farewell in a sensible, cheerful, and good-tempered article, in which it says :

“ We need not refer here to the advance we are making in our agricultural and pastoral interest ; we have so frequently alluded to this, especially to the large importations of sheep, that it is only repetition to mention it now ; we may notice, however, that we have loaded the *Chili* and the *Lizzie Spalding* with wool this year, besides sending quantities to Australia, and that the *Melbourne* is now laid on, with the expectation of a full cargo. Our exportation of oats, too, this year will be a considerable item, besides a large quantity both of wheat and oats grown here prepared for home consumption. Dunedin presents all the appearance of a flourishing town. Houses are rising rapidly in all quarters, some of them neat wooden buildings, others imposing stone structures, worthy of any city in Europe. The jetty is crowded day by day with goods landing and loading, and carts receiving and delivering. While, then, we look hopefully and confidently forward to the future of Otago, we must express a sincere hope that the new province may also do well ; we believe that Invercargill could have done better by remaining united, but since the inhabitants of that district think otherwise, we can only wish them every success, and if at any future day they should find that the expenses of self-government are too great for their means, as Hawkes Bay and Marlborough have already found to their cost, we can only say that they will be welcomed back again, perhaps sadder men, on account of the bursting of their bubble, but wiser, from the experience they have gained. And we feel assured that whether they come back or no, it will yet be found that neither Otago nor Invercargill will gain much by the separation.

On the 29th of April, the Superintendent of Canterbury, Mr. W. Sefton Moorhouse, was greeted with the utmost enthusiasm by the citizens of Christchurch on his return

from Melbourne after an absence of three months. He had gone to Melbourne with a strong determination to find some one who would construct his favourite railway; he had succeeded in doing so, and had brought back with him a contractor who was expected to take the contract on better terms than those offered to the contractors who had thrown it up. The enthusiasm of Mr. Moorhouse's reception was greatly enhanced by the fact, that, in his absence, he had been defeated as a candidate for the House of Representatives, and had been roughly abused by Mr. Fitzgerald for taking so much responsibility on his own shoulders, and for getting the province into debt, difficulties, and discredit. But, before his return, the heavy land sales had put the province out of debt, and the gold diggings had improved the revenue, as well as the credit, of the whole colony; so that the banks were quite willing to let him get into debt again. The land and the gold—his friends and his foes—had all contributed to justify his ever-sanguine proceedings; so that, if by some magic wand he had bored a tunnel through the obstructing mountain in a single night, he could not have looked or felt more happy than he did as he now stood before his cheering constituents. He had, no doubt, been too bold, too sanguine, and too independent of constitutional control—but he had been successful, and, in such proceedings, success is far more popular than prudence. In his happiness, he most truly told his admirers that "he had got into debt and would do so again." He also told them that he "had extracted £25,000 from the bank when nobody else could get a copper." He would say to them:—"Speculate, but be guided by reason; trust to providence and you will have no cause to repent."

The proposed agreements of His Honour, so enthusiastically endorsed by the people, were soon confirmed by the Provincial Council, hastily called together for the purpose.

An agreement was ratified with a firm of Melbourne contractors, Messrs. Holmes and Co., to construct the railway between Lyttelton and Christchurch for the sum of £240,500, and to complete the same within five years under a penalty of £20,000.

An agreement was also authorized for the sale of railway debentures by the Union Bank of Australia, and for large advances on the debentures pending their sale in London.

The proposals were carried in the Council by a majority of two to one. The names recorded on the last division were :

	AYES, 10.	
Messrs. Cookson	Harsten	Thompson
Davis	Ollivier	Ward
Dobbs	Potts	
Duncan	Rhodes	
	NOES, 5.	
Messrs. Alport	Ross	
Birch	Wyatt	
Fyfe		

Having sanctioned his proposals, the Council carried, without division, an Address to the Superintendent, in which they said :

“The Provincial Council desires to express to your Honor their high sense of the energy and of the ability which has distinguished you in the prosecution of this work. To your untiring perseverance they are indebted for the progress of a final accomplishment of a work which, when completed, they believe will tend in a great degree to promote the future commercial prosperity of the province.”

As spokesman for the Opposition, Mr. Ross said :

“It was an unfair proceeding on the part of a crushing majority to expect them to join in an address expressing feelings of extreme satisfaction at the energy displayed by the Superintendent in prosecuting a scheme which he, for one, believed to be fraught with ruin to the real interests of the country. He acknowledged that wonderful energy had been displayed, but lamented that such energy and so much time and talent had been wasted on so mischievous a matter.”

About the close of 1860, the Auckland Provincial Council devoted a good deal of attention to the State Education ; but all came to an end without any apparent progress, as it led to nothing better than the adoption of state aid to schools conducted by a few of the largest denominations.

On Saturday, May 25th, the first number of the Christchurch *Press* was published; and, only three days afterwards, the elements vainly endeavoured to extinguish the *Lyttelton Times*. On the 28th, that paper was unable to make its usually respectable appearance in consequence of a flood which covered the press and machine rooms four feet deep, and by which every article in the room was soaked and covered with a thick coat of slime. But this only affected one number of that valiant journal, as, in the following week, it had not only recovered from its cold douche, but was so completely restored to vigour that it was able to start an entirely new industry under the heading "A Corrector of the Press."

The unprovoked and entirely unnecessary war had now completely desolated the salubrious and fertile plains of Taranaki, and dispersed its resolute and industrious population. All the other provinces in the North Island had suffered more or less. Large sums had been expended in preparations for the defence of the centres of population: whilst the outsettlers were entirely at the mercy of the much-irritated Maoris. The settlers in the country districts of Wellington were only protected by the sense of gratitude which the best-informed Maoris felt for the just and generous private and public conduct of the brave and eloquent Superintendent, as well as that of Mr. Fox and of other leading settlers.

The provinces in the South Island suffered little from the war except by the curtailment of their revenues which the direct and indirect returns from the extending gold-fields enabled them to bear without inconvenience. The good prices obtained for sheep, wool, cattle, horses, and corn fostered universal prosperity, especially in Otago and Canterbury, where useful land was abundant and in good demand. Nelson was necessarily kept back in the race by the fraudulent action of the Wakefields, in restricting the Nelson settlers to a locality where no extent of agricultural land could be obtained; in consequence of which a large proportion of her best settlers were driven to enrich the more southern and younger provinces by their experience, their industry, and their enterprise. For the same reason, that

province derived little or no permanent advantage from the large number of refugees from Taranaki which she so promptly invited, and, for some years, so generously sustained. Marlborough was prevented from acquiring a population equal to her great natural resources by her bad land regulations, which practically divided her best land amongst the few who were most largely entrusted with the legislation which favoured and promoted that monopoly.

The many Nelson settlers who were thus early drawn off from that province by the abundant and accessible agricultural land to be obtained in Canterbury, and the rush of Australians, attracted by the gold-fields of Otago, greatly hastened the progress of those provinces, and led to the early reduction of the national and denominational preponderance aimed at by their founders. But the good start that was given to the Anglicans, in the one case, and to the Presbyterians, in the other, combined with the natural law of attraction, by which birds of a feather flock together, will long give to each of those provinces, but more especially to Otago, a distinctive character of its own which will be easily and pleasantly recognised by those who may be seeking to rest in the faith of their fathers, and to hear occasionally the shibboleths of their native village.

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## CHAPTER XL

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1861.

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“Who pants for glory finds but short repose,  
A breath revives him or a breath o'erthrows.”

THE third New Zealand Parliament, now numbering fifty-three members—twenty-six of whom were new men—met, for the first time, in Auckland, on Monday, June the 3rd, 1861. Only thirty-five members presented themselves to be sworn in on that day. All the Wellington members were absent, having been delayed in their passage by an accident to the *Stormbird*.

Notwithstanding a very courageous and vigorous maiden speech from the young member for the town of Onehunga, George Maurice O'Rorke, and regardless of the public promise well known to have been made to the Picton electors by Dr. Monro, that gentleman was elected Speaker before the Wellington members had been able to take their seats. Mr. O'Rorke would have supported the Doctor, and probably the Wellington members would have done so too; but Mr. O'Rorke very properly objected to a proceeding that deprived a large and important portion of the members, who were absent through no fault of their own, from any voice in an election of so much importance to both sides of the House. The Doctor was proposed by Mr. F. Dillon Bell and seconded by Mr. Carleton. No other candidate being proposed, he was declared duly elected. Before sitting down in the chair His Honour

said, "I will not attempt to repay you for the honour you have conferred upon me in the ready coin of promises which are so easy to make, and unfortunately so difficult of performance."

His Honour was handsomely congratulated by the Premier, who claimed to have known him for twenty years; and his appointment was accepted with more than usual pleasure by the Governor, who said, "I congratulate the House of Representatives on the choice which in your instance they have made of a Speaker, and readily confirm their choice."

The opening speech of the Governor was hopelessly unconciliatory and bombastic in its tone. If all the Maoris in New Zealand had been in iron cages or cringing at his feet, or if Wiremu Kingi's claim to the Waitara block had been impartially proved to be baseless, fraudulent and presumptuous, the Governor could not have offered the Maoris terms of peace more insulting, more incomprehensible or impossible than those which are thus described by himself in this speech to Parliament:—

"The terms offered to the Taranaki and Ngatiruanui tribes will be laid before you. Their aggravated offences can only be pardoned on their giving such tangible proofs of submission as will at once afford a means of reparation for their unprovoked aggressions, and be a memorial to themselves of the punishment due to lawless violence.

"The declaration which I have made to the Waikato tribes will also be laid before you. It requires submission without reserve to the Queen's sovereignty and to the authority of the law; whilst from those who have taken up arms, I have insisted upon restitution of plunder, and upon compensation for losses sustained at their hands by Her Majesty's subjects, Native or European."

Even the bellicose Sir Osbourne Gibbes, who clamoured for war and denounced all talk of peace, was obliged to admit that nothing could "be so absurd as an idea which involved the restoration of the thousands of cattle and of sheep which had been destroyed or consumed by the rebels."

After all the scorn that had been poured upon the possibility of any honest claim to the Waitara block by

Wiremu Kingi, the Governor was now made to express, in a most laboriously worded paragraph, his willingness to have Wiremu Kingi's right to the Waitara block investigated from "the point at which it was forcibly interrupted."

Mr. Swainson took this part of the speech in hand with his usual power of refined satire, and said, "He must express his admiration of the moral courage displayed by the Governor in thus publicly making the avowal; and he felt assured that the same manly spirit which had dictated that avowal would secure that the true points at issue would be fully inquired into, and that the inquiry would be submitted to a tribunal to be so constituted as to deserve the public confidence."

Although not one of the twenty-six new members, Mr. Jollie, the member for Timaru, was selected by the Ministers to prepare and to propose in the House the Address in Reply. He was a practised penman, accustomed to draw up formal documents, an eager seeker for place and patronage, and as such, much too heavy-handed with his flattery. He had, in the previous session, given utterance to a high-flown speech on the Maori War. Such a man was not well chosen for such a task at such a critical time; as he was sure to overdo the part assigned to him—to hold the Governor up too high, and to trample too thoughtlessly on the Maori character of which he was so utterly ignorant. He told the House that the Governor's only fault was his excessive humanity; that General Cameron was a man of experience and of rare ability; that his constituents in the South Island (only twenty of whom had voted for him) were quite willing to bear the expense of the war, "but the indispensable condition is that you seize the present opportunity and take immediate action; that you put away mere palliatives and do really something which will end the present disturbance and put upon a different footing the relations which exist between us and the natives." He described Wiremu Kingi as a sulky, ungrateful savage, ever ready to side with the enemies of the Queen, and added;—

"Marauders and murderers like those men are not likely to observe any terms. I am sure that nothing we wish to exact from them will be obtained but by compulsion; we

may compel by the sight of the axe, the hangman, or by a charge of bayonets, but not otherwise—the proper way to deal with them is in arms. We shall require something of the fire and energy of Napier in his conquest of Scinde, and, as in the conquest of ancient Britain, the varied genius, the patient endurance and indomitable valour of Agricola. But, in accomplishing these results, you will be conferring permanent benefits not only on the Colony, but also on the Imperial Government and will be blessed by your remotest posterity.”

There was perhaps no man in the House so very far from being either a Napier or an Agricola as Mr. Jollie. He had never been braced in the pure air of an open country, and knew as little about the surroundings of a country settler's life as he knew of the Maori character. Mr. Fox, on the other hand, whose courage was on a par with his humanity, and decidedly greater than his caution, was, through all his life, a constant traveller who knew every feature of the country, and, by frequent friendly contact with the Maoris, was well-informed on every phase of their character, and well-understood how many thousands of men, women, and children in New Zealand were entirely at their mercy. In a contemptuous notice of Mr. Jollie's "tall talk" he said :—

“As a representative from a province containing a large number of Natives, he must protest against the language used by the honourable member who moved the Address—that the Natives were men disloyal to the British supremacy, opposed to the introduction of our laws, and that a number were desirous of driving the settlers out of the country. He conscientiously believed there was not a word of truth in it. He believed the honourable gentleman was partly misled by trading politicians, and partly also from a want of local knowledge; for it was a notorious fact that honourable gentlemen from the south were deplorably ignorant of northern affairs..... He had had the honour of an interview with His Excellency yesterday, with the other representatives from his province, on the subject of the colonial defences; and the result of that interview was to impress upon him the fact that the Executive were not in a

position to 'carry into effect measures necessary for the maintenance of Her Majesty's authority in these Islands, and for the suppression of armed insurrection.'..... The conclusion at which His Excellency had arrived at the interview to which he (Mr. Fox) had referred was :—That, with the force at his disposal or that might be placed at his disposal, he could protect the centres of population, but must leave the settlers at the outposts to protect themselves as they could, or else take refuge in the large towns so guarded. He (Mr. Fox) believed that, in the event of a general war on the King party, they were in a position literally and absolutely to do nothing more. And not only were they short of troops, but, as regarded the province to which he belonged, they were without the means of protecting themselves. There were twelve thousand souls distributed over an area of seven million acres, living in small hamlets and scattered communities, at a great distance from the centres that were to be protected by the troops. Of this population four thousand were capable of bearing arms; and yet there were only eleven hundred stand of arms for the whole of the people. There was nothing for it, therefore, in the event of a general war on the King movement, but for the out-settlers to flee to the towns of Wellington and Wanganui and seek protection under the guns of the forts. That would not be, he contended, maintaining Her Majesty's supremacy or putting down armed insurrection."

The reckless proposals of the ever-improvident and incapable Governor, as expressed at this interview with the Wellington members, are more fully narrated by Mr. Fox in his *War in New Zealand*, written five years later. As there could be no higher authority than Mr. Fox on this subject, we quote his own words :—

"Immediately after the truce was made, in May, 1861, the Governor called on the natives by proclamation to make submission and take the oath of allegiance. Very few did; and, as the year wore on, he made his intention known of invading Waikato to compel submission, and punish those tribes which had joined in the Taranaki disturbances. The Assembly met again in June, 1861. It

was now winter ; but by September (the New Zealand spring) it was understood operations would commence. General Cameron had arrived, and had expressed his anxiety to find some employment for his soldiers. To the old colonists of the Northern Island the prospect was most gloomy, particularly to those in its southern portion. We were well aware of the preparations which the natives had made for war. We knew that we ourselves were entirely unprepared, almost without arms, untrained, unorganized, and scattered over large tracts, with our families and properties exposed to attack on every side. The Wellington members sought an interview with the Governor, and asked him if it was true that he intended to invade Waikato. He said it was, and that he had no doubt that the first shot fired there would be the signal for a general rising all over the island. We called his attention to our unprepared and unprotected state. He said we must build redoubts and defend ourselves, as the colonists at Taranaki had done. As that settlement had been swept as bare as the floor, we thought this a poor prospect, and told him so. He replied that 'War is not made with rose-water.' After this we said no more, though we thought a good deal ; for it appeared to us that the colonisation of twenty years was about to be destroyed, and that ruin was preparing for the colonists of the northern island. And had the intended invasion of Waikato been attempted with the small military force under General Cameron's command, and with the colony so unprepared as it was at that date, nothing but the most fearful disasters could have ensued. If, with nearly 15,000 men, and two years' preparation, he was barely able to drive back the invading Waikatos from Auckland in 1863, what would have been our position if the invasion of their country had been attempted by us with a force of barely 3000 men, and the colony altogether unprepared? We may well be thankful that we were spared the calamities that must have inevitably followed.

"Before, however, the season was sufficiently advanced to admit of military operations, two important changes took place. The War Ministry was defeated in the Assembly,

and one which its opponents termed "the Peace-at-any-price Ministry" took its place. The majority which had supported the Governor in what he had done had evidently no confidence in what he was about to do. As, however, he would, in invading Waikato, have acted on his own responsibility as an imperial officer, the change of Ministry would probably have had little effect but for the other event referred to. This was his own removal from the Government. The Home Government found the position of the colony becoming serious. It determined to entrust the reins to other hands, and by a despatch full of complimentary language, expressing approval of what he had done, and continued confidence in him, the Governor was informed that he was superseded by Sir George Grey, formerly Governor of New Zealand, and then of the Cape of Good Hope. The colony had now breathing-time, and the hope revived that we might yet escape the horrors of an insurrection of three-fourths of the native race."

In replying to Mr. Jollie's aspersions on the Native character, Mr. Fitzherbert said :

"He entreated those gentlemen who had left safe firesides, where neither their wives, nor their children, nor their flocks were at the mercy of the Natives they were so ready to insult and to provoke, to remember that they were not talking of a war in China but of a war in New Zealand; and should pause before they pressed upon honourable members, who were exposed to all those risks, a policy which might be fatal to many, as well as to the best interests of the colony. The assertion that we were living at the mercy of the aboriginal race was true, and reflected the greatest credit upon them. What greater panegyric could be pronounced on the Native race than was contained in the statement of fact that, for the last twelve months, we had given them every provocation yet we had been living amongst them with the knowledge in their possession that we were in their power, and yet that they forebore to use that power?"

But the House was not in a humour to expend its energies in debating an Address in Reply. More earnest, more practical business was before them; so that the

Address in Reply was passed without division early on the same afternoon that it was proposed.

It had now become evident that the existence of the War Ministry was dependent on a single vote; and the excitement and the efforts on both sides became intense. In the House or in the country there was no warmer partisan than the Governor himself; and the efforts of the ladies at Government House were brought to play in full force upon any member supposed to be still amenable to influence. The Governor's declaration of his intention to attack the Waikatos and the Maori King, made to the deputation of Wellington members, had filled them with unfeigned alarm, and had made the removal of the War Ministry a question, not only of political, but also of literal life or death to them and to their neighbours.

Two weeks after receiving the Address in Reply, the Governor sent down a message to the House, which was declared to be on his own responsibility as the representative of the Imperial Government, demanding "a full and cordial co-operation both in men and money," and informing the House that "unless he is assured of its continuance, the Governor is not prepared to instruct Lieutenant-General Cameron to employ the Imperial forces." This message practically brought on the debate of No Confidence under conditions supposed to be favourable to the War Ministry, and, by the two principal combatants, Stafford and Fox, the message was debated with more energy than the No Confidence motion itself. In proposing the acceptance of the Governor's terms, Mr. Stafford came out in an entirely new character. Instead of his usual cool, deliberate, and perfectly unexcited attitude, he endeavoured to display an energy and excitement quite unnatural to him, throwing himself from side to side so as to touch the floor with his hands, as he exclaimed:—"Sir, are we Britions? Is it possible that it has become to us a question of pounds, shillings and pence, as to whether we shall, or shall not, be ruled, enslaved, tolerated or exterminated by a handful of uncivilized men? Shall it ever be said that the representatives of the men of New Zealand hesitated for one moment when such a question was placed before them? If it has

come to that, God forbid that I should be Premier of such a colony! Responsible Minister indeed! I should esteem it no honour to be a responsible minister in such a colony, or to be in any way concerned in governing a country whose people were afraid to risk, in a cause affecting the honour, the liberty, the very existence of themselves, their children, and their children's children, one ounce of their own blood or one pound of their own money."

In reply to this very unwonted and decidedly awkward attempt at oratorical effect by Mr. Stafford, Mr. Fox coolly said :

"The House is not called on to resent the uncouth or contemptuous treatment which the Maori Chiefs may have accorded to the second- or third-rate clerks which have been sent to negotiate with them. I cannot feel any great surprise at an uncivil reply, which may have been sent even to His Excellency the Governor, by men who could not be expected to be quite as well posted in matters of etiquette as ourselves, nor do I care very much, sir, even for an occasional war dance such as the Colonial Secretary has just now so successfully imitated on the floor of this House."

After some very acrimonious speeches had been made on both sides of the House as to the reply to be returned to His Excellency's message, the debate was adjourned from the 26th to the 28th of June, when the Government avoided defeat by adopting an amendment, proposed by Mr. Saunders, which had been printed and unanimously adopted at an Opposition caucus. That amendment entirely altered the unlimited character of the assistance to be promised to the Governor, and left unaltered the existing restrictions as to the employment of the militia; so that the reply thus amended was adopted by both sides of the House without further debate and without a division.

Five days after the Reply had thus been passed, Mr. Fox proposed, in a long and very able speech, "That this House has no confidence in His Excellency's responsible advisers." Mr. Stafford's reply was unusually long, but quite in his usual cool and argumentative style. Both leaders went over a great deal of the old ground that had

been traversed in 1860, and neither of their speeches moved either side of the House so much as that made by the Colonial Treasurer, who summed up the defence of the Government. His speech was by far the ablest and best in the debate, and the best he ever made. Whilst Stafford was only nominally responsible for the War Policy which he coolly and officially defended, Mr. Richmond was called on to defend what was really his own policy, and all his heart and soul were thrown into the defence. His warm and generous nature imparted a softening influence to his eloquent words, which sometimes brought tears to his own eyes as well as to the eyes of his audience, and made that speech a living, moving force which no report of it was ever likely to reproduce. His long speech concluded in something like these words:—"I do not think the honourable member for Rangitikei can desire office, however much he may desire victory, and it must be evident to all that nothing but the clearest sense of duty could have induced us to hold office so long as we have done. The honourable member cannot now take office as the leader of an ultra-provincial or an ultra-democratic party. The momentous issues of peace or war, of life or death; affecting not only both races in this country, but the honour and reputation of the British nation, must be the all-absorbing claim on his attention, and will bring with it difficulties which he has underrated in the past, but which we shall not underrate in any estimate we may form of each honest effort he may make for the salvation of this endangered colony. We are more than ready to lay down the stewardship we have so long administered, and I humbly hope that, in doing so, we are not unmindful of a greater account than that which we have to-day to render to this House. I only ask each member of this House to do his duty. Let us all, at this perilous juncture, do our duty; so that we may firmly and hopefully abide the issue, whatever that issue may be."

In exercising his right of reply, Mr. Fox made no attempt to refute the able speech of the Colonial Treasurer. It was not the sort of speech to be met by banter or ridicule; and Mr. Fox knew that every vote had been secured, and

would be changed by no further arguments ; whilst, with a known majority of only one, any delay was dangerous.

The No Confidence debate began on Wednesday, the 3rd of July, and was concluded on Friday, the 5th. The names recorded on that division were 24 for, and 23 against the No Confidence motion.

AYES, 24.

Brandon	Graham, G.	Monro	Williamson
Carleton	Graham, R.	O'Rorke	White
Carter	Henderson	Renall	Wood
Dick	Kettle	Rhodes	<i>Tellers</i>
Eyes	Mantell	Saunders	Fox
Featherston	McGlashan	Taylor, C. J.	Taylor, N. W
Fitzherbert			

NOES, 23.

Bell	Fraser	Ormond	Weld
Butler	Hall	Richmond, A. J.	Wells
Cookson	Jollie	Richmond, C. W.	Wilson
Creyke	Mason	Rowley	<i>Tellers.</i>
Domett	Nixon	Russell	Curtis
Firth	O'Neill	Stafford	Richmond, J. C.

As the Speaker, Dr. Monro, was known to be strongly in favour of the Government and the war, the 48 members present were exactly equally divided, and Mr. Fox found himself in the nominal seat of power with enormous difficulties before him, and the smallest possible numerical strength behind him.

Within an hour after the division had been taken, the resignation of the Stafford Ministry was in the hands of the Governor. It was afternoon on the following day, Saturday, when Mr. Fox received the Governor's letter informing him of their resignation, and requesting his attendance and assistance to form a new Ministry. Mr. Fox immediately waited on the Governor, and accepted the task of forming a Ministry. The day was far gone when he had concluded his consultation with His.

Excellency ; so that nothing further was done until Monday morning, when he called a meeting of all those who had voted with him, and, in the presence of them all, proposed that he should take the office of Attorney-General and Leader of the House ; Dr. Featherston, Colonial Secretary ; Mr. Saunders, Colonial Treasurer ; Mr. Mantell, Native Minister ; Messrs. Williamson and Henderson to have seats in the Executive without office. Mr. Saunders declined to accept any office, and Mr. Reader Wood was chosen to take the place of Colonial Treasurer. The position of Postmaster-General and Commissioner of Crown Lands was kept open for Mr. Crosbie Ward, who had not yet arrived from Lyttelton. It was understood that Dr. Featherston would not give up the Superintendency of Wellington, and would only hold the position of Colonial Secretary until Mr. Fox could be relieved from the Attorney-Generalship by the appointment of Mr. Sewell. So that, early in the following month (August 2nd) the Fox Ministry stood :—

Mr. Fox, Premier and Colonial Secretary.

Mr. Wood, Treasurer and Commissioner of Customs.

Mr. Mantell, Minister for Native Affairs.

Mr. Sewell, Attorney-General.

Mr. Ward, Postmaster-General and Commissioner of Crown Lands.

Messrs. Williamson, Henderson and Pollen, seats on the Executive without office.

Thus, for the second time, Mr. Fox found himself in the difficult position of a Premier without a working majority in the House of Representatives ; and, at the same time, called upon to meet difficulties far greater than those which surrounded him in 1856. The difficulties were so great and so apparent that there was probably no man in the House who really wished to take his place ; so that any division on any Government question was avoided for some three or four weeks. Without any desire to hold office himself, Mr. Fox and the majority of his supporters were driven by an intelligent regard for their own safety, and that of their constituents, to strenuously oppose the return to power of the War Ministry, and to prevent the

Governor from carrying out his madly-proclaimed intention of invading the Waikato, and thereby arousing the active hostility of the whole Native race.

But, three weeks after the War Ministry had resigned, the great danger that the well-informed residents in the North Island so much dreaded was set at rest by the receipt, on Saturday, July 27th, of a despatch from the Duke of Newcastle, informing Governor Browne that Sir George Grey had been appointed as his successor, and had been directed to proceed from the Cape to New Zealand with the least possible delay. In this despatch, Governor Browne was let down as easily as possible: the despatch was almost dishonestly courteous; but still there was no possibility of mistaking the estimate that the Duke had formed of what had resulted, and probably would result, from the actions of a Governor who had so rashly blundered into the Taranaki War, and was prepared to extend it to a war with the whole Maori race. The Duke wrote:—

“I recognize with pleasure the sound and impartial judgment, the integrity, intelligence, and anxiety for the public good which have characterized your government of the colony for nearly six years. The present conjuncture, however, renders it necessary for Her Majesty’s Government to leave no expedient untried which is calculated to arrest the course of events, now unhappily so unpromising, and, at the same time, to provide for the future difficulties which there is only too much reason to anticipate, even if the war should happily be soon brought to a conclusion.

“Having regard therefore to the peculiar qualifications of Sir George Grey, now governing the Cape of Good Hope, I have felt that I should be neglecting a chance of diverting a more general and disastrous war if I omitted to avail myself of the remarkable authority which will attach to his name and character as Governor of New Zealand.”

Personally and socially no New Zealand Governor ever cultivated or obtained so much influence over the individual members of the House of Representatives as was secured by the indefatigable attentions paid to members by Governor and Mrs. Browne; and the general sympathy caused by the Governor’s sudden humiliation extended far beyond the

circle of his political supporters ; so that the barely-defeated Ministers naturally hoped that such private good-will, now intensified by the Governor's humiliation, would sufficiently influence the evenly-balanced division list as to show a majority on the other side.

Two days after the Duke of Newcastle's letter had been received in the House, Mr. C. W. Richmond, far more on the Governor's account than on that of his own or his party, informed the Government that they might expect some serious opposition from him and his friends ; and, on Thursday, the 1st day of August, Mr. Richmond proposed, and Mr. Stafford seconded, a vote of No Confidence. In proposing this vote of censure, Mr. Richmond deprecated long speeches, and no long speeches were made ; so that, although thirteen members spoke, the division was taken before 10 p.m. on the same day that the motion was proposed—and proved that no one had been converted on either side. Four more votes were recorded than were present on the 5th of July ; but they were placed two on each side, and still left the bare majority of one in favour of the Fox Ministry. The young Major Harry Atkinson had come up from the Grey and Bell district to the help of his brother-in-law, Richmond, and Mr. Colenso, from the new province of Napier, voted with him. Mr. Ward had arrived from Lyttelton, and Mr. Harrison from Wanganui, prepared to support Mr. Fox ; so that the division, instead of being 24 and 23, was now 26 and 25.

Ten days after the arrival of the Duke of Newcastle's despatch, the Fox Government was defeated, by a majority of four, on the question of the repeal or suspension of the New Provinces Act ; but the amendment, that the Bill be read that day six months, had been proposed by Mr. Carleton, who was a leading supporter of the Government, and the rejection was not treated as a Government defeat ; as the importance of every other question was overshadowed by that of peace or war. On a similar proposal, the views of the Government were defeated in the Legislative Council also, by a majority of one.

With such an equal division of parties, no Government could make any effectual progress with legislation, or hope

to succeed in any important executive work, so long as the House was sitting and the change of Governors impending. This fact was recognised by the members of the late Government, and, after their second defeat, there was a general feeling that the Government in power must soon be set at liberty to go to work with the new Governor, and to give the new policy a fair trial.

On Tuesday, the 27th of August, eleven days before the House was prorogued, Mr. Domett proposed a complimentary Address to Governor Browne on the approaching departure of His Excellency. There was nothing unusual about the Address except that it was brought in by the Opposition and not by the Government, and no one but Mr. Domett himself claimed any responsibility for its preparation. The compliments were all of the usual kind, and expressed in the usual language ; but Mr. Domett said that " he had been led by his knowledge of the views of many in the House to couch the Address in as moderate terms as possible ; for, if he had expressed his own opinion of His Excellency, the language would have been ten times stronger than it was. His Excellency had made a most gallant stand against those men in the old country known as the Exeter Hall party, whose machinations had been detrimental to the best interests of the settlers in the colony, and detrimental also to the best interests of the Natives of New Zealand. Their doctrine of humanitarianism met a check from His Excellency, Governor Browne, who felt it to be as sacred a duty to look after the interests of the white settlers in New Zealand as to look after the Natives to the neglect of the Europeans. This in his (Mr. Domett's) opinion was a much more sacred duty and it had not been forgotten by His Excellency, for which the thanks of the colony should be tendered to him, and on account of which future colonists would thank him with grateful hearts."

But, although the form and language of the Address were commonplace, the Opposition to it was most unusual and significant, and far more than destroyed any value that such an Address could have had in itself. The Opposition confined their objections to one word, and that was the

word "enlightened" which they asked to have struck out. They were quite willing, for the sake of unanimity, to adopt all the other adjectives that Mr. Domett had employed. They would say that the Governor was most courteous, amiable, honest, active, and unselfish, and that he had the very best intentions; but to say that his administration was wise and enlightened would be to condemn their own opposition to his policy and to falsify the history of the disastrous Taranaki war, with all its long train of miseries, calamities, and debt. They would not unnecessarily wound the feelings of the departing and humiliated Governor—they could and they did walk out of the House, leaving only one of their number to act as teller—but, to say that the Governor who ordered the first attack on the brave and loyal Wiremu Kingi was *enlightened* was too much to ask from intelligent and responsible men, whose vote would stand recorded to their own condemnation.

Mr. Domett at first consented to withdraw the untruthful word; but he was overruled by bolder or less responsible men, with the result that the valedictory Address to Governor Browne, although passed by a majority of 26, was only supported by half the members of the House.

In the Council, a very judiciously-worded address, which said nothing about enlightenment or intelligence, was passed without opposition or debate. On the 3rd of September, the Council passed, without a division, a resolution proposed by Mr. Tancred, who, it will be remembered, was placed at the bottom of the poll when seeking election in a triangular contest as the first Superintendent of Canterbury. His resolution was thus worded:—"In the opinion of this Council the system of appointing Superintendents of provinces by election is attended by grave inconveniences, and is inconsistent with the proper working of Government."

The courteous, although humiliating, despatch from the Duke of Newcastle recalling Governor Browne was resented, in no uncertain language, by his late Ministers, and now irresponsible flatterers; but it was replied to by the Governor himself with great judgment and good taste.

He assured the Duke most heartily that Sir George Grey should receive every assistance and all the information that he could give him, and admitted, without any reservation, that the appointment of a Governor "who has so much personal influence with the Maoris, and is so deservedly beloved by them, affords the best hope of a peaceful solution of the present difficulty." Complimentary, though somewhat guarded, Addresses, in which Mrs. Browne was very sincerely and heartily included, were presented to the Governor both by Europeans and Maoris. He was the first to meet and welcome Sir George Grey when he landed, and few Governors have been more sincerely regretted by a large circle of grateful personal friends, notwithstanding the heavy legacy of debt, difficulty, disaster, and danger that he was leaving behind him.

Sir George Grey arrived in Auckland on September 26th, 1861, Governor Browne sailed for Sydney six days after the arrival of his successor, and soon afterwards was appointed to be Governor of Tasmania.

Great were the hopes and expectations that Sir George Grey would again effect the happy transformation, from war to peace, from distrust to confidence, from poverty to prosperity, that he had so promptly effected in 1846; but such hopes were doomed to be very slowly and very partially realized. Sir George Grey was still as capable, as courageous, as confident, as conciliatory as of old; but his surroundings had all been changed, and changed for the worse. The cruel, the deliberate, the long-continued injustice inflicted upon Wiremu Kingi and his tribe by a Governor appointed by the Queen, and represented to them as still enjoying her confidence, had broken the Maoris' charmed belief in the justice of England's Queen. Sir George was still a Sampson; but he was a Sampson whose locks had been shorn. The natives saw that he had come back to them without his former power, and with the same dependence upon the white men's runanga that they had despised so much in Governor Browne. They knew that he had now lost the strong arm and the wise council of their great chief Te Whero Whero. But, worse than all, the power he had used so effectively in 1846, as the

Governor, the Premier, and the Commander-in-Chief combined in one capable man, was now allotted to Sir George Grey, to Mr. Fox, and to General Cameron, each of whom had to be consulted, and, if need be, convinced and conciliated, before any important step could be decided on. Under such conditions, neither fighting nor peace-making could be successfully conducted, especially as the three powers very soon lost, in a remarkable degree, all respect for, or confidence in, each other. The bellicose newspapers still succeeded in making peace unpopular and impossible; so that some of Mr. Fox's own party were demanding impossible conditions of peace, and Mr. Fox himself was, as usual, not altogether proof against the promptings of those friends who surrounded him. Sir George Grey chafed under the unwonted fetters which now thwarted him at every turn. The haughty General demanded the most lavish expenditure of money in any direction he chose, whilst each encounter with the Maoris only served to prove how inferior he was in sagacity to the penniless chiefs who opposed him.



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