

With the children of the wild

William Colenso's
journeys in Northland
1834–1843

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Introduction

“Prithee, child” said Dr. Busby, “who made thee a Nonconformist?”

“Truly, Sir, you made me one, for you taught me those things that hindered me from conforming,”

— (Dean Stanley’s *History of Westminster Abbey*, p.448.)¹

William Colenso was a Cornishman, born 17 November 1811 in Penzance, the eldest of eight children, a “replacement child” for an older William who had died in infancy. He was educated well at Penzance Grammar School until he was 15 when he began a printing apprenticeship at St Ives – where he walked every week from Penzance. His adolescent diaries are full of religious zeal, rumination, self doubt and guilt.

He completed his apprenticeship and went to lodge with his brother Samuel in London, where he was employed by Richard Watts, printer for the Church Missionary Society. In London he attended a number of churches and joined prayer and Bible groups. He was a fastidious and uncompromising young man. At Watts’s offices, Colenso composited, printed and bound accounts of missionary work from all over the world, including reports from New Zealand.

He wrote anonymous pieces for the *Pilot*, a Christian magazine for sailors and Watts, who printed the magazine, recognised Colenso’s writing. He encouraged the young man to seek missionary work through the Society.

Colenso met Josiah Pratt, founder of the CMS (one of my great great great grandfathers), and Dandeson Coates, then its secretary. Colenso applied to be printer for the Church of England mission in New Zealand.

¹ Quoted by Colenso at the beginning of his 1883 *Autobiography*.

He sailed for Sydney in the *Prince Regent*, met Samuel Marsden there, boarded the leaky old barque *Blackbird* for New Zealand and arrived in the Bay of Islands at the end of 1833, a naïve stammering² 22 year old who now found he was expected to be a preacher as well as a printer. Over the following years the output from his printing office was enormous – and enormously important in our history.

But he also travelled extensively in Northland – preaching, praying, observing, collecting – and made two journeys to Poverty Bay, walking back to Paihia. He became fluent in te reo: his early diaries are full of new words and phrases and their meanings. At Waimate Bishop Selwyn would make him his “Professor of Māori”.

The botanist Alan Cunningham met and befriended him at Paihia in 1838, and though Colenso had spent Christmas Day in 1835 with Charles Darwin from the visiting *Beagle*, it was probably Cunningham who sparked Colenso’s interest in science and in particular, botany. He sent the first of over 6000 specimens to the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew in 1840, the same year Wilkes, D’Urville and Dieffenbach visited the Bay of Islands.

Lady Jane Franklin, wife of the Governor of Tasmania, gave him further encouragement (and a microscope) at her visit in 1841 and in the same year the man who was to become his lifelong correspondent and mentor, Joseph Hooker, arrived with HMS *Terror* and *Erebus*.

His first scientific paper was published in Tasmania in 1842. The newly arrived Bishop Selwyn thought he needed

2 Years later Colenso wrote in his “Autobiography” that he prayed constantly (*inter alia*) “to know the Maori tongue that I might be able to read and speak it fluently and to preach to them in it, for I suffered much (and before I left home) from nervous stammering...”. See *eColenso* October 2014.

“pruning” and restricted his preaching to mere catechising, but he enjoyed giving sermons so he applied to study for Holy Orders.

Selwyn insisted he marry, so in 1843 he married Elizabeth Fairburn; it would not be a happy union.

This then was Colenso; a plain man, a well schooled, but not university educated, zealous, evangelistic printer who wanted to be a preacher, would spend ten years in Northland, would become fluent in te reo, hugely popular with Northland Māori, possessor of an impressive library, a perfectionist who had a herbarium and a shell collection but restricted his scientific interests largely to botany.

An educator, whose printed work and encouragement had a major impact on Māori literacy. A purist who would take his missionary task so seriously, even obsessively, that in the end it led to his undoing.

Today we might view him as paternalistic, condescending toward Māori – but to judge him (or any missionary) by 21st century values and concepts of equality would be naïve. He was of a time when British civilisation regarded itself as the most advanced the world had ever seen, its citizens bearing a conscious responsibility to carry its excellence to the rest of the world. He was certainly paternalistic (the spiritual “father” to his native “children of the wild”) in a way that might give offence now, but he was paternalistic with beneficent motives.

Colenso’s writing reveals a sense of awe, an admiration for tikanga Māori, esteem for the rangatira, a delight in te reo, which he called that “Language... remarkable for its euphony, simplicity, brevity, clearness, and copiousness”. At home his family spoke only te reo. His respect for the language was such that when he translated correspondence in te reo, he used the archaic but poetic English of the King James Version of the Bible.

The Hawke's Bay squatters would later call him a "philomaorist," a "Māori-lover"; the Rimutaka Hill roadmen wrote to the Government and accused him of treason when he tried to protect Māori from the tobacco, prostitution, gambling and drunkenness of the road gangs.

Much of his writing has been lost but much survives – see "Sources" below. He was an avid penman, recording everything, making lists, sketches, diaries, reports, writing letters.

This book concerns his decade in Northland, following his journeys on foot around the region. He was a preacher, so of necessity there is much reference to his faith and his evangelistic activities, but scattered among his accounts are gems of astute observation, places and names otherwise forgotten, acts of kindness and compassion, a high intelligence and a deep humanity.

There is also some indication of his "difficult" personality, his pedantic perfectionism, his impatience with less dedicated colleagues, his arrogant evangelistic distaste for Roman Catholicism. He freely criticised those who fell short of his ideals of Christian behaviour and readily made enemies among the other missionaries. Six months after his arrival William Williams advised him to consult Dr James Adolphus Ross of Kororareka, who in turn advised him that "his system was unhinged". The Christian missionaries were quick to ostracise him when, later, he himself erred, their compassion forgotten, their anger freely vented.

There have been rumours of relationships between Colenso and Northland Māori women, with families that claim descent from him. This issue is fully explored by Ann Collins, a descendent of Colenso's brother Edwin who settled in Australia in 1848. See Appendix C.

In the days before cameras travellers might bring home a sketchbook of places visited, sights seen, people met, objects admired. On his early travels in New Zealand Colenso carried rough diaries from which he later made a “clean copy” journal. Often he made rough sketches in the diaries – maps, natural history specimens, people, artifacts, landscapes. Some of the sketches have notes to himself about details so that he could later work them up into finished pencil drawings, a few of which were published as woodcuts or lithographs.

He mentioned this sketching in some of his travel journals and sometimes extant drawings can be matched to those entries. Conversely, on a few drawings he has noted the date, and these can often be matched to places visited.

The drawings are now, like Colenso’s writing, scattered or lost. The images of them here are photographed from originals (or copies) in various public collections. Some, currently attributed to Colenso, are in the style of his friend William Wade and are perhaps from his more accomplished pencil. Many are very faded.

Three lithographs of Colenso scenes by itinerant artist David Blair were published in *Fifty years ago in New Zealand*. The Church Missionary Society published a woodcut of Paihia in its *Missionary Paper*. Bagnall and Petersen published six finished drawings (all dated 1838) the originals of which are held in the collection of Hawke’s Bay Museums Trust, Ruawhāro Tā-ū-rangi.

Colenso’s original orthography has been retained. He occasionally used the old thorn letter (þ) for “th”, so þe=the, þs=this, þt=that. A special peculiarity of his is the (irregular) use of “w̃” for the consonant now rendered as “wh”. Placenames beginning thus have been listed below as though they were “w”. He (irregularly) doubled a vowel rather than using a macron – eg, Paparaumu = Paparāumu; maakutu =

mākutu. He sometimes put “x x x” meaning “and so on and so on”.

The Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney, holds three collections of sketches attributed to Colenso.³ One (Mitchell ref. PXA236 CY283) is a collection of 20 unbound pencil sketches of varying sizes (only one with a little green wash), of New Zealand scenes. About half of them are annotated or signed or both. Apart from two of the Kaueranga mission station all appear to be North Island places that Colenso visited and several are dated between 1837 and 1840. These are attributed to Colenso from his early years at Paihia, though a few may be by his colleague William Wade. They are reproduced here.

The Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL) has microfilm and copies of most Colenso material held elsewhere, as well as original manuscripts.

I have placed Colenso’s journeys in time sequence, beginning each year with an excerpt from his “autobiography”.

Timeline

1811 17 November William Colenso born in Penzance, Cornwall.

1826 September begins six year printing apprenticeship.

1833 October leaves for London; meets Josiah Pratt & Dandeson Coates of the Church Missionary Society: agrees to go to New Zealand.

1834 April returns to Penzance; **June** leaves for Sydney aboard *Prince Regent*, arriving in **October**; **December** leaves Sydney aboard *Blackbird*; **30 December** arrives at

³ See *eColenso* September 2011.

- Bay of Islands rowed ashore by Gilbert Mair.
- 1835 17 February:** prints first book published in New Zealand (Epistles of St Paul to the Philippians and Ephesians); **December** HMS *Beagle* in Bay of Islands; Colenso spends Christmas day with Darwin.
- 1837 March–July** Marsden in Northland. **December** Māori Testament published.
- 1838 January** in *Columbine* to Hicks Bay with William Williams, exploring East Coast–Poverty Bay region; **April** Allan Cunningham arrives in Bay of Islands; epidemic of (probably) diphtheria kills many; Colenso very ill; he first requests training for ordination.
- 1839** moves printing press to stone house; **January** to Hicks Bay; **March** to Cape Reinga; first letter to Cunningham; **August** hears of Cunningham’s death; Busby dismissed as Resident.
- 1840 January** Hobson arrives; **February** Treaty of Waitangi; Colenso’s first letter to WJ Hooker; Wilkes (American Antarctic expedition) at Bay of Is; **April** Dumont D’Urville’s visit to NZ; **December** Dieffenbach at Paihia; Auckland becomes capital. Colenso finds Tamil Bell.
- 1841 May** Lady Jane Franklin visits; **August** JD Hooker arrives on HMS *Erebus*; **October** Andrew Sinclair arrives; **November** (to **February 1842**) first Waikaremoana journey.
- 1842** First scientific paper published in *Tasmanian Journal of Natural Science*; proposes marriage to Elizabeth Fairburn; **June** Bishop George Selwyn arrives in Bay of Is; **September** Colenso sends over 600 specimens to WJ Hooker.
- 1843 April 27** marries; **June** studying for holy orders at Te Waimate, Selwyn’s “Professor of Māori”; Elizabeth teaching girls; **October** to Gisborne; thence to **November** Hawke’s Bay where the Waitangi mission site is chosen;

second Waikaremoana visit; paper on fossil bones published in *Tasmanian Journal*.

1844 Daughter Frances (Fanny) born; **September** ordained a deacon; “Memoranda of an excursion” published in *Tasmanian Journal*; fossil bones paper republished in *Annals and Magazine of Natural History*; **December** whole Colenso family leaves Bay of Islands finally for Hawke’s Bay aboard *Nimrod*.

He was never again in Northland.

Sources

YEAR	DATES	SOURCE	DESCRIPTION
1835	30 Dec 34–12 Jan 36	ATL 88-103-1119	Photocopy of MS at MITGHB.
	1 Jan–26 Feb	ATL MS-Papers-2220-2	Photocopy of Northcroft journal, MS at MITGHB m67/23 (b), 5969, 54146.
	Scattered entries	ATL MS-Papers-2220-1	Photocopy of rough MS at MITGHB m67/23a, 66309.
1836	30 Dec 34–12 Jan 36	ATL 88-103-1119	Photocopy of MS at MITGHB.
	9–27 Feb	ATL MS-0589	"Memoranda of Journeys"; clean copy of MS sent to his parents, gift of GC Carter.
	9–28 Feb	ATL MS-Papers-11062	Bush journal, MS.
	9–27 Feb	ATL MSX-5562	Typescript, original at MITGHB, reference 5970, m67/23 c, 66224.
	20 Mar–16 Apr	ATL MS-0582	Bush journal, MS.
	31 May–9 June	ATL MS-Papers-11062	Day & Waste Book. Original in Rex Nan Kivell collection, National Library of Australia.
1837	23 June/36–21 July/43	ATL MS-Copy-Micro-0697	Day & Waste Book. Original in Rex Nan Kivell collection, National Library of Australia.
	23 June/36–21 July/43	ATL MS-Copy-Micro-0697	"Memoranda of Journeys"; clean copy of MS sent to his parents, gift of GC Carter.
1838	1 Jan–13 Feb	ATL MS-0589	"Memoranda of Journeys"; clean copy of MS sent to his parents, gift of GC Carter.
	1 Jan–15 Feb	ATL Micro-MS-0170	Microfilm of bush journal, MS in private hands.
1839	23 June/36–21 July/43	ATL MS-Copy-Micro-0697	Day & Waste Book. Original in Rex Nan Kivell collection, National Library of Australia.
	20 Mar–14 Apr	ATL MS-0589	Photocopy of Bush journal, typescript at ATL MS-0582, MS at MITGHB, ref. 5970, m67/23c, 66224.
	19–25 June	ATL MS-0588	Bush journal, MS.
	24 Sep–1 Oct	ATL MS-Papers-6860	"Memoranda of Journeys"; clean copy of MS sent to his parents, gift of GC Carter.
	5–24 Dec	ATL MS-Copy-Micro-0697	Day & Waste Book. Original in Rex Nan Kivell collection, National Library of Australia.
	23 June/36–21 July/43	ATL MS-0588	Bush journal, MS.
	scattered entries	ATL MS-0589	"Memoranda of Journeys"; clean copy of MS sent to his parents, gift of GC Carter.
	7–16 Apr	ATL MS-0589	"Memoranda of Journeys"; clean copy of MS sent to his parents, gift of GC Carter.
	7–17 Apr	ATL 80-038-01	Bush journal, MS.
	30 Aug–6 Sep	ATL MS-0589	"Memoranda of Journeys"; clean copy of MS sent to his parents, gift of GC Carter.
1841	23 June/36–21 July/43	ATL MS-Copy-Micro-0697	Day & Waste Book. Original in Rex Nan Kivell collection, National Library of Australia.
	3–7 Jan	ATL MS-0589	"Memoranda of Journeys"; clean copy of MS sent to his parents, gift of GC Carter.
	27 Feb–23 Mar	ATL 88-103-1110	Bush journal, MS.
	17 Sep–12 Oct	ATL qMS-0487	Photocopy of clean copy journal to CMS, from MS in Hocken, reference MS-0064.
	25 Sep–12 Oct	ATL MS-Papers-11062	Bush journal, MS.
	17 Sep–12 Oct	ATL MS-0588	Rough diary, MS; resume of mission activities.
	scattered entries	ATL 80-038-01	Bound MS, of which ATL MS-0582 is a typescript. Basis for <i>L.J.Bor.</i> paper, 1844.
	24 Jan/41–30 Oct/42	ATL MS-Copy-Micro-0697	Day & Waste Book. Original in Rex Nan Kivell collection, National Library of Australia.
	19 Nov/41–22 Feb/42		
	23 June/36–21 July/43	ATL 80-038-01	Bound MS, of which ATL MS-0582 is a typescript. Basis for <i>L.J.Bor.</i> paper, 1844.
19 Nov/41–22 Feb/42	ATL MS-Papers-11062	Rough diary, MS; resume of mission activities.	
24 Jan/41–30 Oct/42	ATL MS-0588	Bush journal, MS.	
1842	scattered entries	ATL MS-Copy-Micro-0697	Day & Waste Book. Original in Rex Nan Kivell collection, National Library of Australia.
	23 June/36–21 July/43	ATL qMS-0490	Photocopy of clean copy journal to CMS, from MS in Hocken, reference MS-0064.
	2 Oct–31 Dec	ATL MS-Copy-Micro-0697	Day & Waste Book. Original in Rex Nan Kivell collection, National Library of Australia.
	23 June/36–21 July/43		
	23 June/36–21 July/43		

1834: Voyage from Sydney to N.Z. – on the schooner *Blackbird*

At last in Decr. I left Sydney in a very small craft, a fore-and-aft schooner of 35 tons, for the Bay of Islands, N.Z. This vessel was chartered purposely and at a high figure (such was considered the risk) to bring me to N.Z. She was not only small and cramped but badly found in everything and there were several passengers on board. Sad and serious scenes soon took place on our ship and continued during our passage. The Captain and owner was a very young man and a landsman, the mate was a smart sailor but sadly given to drink. He alone on board could navigate the vessel and when he and the Captain fell out owing to his intemperance he refused any longer to do so and so for days we were drifting (humanly speaking) the sport of the winds and waves. We were also sadly in want of water and almost everything else. The water we had left to use after being out a week had been put up into oil casks and stank horribly. On Xmas Day we sighted a Hobartown whaler and it being calm our Captain went on board of her and brought back with him some water, coconuts and a good piece of fresh pork. Fortunately for us the weather continued fine and the sea breezes usually prevalent by day in that season bore us onwards towards N.Z. and down its N.E. coast. On the 30th. of Decr. we were off the entrance of the B. of Islands in the outer bay, almost becalmed. A settler in the inner bay, Mr. G. Mair, who happened to be out in his whaleboat with a Maori crew, seeing our vessel rowed up to us and kindly offered to convey me on shore and after a very long pull of several hours I landed in safety in N.Z. at 10 p.m. at Paihia the Mission Station, thus ending an eventful and long voyage of 21 days, I trust thankful to God for his many mercies.⁴

4 Excerpt from Colenso's 1883 *Autobiography*.

1834: 30–31 December

Arrival

Tuesday Decr. 30. At 9 P.M., thro the blessing of GOD we first trod the shores of New Zealand! “To Thy name give the praise”! we were most kindly received by our dear brethren at Paihia, (a Missionary Station nearly in the centre of the “Bay of Islands,” which lies in Lat: 35°.6’. S., and Long. 174°. 43’ E.,) who had been for some time expecting us.

Wednesday, 31st. – Rose this morning early: – numbers of the natives came to see me, and when they found I was a Printer they were quite glad. – After Breakfast, took a walk on the sea-shore, numbers of the natives crowded to see & to shake hands – through the little boy of Mr. Baker,⁵ one of the Missionaries, I was enabled to understand a few sentences written on a slate and, so, to correspond with them: – they seem to be uncommonly active in their play – among them were several baptized natives – around us I observed Radish, mint, &c growing wild – it appears to be a very hilly country – went into a native house, made of rushes, and lunched on potatoes and “pipis,” (a shellfish, a species of *Mactria*, which abound on these shores,) which were served up in neatly woven green flax baskets. In the evening attended the native prayers, – conducted by natives, – very much pleased. – Thus ends a most eventful year; – “What hath GOD wrought! – Hitherto the LORD hath helped us”!

⁵ Charles Baker 1803–1875, then living at Paihia, later at Waikare. His eldest son William Bailey Baker was 6½ when he translated for Colenso.

1835–1837: At Paihia in N.Z.

At this time there were 3 missionaries and their wives and families permanently residing at Paihia, which was the principal station of the Church Mission, the Rev. H.W., the Rev. W.W., and Mr. C. Baker, their respective houses being nearly within call from each other, with the small mission chapel in the midst of the station. All of those ministers had families, those of the Rev. H.W. and Mr. Baker being very large nearing a dozen children in each. At first I resided with the Rev. W.W., that is, had my meals there with him and his family, but sleeping in the small and low lean-to vestry-room of the said little chapel with the common cemetery outside: this room was also my private or sitting-room save on Sundays. Under its roof I spent many happy hours. I soon learned from the sealed "instructions" I had brought out from the C.M.S. to the resident missionaries what my salary etc. was to be, viz., £30 a year and rations for a single man of flour, tea, sugar, soap, salt and lamp-oil, also pork and potatoes (when to be had). I had plenty of work of all kinds to do (some I had never attempted or thought of before)—my hands were full. Soon the press was set up and at work in a wing of Mr. Baker's large house. And here I may mention that I was early and deeply impressed with the apparent coldness and want of spiritual life and brotherly love in the mission—partly (I may now suppose) owing to my manner of living in England attending so many divine services throughout the week and meeting there with so many warm-hearted religious friends, and partly owing to my expectations of Missionary Stations and work having been unduly raised; be that as it may it was a sore trial to me, for I felt alone, dreadfully alone, as to human society, and after deep thought and prayer I waited one day on the senior Missionary, Rev. H.W., to mention my thoughts to him and to propose a set day of prayer etc., which however was neither relished nor agreed

to. I should not care to write this now were it not that I had ever believed that my doing so did me no good—at least in his estimation. And here having mentioned particularly the Rev. H.W., I should make a few brief remarks concerning him. In many respects he was a peculiar man: he was the senior clergyman of the Mission: his early life was in the R.N. as a midshipman and he was at the bombardment of Copenhagen, under Nelson. That seaman R.N. training he always retained and not unfrequently and unpleasantly showed. It was often said that no missionary could ever live with him long in the same station, save his brother, and I believe it to be true, though I managed to dwell at Paihia with him nearly 8 years, but there were not a few serious squalls during that period, of which I need not now particularly write. Mr. W., though a strict precisian, would be bound by no rules, not even of his own making; he was very imperious and distant, almost of repelling manner, and yet very kind hearted. However, he was eminently fitted for his post at that early time in this then savage land.

In the middle of the year 1835 the Rev. W. Williams with his family removed to Te Waimate Station and I was allowed some unfurnished and unfinished rooms in the large house he had left, which he had also built of rough stones. I might, however, have lodged and boarded at Mr. Baker's (which he and his wife greatly wished me to do there being no boys' school in the place), but his large number of children, who were by no means orderly, prevented my doing so. Consequently I had now my cooking of all kinds (including the making and baking of bread) to do myself. And so time rolled on, I may truly say that for years I never know a day of rest: Sundays and weekdays, day and night, it was work, work, work! For, in addition to the constant work of the printing press etc. there was the daily Maori School for men and boys and the whole of the preparing and dispensing of medicine and the issuing of rations of flour, rice, sugar etc.

for the sick all round about. I had also to learn the Maori language, on which my heart was set, as I best could, and soon had a share allotted me of conducting the English Divine Service on Sundays, both at the Mission Station, at K. (now Russell) on the opposite side of the Bay. Yet on the whole, those were pleasant days; I have often looked back on them with regret. Here I may mention 4 chief heads of unceasing agonising prayers with me in those days, not all however at one time:—1. To know the Maori tongue that I might be able to read and speak it fluently and to preach to them in it, for I suffered much (and before I left home) from nervous stammering. 2. To be able to sing a few of the plain and common hymn tunes, for I had never sung a song in my life, and having no natural voice for singing and but a very poor ear for music, it was a long time before I could master the “Old Hundred” and the “Evening Hymn” tunes, but I did so with a few others, 3. To be permitted to complete the printing of the N.T. (this took a long time mainly owing to the editor, the Rev. W.W. residing at Waimate, then a long day’s journey distant, and a Maori messenger only going to and fro with “proof” and “copy” once a week at the most, so that with 1st. and 2nd. proofs (and sometimes the state of the weather above or the swollen and rapid rivers below) the printing of that work—5000 copies 8vo.—took a long time and was wholly performed by myself often hindered by my many other duties. Moreover the printing too was sometimes sadly delayed through want of paper, owing to no regular and sufficient supplies being sent from home, so that we had to obtain and use inferior paper from Sydney, and from the fact of the printing office being (as I have already stated) in Mr. Baker’s large house, which necessarily caused me such a very great amount of going to and fro, and loss of both time and temper. 4. The printing (and, in part, translating) of the Maori Ch. of E. P. Book—another long and toilsome job. Those were my 4 heavy tasks, which however by God’s goodness were

satisfactorily accomplished. Besides the printing of those two large books there were lots of smaller ones, school books, Gospels etc, (some containing 20–50 pages),—of these alone the separate editions were many thousands. The printing of the N.T. in Maori, an epoch in the history of the N.Z. Mission, was completed in Decr. '37, so that I was enabled to bind in calf (with my own hands) a few copies, one for each of the missionaries as a New Year's gift '38.

1835: 1 January–9 July

Settling in at the Bay of Islands

Thursday, January 1st. – Busily employed in getting our goods on shore – quantity of natives on board the vessel – noisy, tattooed very much, and, apparently, very ferocious; – many of the chiefs, who are here on a visit, and here for Missionaries, want poor *me*. I suppose I shall remain at Paihia. – Prayer meeting at the Revd. H. Williams'.⁶

Saturday, January 3rd. – Busily employed in getting Goods on shore: – thank GOD! got the Press and Type safely ashore – how the natives danced and capered about with joy, shouting and crying, “Ka pai Mihanare Koroneho, ta puka puku”, – (very good, Missionary Colenso, print books.) – They would, I verily believe, do anything for me, the more I see of them, the more I like them. Taken up to sleep in the vestry of the chapel, may I realise what David describes, Ps. LXXXIV. 4.

Sunday, 4th. – Service at 9 A.M., in the native language by the Revd. H. Williams, and a Sermon in English by Revd. A.N. Brown,⁷ – 2 children baptized, (1 a little native, and the other,

6 Henry Williams 1792–1867 was leader of the Church Missionary Society mission in New Zealand.

7 Alfred Nesbitt Brown 1803–1884 was the third ordained missionary in New Zealand, settling in Matamata later in 1835.

a little daughter of Mr. H. Williams,) and Sacrament administered, – at native school this afternoon, – English Service at 3 P.M. by Revd. H. Williams – and native Service at 6 P.M., by Revd. W. Williams – what a day! both Sacraments administered – the *first* Sabbath in a new year – and “the LORD of Hosts” *still* “with us”!

Monday 5th. – An opportunity of seeing many dear Brethren, as the half-yearly Committee meets today – at prayer, this evening 13 Missionaries present – Mr. Davies⁸ (of Waimate Station) relates that on riding out to meet the natives, last Sunday, he found that 4 or 5 natives, (among them a poor blind man) had taken possession of a little bridge, over which he had to pass, and on his coming up to them, desired him to alight – not for to rob him as they do in civilized Christian England! – but in order that he might talk to them about their Saviour! – “We want to hear about Jesus Christ”! was their demand. At Waimate, 3 weeks ago, Mr. Williams baptized 20 adults, and had 33 Communicants – “Bless the LORD, oh! our souls, and let *all* that is within us bless His holy name.”

Friday 9th. Engaged, this week, in writing, natives very fond of Pictures, and of Books.

Sunday 11th. – Morning English Service, Revd. A.N. Brown, from Ps. LII. 11 verse. Accompanied by Revd. H. Williams to the native settlement at Waitangi, – natives – particularly the women – had smeared their bodies with red ochre and oil, – which made them look very sleek, but disgusting – we saw plenty of shellfish, spread on mats, freed from their shells, drying for food – several of them had cut and scratched themselves in memory of a chief who had died a few days

⁸ Richard Davis, farmer and lay member of the CMS, established a farm at the Waimate Mission in 1830.



"View in the Bay of Islands," undated. [Mitchell Library: ref. PXA236 CY283; image 1]



From the street at Paikia, 2021



Waimate Mission Station in 1845. Engraved by J. Whympere, from a sketch by Cyprian Bridge, London, 1859.

before, this is one of their “sacred” (devilish) customs;⁹ – another is, whilst they are mourning they are not to feed themselves, but in *our* houses, when they pay us a visit, they get over this in order to get some food and feed with a fork! – This chief who now lies dead, they suppose, or say so, met his fate because he violated this custom, venturing to feed himself and to cook his victuals. He had long opposed these foolish customs, and was “almost persuaded to be a Christian” – his name was Temorongā.¹⁰ I feel my weakness and my great unworthiness, very much indeed! LORD, strengthen me!

9 Colenso noted several times, with great disapproval, the old practice of showing grief by self-mutilation (also observed by Marsden). See *eColenso* May 2013.

10 Te Morenga c. 1760–1834 was a principal Ngāpuhi chief based near Kerikeri; he became a firm friend of Samuel Marsden and travelled with

Monday 12th. – Played Cricket,¹¹ with the natives, this evening!

[14th. Writing today].¹²

Thursday Jany. 15. – Paid a visit to Kerikeri Station today. – a very pretty settlement, navigable to the door of the houses, for small vessels. – Neat, clean, quiet, and inviting – really, it is an enviable situation. – Great pity there are so few natives there at present.

[16th., 17th. Writing &c.].

Sunday, 18th. – a most important day! Yesterday the Revd. H. Williams informed me I must take the English Service this afternoon, in consequence of which, I did so, though with much weakness & fear! I preached, for the first time in any place of worship, from Rom.: I. 14, & 15 verses. LORD! if it be Thy will for me to stand up in Thy name *all I ask is, strengthen me and direct me for Jesus Christ's sake!* This evening, a party of, about, 60 natives armed with muskets and spears and, save a belt to which their cartridge box & ammunition was suspended, entirely naked, made a rush upon the settlement, they “brought up” just before the Revd. H. Williams’ house, and there they danced, yelled and distorted their features like fiends more than like human beings! Indeed, I never saw, heard, or read of any thing that so strongly and so truly reminded me of devils, as these frantic New Zealanders: – after they had a couple of these dances, &c, throwing their muskets in the air at every leap from the ground; – they sat down, while the leaders, evidently under

him. He should not be confused with Te Morenga, son of Te Wharewhare of Ahipara.

11 Henry Williams recorded an earlier cricket match in 1832 and Edwin Fairburn 1827–1911 claimed the first game was played at Paihia late in 1833. See *eColenso* December 2017.

12 Significant entries from rough diary are added in square brackets.

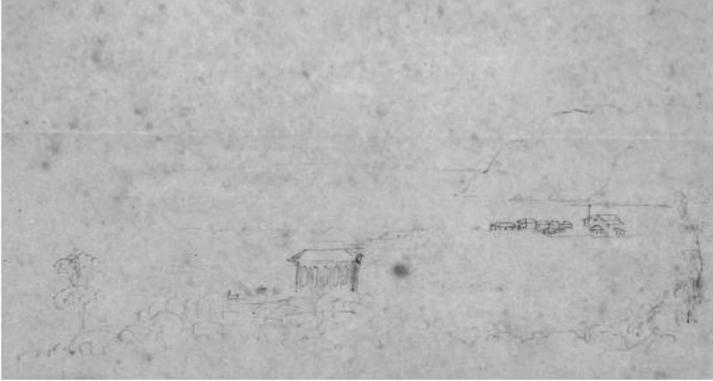
great excitement, made speeches, in doing which they keep running to & fro about 50 feet, keeping a hatchet or musket in their hand all the time; one of them struck Mr. H. Williams, slightly, with the butt-end of his musket; in about an hour or an hour and half they went away in consequence of the prudent management of Mr. W. – they saw that we did not care for them. – All this arose from a trifling circumstance. Our natives would not allow them to pass through the settlement with their potatoes, (which they were going to sell,) on the LORD’S Day – so they came down in this manner seeking restitution! – In the course of the following week, the chief who struck at Mr. H. Williams, brought him a Pig and some Potatoes as a reparation for the injury. – Thus, we prove, that, although “the heathen raged”, it is “GOD that reigneth over” them; – and that it is “the LORD” who “brings the counsel of the heathen to nought.”

Monday, 19th. – Busily employed in writing for the Committee. – This evening enjoyed a walk on the beach in converse with GOD – I have not had such a walk, such a blessing, for many a day.

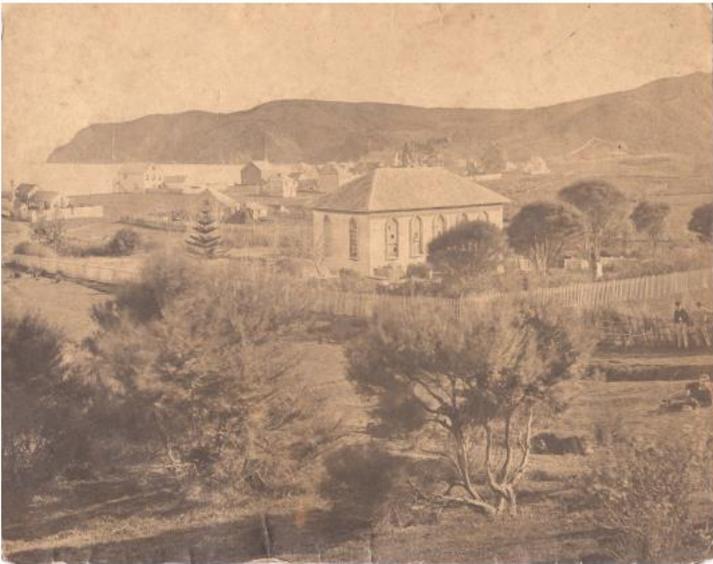
Tuesday 20th. – Engaged with 2 natives in cleaning up and fixing Press, worked very, very hard.

Wednesday, January 21st. – Engaged about Press, Type, &c. &c; – today, Mr and Mrs Chapman¹³ with 4 children, and six natives, arrived in his boat from Puriri, having been ___ days on the voyage. How kind and merciful is *our* GOD!

13 Thomas Chapman arrived in NZ in 1830 and established a mission station at Rotorua later in 1835.



Unnamed, undated: Christ Church Russell [Mitchell Library: ref. PXA236 CY283; image 2]. Colenso first took an English service at Kororeka on 25 January 1835. Christ Church was built later in the same year. The photograph was taken in the early 1860s (Russell Museum)



[22nd. Writing &c.].

Friday, 23rd. – Early this morning went out a-fishing, in company with a native” – not in the path of duty: – caught no fish, but caught a head-ache. –

[24th. Writing].

Sunday 25th. – Accompanied Mr. Baker to Kororareka; about 50 natives attended Service which was held in a native’s house.¹⁴ Took the English Service; – only 3 present; – spoke on Rom: I, 14, 15. – Took the afternoon English Service at Paihia in concert with Mr Baker, – he the prayers, &c, I the Sermon, – spoke on Luke XVIII. 1, – LORD! bless *Thy* word.

[26th. Nothing important. Large canoe arrd.].

[27th. do –].

Wednesday 28th. – Several natives landed, today, on the beach from a large Canoe and danced the “Heka” – all in a state of nudity – this is a dance of congratulation or welcome; – a sad accident happened to-day at Waimate: – the natives were employed in working about the Mill-dam, when the earth suddenly fell and wounded two; – one, an *unbaptized chief* died in the course of the day; – the other, a *baptized slave*, is not hurted much. – “The LORD knoweth them that are his, – He keepeth all his bones, not one of them is broken.” The relatives or friends of the deceased chief, came up to Waimate, as their custom is to demand restitution, or to *take it*, which is all one to them. – Mr. Davis gave them a blanket and Iron Pot. The chief’s name was, _____

[29th, 30th. Nothing particular].

Sunday, February 1st. – Feasted at the LORD’S table to-day. – In the afternoon, accompanied Mr. Baker to Hororoa, about

¹⁴ Christ Church, the chapel at Kororareka (Russell) was completed late in 1835.

3½ miles up the river, – in going up we were very nearly upset. – After a little “beating about” in search of natives we found about 10 or 12, and had a nice little service in a plantation of corn, &c, under a tree, close to the sea-shore; what a holy calm appeared to be around! not a breath of air rippled the sleeping silvery sea, and not a sound disturbed us. – And this place, perhaps, was *once* a feasting place of cannibals – where all kinds of obscene and devilish orgies might have been celebrated. – *Now*, the very cannibal warrior, was engaged in hymning the praises, and worshipping the Son, of the GOD of love! – From the place we proceeded to Otuihu and Ratoreka, at the former place, which is almost inaccessibly high, truly a dwelling “in the clefts of the rock,” a bold cliff jutting out into the sea, Mr. B. – again addressed the natives: – at the latter place, where are several Europeans, – a man named Cook, formerly in the employ of the Mission (who came with me from Sydney,) said, they should wish to have service there on Sundays, – and this we hope they shall have always in future. – Bring *all*, O GOD, to a knowledge of Thee! – Returning, we were greatly annoyed by a boat’s crew of about 20 English Sailors, who sang the filthiest ribaldry. – What a melancholy reflection – these are men who call themselves Christians who think themselves vastly superior to our poor natives! who pride themselves in being Englishmen! – LORD Jesus Christ have mercy upon them; – how I think on my Redeemer’s words contained in Matth: VIII. 11, 12; – I was thankful that the poor natives did not understand them. But “*who makes me to differ?*”

Monday, 2nd. – A baptized native woman, Mary Ann Brown, who died on Saturday evening last, was buried this evening. – She died peacefully, trusting in her Saviour. – She had been ill for some time, but is now, I trust, entered into her rest! To-day, my native apprentice to the Printing, &c, came with me; – a fine good looking, sharp boy, or rather young man; aged about 16; his name “Kairau.”

[3rd. to 6th. Engaged in making a roller – clearing old cases and relaying new ones.]

Saturday, 7th. – Began to compose the Epistle to the Ephesians – engaged, during the week, in emptying old cases & relaying them; papering up Type, and making a roller, Tympan, &c &c. –

Sunday, 8th. – Preached this afternoon in Paihia chapel, from Luke XIII. 6–9.; may the LORD bless *His* word, in mercy!

Saturday, 14th. – Engaged this week, among other things, in composing Ephesians and Phillippians. –

Sunday, 15th. – Preached this afternoon in Paihia chapel from the 1st. Psalm: – very weak and feeble in *this* part of my work. – An old native, baptized a fortnight back, died to-day.

Tuesday 17th. – “Pulled Proofs” of our first Book in the language printed here: – plenty present to witness the performance. – Oh, how thankful should we be to GOD, for this instance of goodness.¹⁵ [waiting for carpr.]

Wednesday, 18th. – This morning a Canoe of natives in crossing the Bay upset, – Mrs. Baker seeing them clinging to the canoe, – and the natives on shore coolly looking on, desired them to make haste to their assistance or they would be drowned – when the reply was, “‘Tis only native men: – what of *that!*” – I went off to their assistance but they were picked up before I arrived. – GOD was very present this evening at our prayer meeting.

Saturday, 21st. – Printed 25 copies, (as Proofs,) of our little Books. [Ephesian & Philippians]

Sunday, February 22nd. – Preached this afternoon from Luke XVIII. 1. Very weak: LORD! help me!

15 See Appendix, Colenso's 1888 *Fifty years ago in New Zealand*, his account of his Paihia printing activities.

[Monday. 23. Kiddekidde – waterfall &c &c.]¹⁶

[Tuesday 24. Came home – prepd. fount, paper, &c –]

[Wednesday, 25th. – Commenced Printing – when shall I finish? when thou, o GOD, shalt be pleased to say It is enough.

[Thursday. Still printg.]

Sunday 1. – Went up the river this morning to Ratoreka, a place of gin-shops – truly a sitting-place of Satans; I got a few Whites together, read, and spoke on, Luke XV. – it is Thy prerogative, o GOD, to raise in power what is sown in weakness. – Returned, and took afternoon Service at Paihia Chapel, preached from 2 Timothy IV. 6–8, much strengthened – Bless the LORD.

Thursday, March 5 – Printing; – another 1000 Copies of the Epistles. Today arrived the Hyacinth, 18 guns; – Capt. Blackwood.

Sunday, 8th. – Morning at the Sacrament: dull and lifeless! Afternoon spoke from Luke 22. 19; – felt weak and cold, but, I trust, GOD blessed His word: large congregation.

Sunday, 15th. – Morning at the Pa, (Otuihu & Ratoreka) preached there, from Luke XIII. 6–9, to a few whites – afterwards distributed Tracts. – Returned; afternoon Service at Paihia, preached from Isaiah I, III. 6. – a good time – I am cold – want *Holiness!*

Sunday, 29 – At Otuihu: preached from John. III. 7. Afternoon at Paihia, from Mark IX. 24. My poor native boy, Kairau, broke both bones of his arm this afternoon by a fall from the rocks; during the time I was holding Service – I never felt so much, I think, for anyone before.

¹⁶ The Aniwaniwa falls at Kerikeri.

Monday, 30th. – attended School – visited my Boy, reading and praying with him, &c.

Wednesday, April 1st. Twelve months back, this day, I received my Instructions: and *now*, Blessed be GOD, I am here, – learning language – School – Read and Prayed in a Native House.

Sunday, 5th. – At Native School: took English boys; afternoon, preached from II Samuel XXII. 47. – very cold.

Saturday, 11th. – This week employed as usual, endeavouring to gain the Language, &c. Oh! my unfitness!

Sunday 12th. – Another Sabbath! Morning at the Pa; only 3 whites; some natives assembled together with us; read prayers in English and native, and a chapter in native (Eph. I.) – but coldly, fearfully, and badly. Spoke to the whites on Mark IV. 3–8. Proceeded on with the Revd. Hy. Williams to the Kawakawa, where Mr. W., addressed the natives – a blessed sight! about 130 gathered together – a kind-hearted people; gave us plenty of their kumara (sweet potatoe) – arrived home about 8 at night, fatigued. I know not whether I shall ever be fit to go forth to the natives in GOD’S name: I know I shall not, unless HE fits me. It is, GOD is my witness, my earnest and *only* desire and cry: – and to Him, who can bring good from evil – fitness from unfitness – light from darkness – shall continual prayer be made for this end – until I have the desire of my heart, or, life’s pilgrimage end.

Tuesday 14th. – Left Paihia about 10 this morning with Mr. Baker, purposing to visit Wangaruru, a village on the Coast, a little way round Cape Brett, arrived at Waikare about noon, having broken 2 oars by the way; met with rather a cool, though not uncivil reception from the Chiefs – obtained some Potatoes and Kumara – dined, – proceeded – shot a native pigeon, a very fine and handsome bird: – drew up about 5 P.M., by the side of a pleasant rivulet – Tiuvatapi – where

we bivouacked. Passed the night very comfortably – little sleep; serenaded by an owl!

Wednesday 15th. – Started this morning at 9 – after about $\frac{3}{4}$ of an hour's walk, arrived at a small village – Tuarau – on the river Wangaroa, which runs down to Wangaruru – welcomed by the chief of Wangaruru, to whom this little place also belongs, with “Haere mai e Koro” – (Come here Sir) – he went for his canoe to take us down to his pa – here we had some food; on the arrival of the canoe, we proceeded down the river – shot a cormorant from the canoe – river pretty and wide, but shallow, the tide ebbing fast – we arrived about 1 P.M., our reception was most gratifying – men, women, and children came to the entrance of the pa, crying “Haere mai e Koro”: – we soon had our Tent fixed within it. Mr. Baker, and Abraham, addressed the natives; they appeared to listen attentively – in the midst of their discourse it began to rain and blow violently, and a white man from the Bay coming in his boat to barter stopped for a time the proceedings; he soon went and the rain ceasing, Mr. B – again addressed them from Matt: XXVIII, 19, 20; about 60 present; pleasing to see the outward attention they paid to the Word of GOD.

Thursday, 16th. – Began with prayer and an address from Mr Baker on the Beatitudes, followed by Abraham, – left this interesting spot at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9, A.M., attended by their chief, Kauwata,¹⁷ in his canoe which we entered from inside the Pa, the tide being very high. We were paddled to a village, about 2 miles distant, prettily situated on an acclivity, the sea in front and sides and a wood behind – we were heartily welcomed – Mr. B, and A., addressed them – A, peculiarly interesting – they cooked for us an ample supply of food, Pork, Corn, Kumara, and Potatoes – their number is small – about 20 – their pa, or stronghold double-fenced, and

17 Heta Te Kauwhata was a chief at Tuarau, Whangaruru; he signed the Treaty of Waitangi.

curiously situated. Left this place about 1, P.M., – their chief Wari, accompanying us a little way – and his young relative Konia coming also, to Paihia to reside with us for instruction. Commenced our journey homewards – a very high and conical hill to the left named Paremata – after a long and fatiguing walk, during which we waded and re-waded the Waikare about 20 times, we arrived safely at Waikare about ½ past 5, P.M., – received more civilly than before, – natives seemed somewhat interested; after prayers with them went to rest.

Friday 17th. Prayers and Service with natives this morning, about 30 present, the greater number having left early this morning for their Kumara plantations. The principal, and another chief, raised and brought forward several objections to the Gospel, which were met & answered by Mr. Baker and Abraham. After breakfast Mr B. again spoke to them – at ½ past 10, A.M., we left and in about 2 hours arrived at our Station. Reviewing our trip we have abundant reason to praise GOD for what we have seen – The natives of Wangaruru and its neighbourhood, are, I should say, prepared to receive the Gospel of Peace – the manner in which they received, treated, listened to, & parted with us sufficiently shew this to be the case. At Waikare, also, there is a most extensive field for pains-taking Missionaries: – they, it is true, bring forth their flimsy obstacles but they are soon rebutted. It is painful, however, to find that among all, whom we have seen, only *one* could be found who could read: “gross darkness” still covers them – LORD! rend this sombre pall: “Thy Kingdom *come*”!

Sunday 19th. – Afternoon Service at Paihia: preached from Mark IV. 3–8: very cold, and apparently dead to all holy life.

Sunday 26th. – Afternoon Service at Paihia, spoke on Ps. CXVII. very brief: cold, timorous! LORD, quicken me: rather unwell all last week.

Saturday, May 2nd. – Had a narrow escape from drowning in returning from the Kerikeri with 10 natives in our large boat; – quite resigned – but all landed in safety.

“The storm is laid – the winds retire,
Obedient to THY will;
The sea, that roars at thy command,
At Thy command is still.”¹⁸

Sunday 3rd. – Pouring with rain – no service – melancholy day.

Sunday, 10th. – Led to see our coldness and want of Love to GOD – proposed a special day of prayer to GOD – not acceded to – LORD! direct us.

Sunday, 17th. – Afternoon Service at Paihia; spoke from Ps. LXXXI. 8–10; fearing and unbelieving!

Thursday 20th. – Read a chapter [in] Maori in the chapel this morning at Morning Prayer for the *first* time.

Saturday 22nd. – Read again in Chapel – very badly: I am weak and want strength – LORD, direct me to Thyself.

Sunday, 24th. – Afternoon Service at Paihia. Spoke from John XII. 24. Felt a little concern for souls.

Sunday, June 7th. At Otuihu, with Mr Baker: whilst Mr B. was speaking to a few natives whom he had assembled together in a House there, some, outside, who wished us gone, shewed their enmity to the Gospel by commencing their rough and rude dance. Went on to Waikare; met with a cold reception.

Sunday, June 14th. – Afternoon Service in Paihia chapel, spoke from II Cor. v. 1; very cold. This last week has been indeed a wretched one – I got too strongly attached to my native boy – spoiled him with kindness – and now he has

18 “How are thy servants blest, O Lord” a hymn by Joseph Addison.

behaved so ill – so ungratefully ill – that I have turned him away – but I still love him. Oh! LORD pardon me *this* – and strengthen me against *all* sinful attachments.

Sunday, June 21st. – At Wangai, Abraham and myself read native Service – Abraham addressed them, and I then endeavoured to speak a few words to them – returned to Paihia and walked with Abraham to Waitangi – but no natives.

Thursday, 25th. – Crossed over to Kororareka, to bury ____ Poynder, (the poor man who came to Wangaruru to barter during Mr Baker’s & my visit there, about 2 months ago,) – spoke a few words of exhortation at the Grave’s mouth. Consulted Dr. Ross,¹⁹ as advised to do by the Revd. W. Williams²⁰ who is also a medical man, the Dr. says my system is unhinged; and to be careful. LORD, Thy will *be* done.

Sunday 28th. – Afternoon Service at Paihia; spoke from 2 Cor: XII. 7–9: felt a little love and concern; was most certainly strengthened: – determined to preach Christ boldly relying on His aid.

Tuesday 30th. – Six months ago this day I landed in this land: and this evening I first addressed the Natives in the chapel, extemporaneously! To Thee, oh GOD! be *all* the praise and *all* the glory – for thou alone art “the Giver of every good and perfect gift” – Thou, enabled me.

Wednesday, July 1st. – Out shooting pigeons – shot 4 – saw several new shrubs, and some beautiful ferns, mosses, &c, &c.

19 Dr James Adolphus Ross arrived at the Bay of Islands in early 1833 and built a house at Waitangi. He retreated to Paihia after having been attacked.

20 William Williams 1800–1878 was the younger brother of Henry Williams; he had some medical training.

Sunday, 5th. – Went to Tepuke – read prayers and a chapter to natives – addressed them also – very much pleased with my visit.

Monday 6th. – addressed Natives in chapel.

Sunday 12th. – To Tepuke in the morning; addressed Natives on the 10 virgins – returned: afternoon Service at Paihia; spoke from Ps. XLVIII. 14; very cold.

Monday, 13th. – addressed Natives in chapel on Matt: VII. 14. for about ¼ of an hour – “We praise Thee O LORD.”

Thursday 16th. – addressed natives on Rom. X, 8–10; felt a *little* love for Christ’s work, and their souls.

Sunday, 19th. – Accompanied Mr. Baker to Otuihu: this may be properly called “the place where Satan’s seat is”. Pomare,²¹ the principal chief, and his wife were crying and howling, for their Son recently dead: clinging tenaciously to their native nonsense; that the native GOD had appeared (whom they call a Serpent) and spoke to one of the people – whenever the wind whistles hollowly in, through a chink of a house, &c, they say it is their god speaking to them – I said, if he would pay me I would make him a 100 such gods; and he might fix them on his house, so, that he would always be able to have one to speak to him? LORD, bare Thy arm – “Seeing they see not & hearing they hear not.”

Tuesday 21st. – At Native Service, spoke to them on 1 Cor: XV. 34, 35, – after Service, 7 remained behind, with whom I endeavoured to speak on the things of GOD, for upwards of an hour. LORD strengthen me.

21 Pomare II, Ngāpuhi leader, in 1830 built a new, heavily-fortified pā at Ōtuihu.



Pomare's pa, Otuihu. Above, by Cyprian Bridge (ATL A-079-002) in 1846.
Below, by John Williams (ATL A-079-032), shortly thereafter.

Thursday 23rd. – at Native Service spoke on Acts II. 38.

Sunday, 26th. – Wet day, only 1 Service – spent the day with Brother Knight,²² & my native boy.

Monday, 27th. – Spoke to natives on Matt: XXVIII, 18–20; felt a little Love for them and for GOD.

Wednesday, 29th. – LORD! I have again sinned against thee, and am *still* spared! Oh! pardon me, and constrain me to love Thee. I trust still, notwithstanding my sins, in Christ; is not this presumption?

Sunday, August 2nd. – Sacramental morning: afternoon, accompanied Mr. Baker to Waikino: a truly pleasing sight to behold the people of this place – LORD! lift up the light of thy countenance upon them.

Saturday 8th. Mr. and Mrs. Wade;²³ Mr. and Mrs. Chapman; and Messrs. Knight and Pilley,²⁴ left for the Southern stations, in the *Columbine* Schooner.²⁵ I am again entering on new trials & scenes – LORD, bless them, and guide me!

Sunday 9th. A Happy day! Had the great pleasure of seeing 4 adults baptized – Aka, (a venerable old, and lame chief who for some time past has resided in the Settlement,) Peneruku, (a chief from Waikino, about four miles up the river,) Heke,

22 Samuel Marsden Knight 1840–1890 (a nephew of Samuel Marsden) arrived a month earlier in June 1835.

23 William Richard Wade 1802–1891 had accompanied Colenso to New Zealand and took over the mission press. After a dispute with the CMS establishment he became a Baptist minister in Tasmania.

24 Henry Miles Pilley, catechist and carpenter, arrived in February 1834 and worked in Rotorua till 1838.

25 The *Columbine* was a 67 ton wooden topsail schooner built by James Munn, Sydney 1833. Henry Williams bought her for the NZ mission in November 1834, to replace the cumbersome *Active*. She was sold in 1843. See *eColenso* December 2016.

another chief, and his wife; I held the basin, while Revd. H. Williams baptized them, to behold the tears of repentance, doubtless, stealing down their deeply tattooed countenances, was very affecting. Heke, had been a peculiarly bad character, and for some time if he was not the terror, he was the pest of the Mission – *now*, the Lion *is* a lamb – and what has caused it? He, who came in the form of a Servant – who was despised and rejected of men – the “crucified Galilean” – He! the meek and lowly one hath brought the Lion low! They were named, John,²⁶ Samuel, Simeon, and Lydia: I chose Simeon, for the venerable old man. – In the afternoon I went to Waikino in a canoe, being late, prayer was over, yet, the people reassembled themselves, and I endeavoured to speak on Matt: XXVIII. 18, 20, to a nice little party – returned rather late, tired and cold. Read and prayed with my boys, and so concluded the day – LORD! pardon *all* our Sins.

[10 July to 10 October missing]

1835: 11 October–27 December

Sunday, October 11th. – At Waimate: at Sacrament this morning (which is here administered in native language,) 76 New Zealanders present! Accompanied Mr. Clarke²⁷ to a native Village about 2 miles distant where they have erected for themselves a spacious, and good, weather boarded Chapel: Mr. C. spoke to an attentive congregation.

Monday, Novr. 9th. Our present road to the Waimate being through a disagreeable and dangerous creek and, this only crossable at low-water; I went out into the “Bush” to attempt

26 The celebrated John (Hone) Heke.

27 George and Martha Clarke and family arrived in 1824. He was a blacksmith and went first to Kerikeri, then to Te Waimate mission 1830–1840.

the finding of what might be made a road: I succeeded but nearly lost my life through my horse getting into, and then plunging about in a deep bog, I succeeded in extricating myself, but for a time, despaired of saving the horse; fortunately we got him out; and in returning he threw me with great violence, I, however, got off with a few bruises only. – Praised be the LORD, who “keepeth all our bones, not one of them is broken.”

14th. Finished printing the Gospel of St. Luke.

22nd. LORD’S-day, Preached, in English, at afternoon Service, in Paihia Chapel, from Ps: 136, with much freedom.

26th. Buried a poor Sailor at Kororareka; much strengthened to speak on the occasion. LORD, Thou knowest how young I am in these matters, strengthen and direct me for Jesus’ sake –

29th. LORD’S-day, preached at English Aftn. Service in Paihia Chapel, from Matthew XXV. 44, very prosy. LORD, if it be not Thy will for me to stand up in Thy name suffer me not to do so. (Hebrews, v. 4.)

December 6th, LORD’S-day – Preached from Ps. XC. 12, felt strengthened – oh! teach *me*.

8th. Addressed Natives from, “They Kingdom come.”

13th. LORD’S-day, at Waikare – many natives here but it is a very dark place – returning, called at a place in the river where 3 or 4 white men & their Families are residing, and read and prayed with them and addressed them on Matt: XXV. 44. – returned and read evening native Service in chapel.

16. Addressed natives in the chapel from Matthew XXV. 13. LORD, speak and even these dry bones *shall* live.

December 20th. LORD’S-day. Afternoon Service in Paihia Chapel, preached from Matthew XXII. 5; felt rather at a loss.

22nd. Addressed natives this evening in Chapel, never before felt so serious. LORD! I wish to give myself unto Thee.

25th. Friday, Christmas-day. Preached at Kororareka this afternoon from 1 Tim: I. 15, and read Prayers in native to natives; took Tea this afternoon at Bror. Baker's, Capt. Fitzroy, H.M. Ship "Beagle," one of the Party.²⁸

27. LORD'S-day – At Kororareka, morning; read native Prayers, and preached in English: afternoon, Paihia; preached on Ps: 148. 5. This, the last Sunday in the year – felt warm and cheered in speaking – GOD *is* good.

1836: 3–12 January

January 3rd. LORD'S-day – Preached from II Samuel, XIX. 34. Determined to give myself more and more to GOD.

10th. LORD'S-day – Visited Puketawa, (village about 7 miles distant, inland,) found place deserted – the little chapel without a worshipper – and, from the grass in the path to the House of Prayer, I fear, the Sanctuary is seldom visited: – returning, fell in with a party of Chiefs – enabled to speak boldly to them, but they were only inclined to "mock on": – returned in time to take the Afternoon Service, preached from Deut: v. 28, 29, felt warm. Evening; Native Service; spoke from John IV. 42 – felt a little Love. – LORD! revive my sluggish soul.

11. I have, this day, felt a strong desire, and so expressed myself to Mr. Baker, to live *closely* to GOD – to "be one *in* Him." At Prayers this evening near 200 Natives present; glorious sight! though not "speaking right," (!) would not lose

28 Colenso later wrote (see Appendix B) that he had spent a long and happy Christmas Day with Charles Darwin: Darwin did not mention Colenso's name, nor is there any other contemporary record of it.

the opportunity – spoke on Romans VIII. 1. LORD! bless Thy word and clothe it with power.

12. This morning, according to arrangement, a meeting of native chiefs took place at Waitangi, the residence of the British Resident; to adjust certain claims made by both parties to some land lying between Wangaruru and Wangarei; Messrs. Williams and Baker were to act in concert with Mr Busby²⁹ as Umpires: of course, one party must be dispossessed of his claim. The Hikutu, a desperate party from Rangihoua, could not make good their claim, and, accordingly, the decision was made and given in favor of our (the Kawakawa) natives. The Hikutu immediately flew to their arms which

This account ends here, but years later Colenso wrote more about this incident, in which a number were killed and wounded, in his “Fifty years ago in New Zealand” Note G – see Appendix B herein.

1836: 9–28 February

Memorandum of several visits among the natives on the E. Coast of New Zealand; performed during the years, 1836, 1838, 1839, 1840, and 1841; extracted from private journal.³⁰

29 James Busby 1802–1871 viticulturalist, British Resident, farmer, politician, newspaper editor, displaced in 1840 by Hobson.

30 ATL MS-0589 is a manuscript gifted to the ATL by George Colenso Carter (1878–1965), a grand-nephew of William Colenso. It contains Colenso’s accounts of journeys between 1836 and 1841 which he compiled and sent to his parents. Hereafter it is referred to as “Memorandum”; the pagination of the original is given in bold square brackets. ATL MSX-8776 is a typed transcript. ATL MSX-3562 covers the same period and is a bush journal 9 to 27 February 1846, a map of part of Northland and a “vocabulary” – a list of te reo words and meanings. ATL MS-Papers-

1836, Feby. 9. This morning I left Paihia on my intended excursion among the natives: Abraham and William, and three other native lads accompanying me; the 2 natives, named, baptized ones. On leaving, these words were strongly impressed on my mind, "They will reverence my Son," Matt. XXI. 37. We pulled, in the Boat, to the head of Waikare river, where, dismissing the boat, I was hospitably received by the Natives. Here I got my tent pitched; and continued talking, as well as I could, with Natives until prayer-hour; held Service, and addressed them from John XI. 25, 26. A great number of natives living in the village, yet only about 20 attended Service. One chief, who had opposed what I had been saying (in conversation) said, on my inviting him to enter the Native's house in which we held our Service, that he would go so far as the door, but that he would not enter. There is however a spirit of inquiry abroad amongst this people: my tent door was crowded until I dismissed them, about 10 P.M. –

10th. Held Morning-Prayer, and spoke to Natives from Rom. X. ii; rather larger attendance than last evening. It rained heavily and looked very gloomy; did not think we should be able to start on our journey. At, 10, A.M., the weather breaking, we struck tent and proceeded. I was very soon wet through with the dense jungle, thro' which our course lay, and heavy showers. After a few hours march, up and down steep hills wooded to their summits, we arrived at Wangaroa, on the head of the Wangaruru river; here we found a few natives, who behaved very kind towards us, preparing Potatoes and Pumpkins for us, on which we dined. [2] Maruwenua, a Chief from the Wangaruru tribe, was here; and, being under the

11062 includes a bush journal 9 to 28 February and 31 May to 9 June: in it the 9 February entry begins, "This morning left Paihia on my intended excursion among the Natives.... called at Wahapu and had a Bottle of wine from Mr. Mair – arrived at Waikari about noon...."

restriction of the “Tapu”,³¹ was fed by old women, just as a Child: – I offered him a head of Tobacco, provided he would take it with his hands – an old woman (one of his feeders) said, “Do not take it”; but he could not resist the temptation, and laid hold of the bribe. I spoke strongly on the folly of the Native Superstitions, in reply to which he only smiled, while the old women expressed their fears, that their God would punish him for his wanton impiety!! We waited for the tide to ebb and walked to Wangaruru in the muddy bed of the river; a filthy toilsome march of near 3 miles. On nearing the Village, we were welcomed by the Natives, all hands bawling out, “Haere mai, e koro,” (Come hither, O Sir,) – Kauwata, the principal chief welcomed us heartily, with the addition of a “hongī.”³² After a brief sitting, I held Evening Prayer; about 50 persons attended, to whom I preached from Matt. VI. 21, – I was followed by Abraham. The village was in the utmost confusion, the people expecting every moment to be attacked, by the Ngatihine tribe, the cause of which was, their daring to use a spade in planting Potatoes which had previously been used in digging a grave for Te Morenga, a Chief who died some months before. The spade according to Native Custom was sacred. Spent evening in talking with Natives. Had a pleasing conversation with a Young Native from Akura, a village a few miles distant, on Religious subjects, in my Tent.

11th. At Sunrise, this morning, I held Prayers, addressing the Natives present, about 40 persons, from Luke XII. 4, 5, followed by William. After breakfast had a long chat with

31 WC: “Tapu,” a word possessing a variety of meanings – a word of great latitude. When a chief is Tapu, (or sacred,) he must not feed himself, nor touch his pipe, nor any food, &c, &c. He may be Tapu on account of his hair being cut, – or for a sick member of his family – or for making a net or canoe, – for planting, &c, &c, &c.

32 WC: “Hongī” – a salutation performed by rubbing nose against nose, is sometimes rendered more disagreeable for the length of time taken in the rub, – in order to shew the very act of respect.

some of the old Chiefs of the village; one of whom appeared to be halting between two opinions. A little incident occurred which shews the need of Caution [3] and Firmness in a missionary: Kauwata, the Chief had just given me a bottle, which he had received from our Station at Paihia some time before containing a little eye-lotion for his eyes, through this the vessel was sacred. I, wishing to speak to Abraham, happened, unconscious of my doing any harm, to go into the shed where he was, which proved to be a cooking-house with the bottle in my hand; on which Kauwata exclaimed greatly, saying the bottle was “Tapu”, &c. &c. – I remonstrated, he stormed – when I coolly put the Bottle under my foot – on which he got half mad; determined, however to carry my point, for everything depended on my now doing so, I put the bottle into a mess of food which was cooking for him, & which was on the Fire. This bold step settled the matter; Kauwata saw whom he had to deal with and soon ceased storming. Blessed be GOD for delivering me from this lion!³³ Visited the natives of Akura, who, for safety, had come to a hill very near this village: perceived a difference in these and those I had just left. Gave them School Lessons, and soon commenced School. The Chief, Tatua, though young, is blind; he sat, listening very attentively to my words, often repeating them after me. Had a long argument with a Native priest, – spoke plainly & strongly. In the afternoon read to Children. Evening, addressed Natives from John III. 19, followed by William. – Had a pleasing conversation with Akura natives this evening in my tent, the Natives carrying on their

33 WC: I would not wish to be understood as recommending such a line of procedure to every missionary – in fact 'tis not every one who, under such circumstances, cod. so act, – but this I can truly say – that in consequence of my boldness in this affair I got respected by all the chiefs round about.

“Ruriruri”, a noisy obscene game, went out, expostulated with, & stopped them. – ³⁴

12th. Held Morning Prayers, preached to Natives from John VI. 22, 25. Visited Akura natives, read, & spoke on parable of prodigal son and returned to village; conversed with old chiefs. Determined on remaining another day at this place, in hopes of meeting the coming “fight”, and, possibly preventing bloodshed. – Afternoon, [4] again visited Akura natives: discoursed to them from Luke VIII. 21. Returned to village, held Evening Service, preaching to Natives from Luke IV. 18, 19; great consternation in the village this evening, intelligence having been received of the “fight” being at hand and approaching. During the night, which was calm and beautiful, every dog that barked, was, as a matter of course, supposed to bark at the enemy – the poor fish, too, leaping in the river were in like manner misrepresented. I slept, however, soundly; perhaps the only one in the village who did. – (Ps. 127. 2).

13th. Rose; held Service; testified to Natives from Eph. v. 5, 6, followed by Abraham. Convinced, from the very many false reports I had heard, of the inutility of my any longer remaining in this place, and, finding also, that the “fight” was expected to come by the road which I was to go, I made up my mind to proceed onwards. Gave School Lessons to Wari, – a native of the village who seemed seriously inclined. And, again exhorting them to “fear Him who is able, &c,” at 8, A.M., we left the village. About 9 we crossed a rivulet, which the Natives pointed out as the boundary to which any Missionary had hitherto travelled this way, so that I was now about entering on a *new* field. Crossing this “Rubicon,” and travelling by the Coast, (under the guidance of a Native guide

34 WC: The “Ruriruri” is a game that cannot be described to a Xn. Reader – it is generally performed by a number of naked men and women closely wedged together around a fire in a small hut x x x x.

who had been sent to meet me from a village a few miles further on,) over Rocks, up cliffs, through mud, and water, about 1, P.M., we arrived at Owae; on coming in sight of the place we were heartily welcomed, by the usual cry of “Haere mai”. Received a “hongī” from Warau, the old and principal Chief. Here I was informed the dreaded “fight” had returned some days before: that it had only visited Wairua, the village of *this* people (from which place they had fled to the Coast on the approach of the “fight”, which consisted of a hundred men, hence their now being with hardly any huts, or shelter for themselves,) that being [5] the place where Te Morenga was buried. I was much pleased with the demeanour of this party, and inwardly hoped, that they were a people preparing for the LORD. Though never before visited by a Missionary, they were in the habit of scraping their food (Potatoes, &c.) on the Saturday for the Sunday, they held a School – if such it might be called – to teach the Catechism, &c. which one or two of them knew – and, also, assembled daily to prayer; on the LORD’s-day “sitting still,” and holding prayer. I held Evening Service, and addressed them from Luke xv. 10, about 60 Natives present, who were all attention. Afterwards, a Prayer Meeting was held by Abraham and William, which was well attended. I walked at a little distance on the beach, musing on the Scene before me – 50 New Zealanders at prayer by Fire-light on that wild beach, the night was still, and when all bent their heads in prayer, and Abraham’s voice was raised in prayer to Jehovah, I could but think that it was a sight over which, perhaps, Saints and Angels were then rejoicing! – “Not unto us, not unto us, to thy Name be *all* the praise.”

14th. LORD’s-day. Felt quite unwell this morning from the heavy rain and damp of the night. Weather clearing about 10, we held Service, preached to Natives, about 70 in number, from Rom. VIII. 5, 6, congregation very attentive. Held School: 34 men and boys. 32 women and girls: – I separated

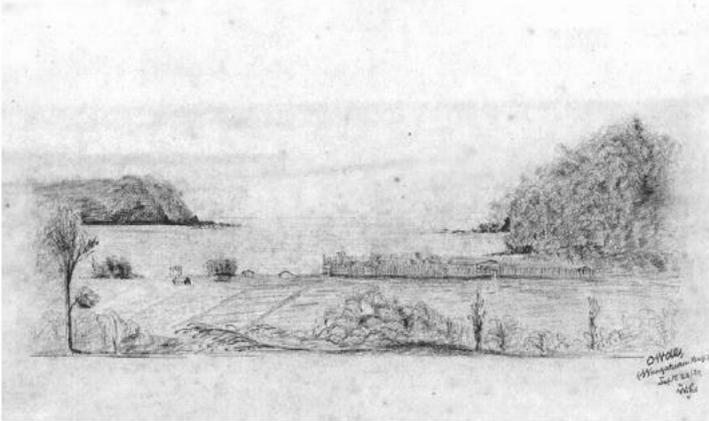
into 2 Classes and catechized, with the assistance of A. and W. School over, sat and conversed with Chiefs and others, on the works of GOD, as seen around, in which they were uncommonly interested.³⁵ Evening Service, preached from John III. 35, 36, followed by William – Evening, conversed with several on religious subjects. – This night, instead of the obscene dance & game, the place is resounding with the Catechism and Hymns, rehearsing in the different sheds around. Praised be GOD!

[6] 15th. It rained very heavily during the night, I got wet in bed, had just too, taken a little medicine, at daylight was very unwell – Rain continued; William held prayers with the Natives; all of whom seemed greatly interested in my behalf: one went into the woods and shot a pigeon – another, to fish, and caught 4 Tamure (a sp. of Bream) – another to collect shell-fish – the whole of which they brought me. Found myself better by noon. All hands turned to to build a Chapel, assisted them in doing so, much to their satisfaction; by night we had the material nearly ready. Evening Service, discoursed from Matt, XXII. 37. Supper over, had a large Fire lit, and about 50 Natives assembled in a ring round it, here we sat and conversed on the things of GOD for nearly 5 hours; I questioned every one and addressed everyone in words suitable: we concluded our meeting with singing and prayer. Gave away 5 copies of St. Luke’s Gospel; am greatly importuned for more.

16th. Held Prayers with Natives: assisted in building Chapel, 14 x 11; some old stumps of trees being in the way, I proposed their removal, to which the old Chief, Warau, was averse, fearing the anger of their GOD! as they had been “tapu”: I, however, rooted them up myself; the old man,

35 WC: Several years have passed by since the conversation here alluded to, but the subjects and even the sentences, have not been forgotten by them.

standing by, protesting against it, & almost expecting to see me fall struck by some judgement for my sacriligiousness!! The young men were glad that I did so, they would have done it with the consent of the old man. Afterwards the old chief expressed his approval. A party of 20 arrived from Wangaruru this afternoon to gain some news of the "fight". Finished our house; thatching it, above and on the Sides, with Palm-leaves. Preached this evening, during a thunder-storm, from Rom. VI. 16-18. Planted some Peach-stones. The Natives of Wangaruru wished to sleep in our new Chapel, the owners applied to me to decide whether they should or not, to which I would not consent.



Owae (Wangaruru Bay), 28 September 1837 [Collection of Hawke's Bay Museums Trust, Kaurwharo TA-6-mngi, 37/455]



Owae is now Teal Bay, Healea Bay.

17th. Held Service; distributed a few more Books, &c. and left, with [7] the best wishes of the inhabitants. In our route, this morning (inland) we passed several grotesquely shaped isolated rocks, in appearance, basalt evidently of volcanic

origin.³⁶ Magnificent Pines clothed all the Hills. Wananake, and the Sea, in the distance. At 3, P.M., splendid woodland scenery, but not a soul lived within the range of the eye: hills of Mangakahia in the extreme distance. At 4, arrived at Wairua, (the village which the people now living at Owae had recently left) and had ocular demonstration of the devastations committed by Ngatihine in their “friendly visit.” They had killed the Pigs, torn up the crops, pulled down Houses & fences, and, having feasted as long as they pleased, they ended by disinterring Temorenga and taking away his bones with them, leaving the coffin, which I passed within a few feet of!³⁷ Fine land everywhere about this neighbourhood; intersected in every direction with thickets of Pines. Proceeded; and, at 6, brought up for the night, on the brink of a nice little rivulet, in a very sequestered valley. Held prayers with lads, and slept soundly.

18th. Breakfast & prayers ended, started at 7, A.M., – after a long and fatiguing march, through woods and swamps, we brought up for the night at 5 P.M., on the banks of a little river, called, Haukawakawa. – New Botanical specimens today. Chased a fine wild pig with our sticks, but could not capture him. A great part of the land we passed over in this day’s journey, is quite flooded in the Winter Season, owing to the floods rushing from the clayey hills, and the river Wairua being too narrow to carry off the immense body of water. Around, on the hill-sides the mark occasioned by the rise of last winter was plainly traceable, – a “high- water-mark.”

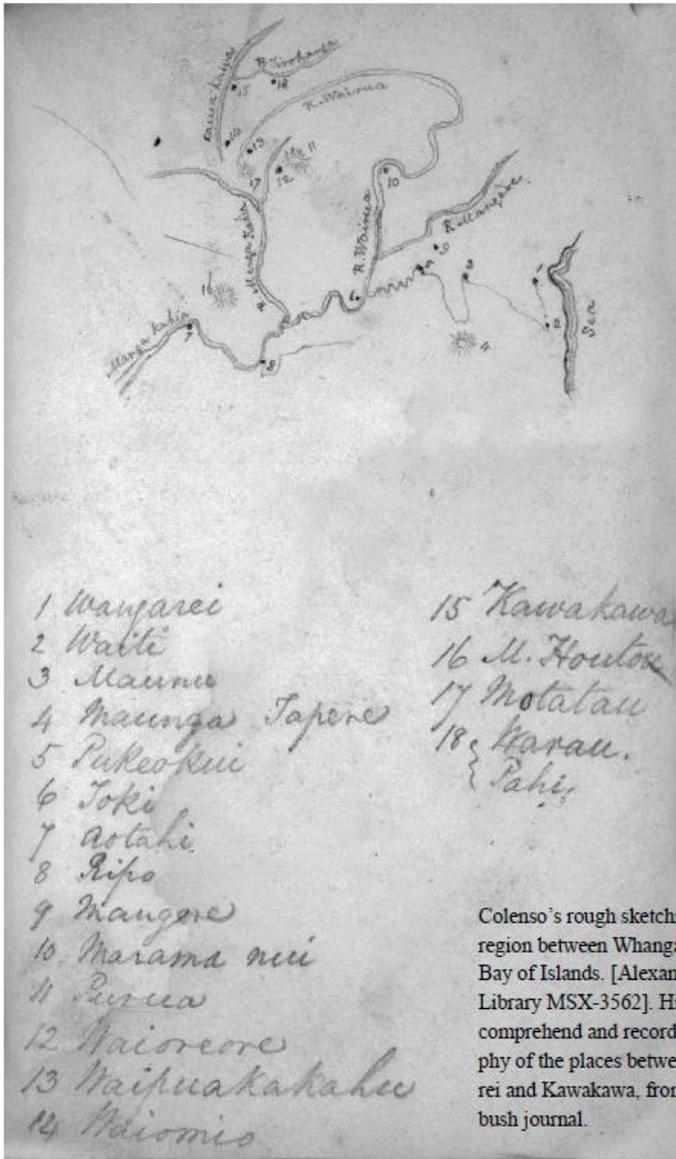
36 Clem Earp writes that an old bridle path crosses Kaiikanui road about the headwaters of the Owae stream and on the ridge are basalt outcrops (*eColenso* July 2018).

37 WC: Their so acting was not considered as arising from any malicious design against the Natives of the place, but merely as a matter of course kind of thing, shewing their respect, &c, for the memory of the deceased chief. –

19th. Passed a miserable night! the Mosquitoes were innumerable, they drove me from my tent, spite of all my endeavours, to seek a refuge with [8] the Natives in the smoke of their fires. At 8, A.M., we left this place; and, travelling through fine land – fern higher than one’s self – at noon reached Waiariki, a village on one of the streams which fall into the Bay of Wangarei, and situate where the river is navigable for their canoes, when under the influence of the tide. Found but a few natives at home, but others soon arrived; sat and conversed with them: found they had put up a house for the purpose of a Chapel in hopes of obtaining a Missionary to reside among them. Held Evening Service in their Chapel, preaching from John IV. 42; Service over sat, talking with Natives till bed-time. These seem disposed to receive the word but are awed by Motutara,³⁸ the principal person in these parts, who is opposed to the Gospel; he was now in the woods, at some distance, preparing canoes for a marauding expedition to the Southward. I could not prevail on the Natives to send for him. These Natives, until very lately, lived on the outer shore of Wangerei Bay; but being surprised by a party from the Thames,³⁹ in which a great number were slain, they removed further inland. They had just concluded their shark-fishing for the season; their fish (shark) which was drying on poles and rails, at a short distance from the village, and which was in a high state of putrescence, stunk insufferably; they, however, not only ate this assafoetida major, but anointed their bodies with the oil! so that it was quite an arduous exertion to sit and talk with them. I interdicted my lads from making use of the fish, but have no doubt than they eat of it privately with a high zest.

38 Motutara, active 1839, Chief of Whangarei subordinate to Te Tirarau.

39 “The Thames” was the area around the Hauraki Gulf – ie, included Auckland.





His finished map of the region. He seems to have revised and updated the map, perhaps in 1841 [ATL Ms-Papers-11062].

20th. Held Prayers, addressing Natives from Eph. iv. 20, who were very attentive, particularly Kaikou, a young chief and principal man of the Tribe. Conversed, during the Morning with Natives; at [9] noon, struck Tent, and started for Te Waiti, a village about 3 miles distant, most of the Natives of Waiariki accompanying us. We soon arrived thither, and were hospitably received by Tutahi, the principal Chief, and Hanaora, his son, both of whom seem to be well-inclined towards the Gospel. Held Evening Service, and preached from John III. 16, 17, about 30 present. It being Saturday they again assembled, when Abraham addressed them. Spent the Evening conversing with Chiefs, until bed-time.

21st. LORD'S-Day. Held Morning Service, about 50 present, preached to them from Rom. x. 8, 9, followed by Abraham. A party sat on a house-top during Service with their priest; I clambered up and sat among them and disputed with Toru, the priest, for a long while; oh! how very dark these are!! Conducted the School, 19 men & boys. 19 women & girls, who all seemed desirous of learning but want an efficient instructor. Hanaora, (the Chief's son) a young man, can read and write pretty well (self-taught but 'tis with them as with us – Gifts are not Graces, or rather not *Grace*. Afternoon, I sat and read several chapters of St. Luke with Hanaora and one of my lads, whilst Abraham went to a village about 5 miles distant. (William, had cut his foot and remained behind at Owae) Evening Service, preached from John VIII. 42, followed by Abraham – how sweet to preach a *present* Jesus! Tutuhi, the old chief, remained conversing with me till late, – in the course of conversation, he said, “I have one thing to ask; I have heard that you get paid from England for each convert you make: tell me, is it true or not?” On my shewing him the folly of such supposition; demanding the benefit accruing to the English Church through their conversion, &c, &c. – he said, “That will do; I believe you”: I had reason to suppose that he was told so by some bad white. –

[10] 22nd. Held prayers this morning, preaching from Matt. VI. 10, – left at, 8 A.M., amid the hearty voiciferous (*sic*) wishes of the inhabitants. Toru, the priest, and another accompanying us. In our route, inland thro' the woods, we passed a large *Rata* tree on fire;⁴⁰ the fire had been kindled sometime previous at the bottom of its trunk and had eaten itself a passage to the top, within, from whence the smoke was issuing as from a Chimney, yet the foliage remained uninjured. This is a very common practice with the natives, who do it in order to have fire at hand for their tobacco pipes in travelling; by this means they annually destroy an immense quantity of the finest timber; as large trees are always selected for the purpose. – About 11. A.M., we arrived at Maunu, a deserted village; once, (judging from its fence, now prostrate, of *whole* trees,) of no small strength against the enemy: here was a fine Peach-tree in fruit; the fruit, however, was not ripe. At noon we arrived at Waipapa, a small stream; the ford, was natural, of rock; below which was a chasm filled with water, apparently very deep. – Gathered, here, a new species of *Drosera*: and, watched, for a few moments, with admiration, the mazy flight of a most splendid species of Dragon-fly, as it wheeled over the water – its head and back were emerald-green, streaked with gold, head and belly, carmine; wings, dotted with 4 lozenge-shaped crimson dots – and much attenuated. At 2, P.M., we arrived at Pukeokui, a very neat and clean little village, desirably situated in the midst of a fertile plain, but with a hideous and huge obscene figure stuck over the entrance. The Chief of the place, and most of the people were away; – pitched Tent; held Evening Service, and discoursed to the few present from Matt. VII. 17–20.

[11] 23rd. Held prayers this morning, Abraham addressing Natives; left, about 9, A.M., we soon passed over the good land, and came to hills and plains of pipe clay and rushes,

40 WC: Rata, Metrosideros robusta, Allan Cunningham.

which extended as far as the eye could reach. About 11, A.M., we reached the river Wairua; here we met Maru and Kuri, two chiefs who had but lately professed to receive the Gospel, and who were returning homewards from Aotahi, a large village down the river, where they were fired on, on Sunday last, for daring to hold Service! We all got into a small Canoe and passed across the river, to a small village on the opposite side; here we found Koukou and his wife, the latter sick; the chief is the principle man of Pukeokui, the village we had left this morning. Gave the sick woman some Medicine, whilst food, in the canoes in which we were to proceed down the river, was getting ready, I exhorted the people to receive the Gospel. About 2, P.M., we started, in 2 canoes, for the Aotahi; Koukou,⁴¹ Maru, and Kuri, accompanying us. The canoe, in which were Koukou and his party, soon upset, by which they lost some things and got a severe wetting &c. From this, I was providentially preserved. The inhabitants on either side of the river, in plantations working, &c., seemed almost astonished at the appearance of a white man. At 5, P.M., we reached the village; and, as usual, were welcomed with the call of “Haere mai”, not, however, as my Natives interpreted it, very cordially so. We entered the large square within the village, (on one Side of which is the longest house I had seen in N. Zealand, being near 200 feet in length,) here I pitched my Tent; no one, save a relation of Maru’s, came about us; the Chief, Tirarau,⁴² though in the pa, paid us no visit, and my Natives were almost inclined to fear the worst, – they sent us food; I supped on a smoked eel, which I thought delicious; – held prayers, expounded part of XI. of Acts, and retired to rest.

41 WC: Koukou, I never saw again alive; he was slain in the battle in the Bay of Islands in 1837. – I went to the chief Kamera, after the fight, and got his arm, (all that fell to his share) the body was cut up, the moment he fell.

42 Te Tirarau Kūkupa, a prominent leader based around the upper Wairoa River, was described by trader Joel Polack in the 1820s as a tall commanding figure.

[12] 24th. Early this morning I held prayers, among our own selves; – and, having breakfasted, and understanding that the Chief would not come to see me, I, though contrary to Native etiquette, went to see him. He received me very courteously, but would receive nothing of Christ, declaring he would live and die as his fathers had done. After about a half-hour’s conversation, I left him, taking care first to declare the leading truths of the Gospel. Many Native Chiefs came in during our conference; one, a priest, had the hardihood to assert that he had descended to the Native Hades! GOD be praised, I was enabled to speak so plainly and boldly as to disconcert this enemy altogether. The Chief, Tirarau, a fine young man, appears to have more of the dignity, ease, power and wealth of a Chief, than any I have hitherto seen. He behaved exceedingly hospitably to us, he sent me, a pig roasted, together with bundles of dried eels, dried shellfish, Potatoes, Melons, Peaches, Pumpkins, &c. &c, – of which my lads, spite of all my remonstrances, took away nearly a Canoe-load! At 3, P.M., we left the village in our Canoes; he came out of his house to see me off, and sat on the bank of the river. I was sorry indeed to leave them in such a state of darkness, and could only pray to Him, who alone can soften the heart, to look in mercy on them.⁴³ The long house, already alluded to, was ornamented with several nude figures; one of which, with a white face and black hat, was evidently intended to represent a white man: this long hall was raised at the upper end by a step or two, which raised part was covered with mats – and reminded me of the Saxon halls of our ancestors, the “dais”, and the salt. After paddling an hour and half up the river, we landed on the right hand bank at a small village named Ripo, where we bivouacked for the night. I held prayers with about 30 Natives, preaching to them from John

43 WC: I felt quite ashamed, on leaving, as I had nothing to give him in return worthy of his acceptance. Later I sent him a scizzors and a comb, abt. which he laughed! –

xx. 31, followed by Abraham. In the evening sat and conversed with a small party on the things of GOD. Much pleased with Maru, both in his deportment and Conversation. Was gratified in hearing a Native offering up extemporaneous prayer, after I had retired to rest. –

25th. Very bad night from Mosquitoes. Rose, held prayers and started on our journey. Travelled until 1 p.m., when we reached Mangare the village of Kuri, here he has a nice little house. Dined, on potatoes, as usual, and proceeded over plains and hills of rush, rushes *only*, shewing the great poverty of the soil. I have little doubt but that great part of those hills, now covered by rush, was once clothed with majestic timber – *first*, from its being the soil the Kauri Pine⁴⁴ loves, *second*, from the number of pieces and logs of burnt wood and charcoal, everywhere scattered, *third*, from now and then meeting (in the path) with large lumps of *Kauri* resin, – and, *fourth*, from the knowledge, that every year vast tracts of forest and other land are cleared by fire by the natives. Towards Evening we again crossed the river Wairua, here called Maramanui;⁴⁵ I could but think, as the setting sun threw his broad beams on the sheet of water before me, that the river well-deserved its descriptive name. Most New Zealand names are highly descriptive and full of meaning; arising, doubtless, from its being an original language. Brought up for the night at the foot of Porua, a steep hill clothed with wood, quite tired with my long day's journey. This place should have been called Mosquito Glen, for it was only with great difficulty that we, prayed, read, ate, or slept; they were innumerable!

26th. Held prayers, breakfasted on what little we had, and started; one immense forest from our sleeping place to Waioreore, the village [13] of Maru which place we reached about 11, A.M. – a small village with very few residents –

44 WC: *Dammara australis*. Lamb.

45 WC: "Maramanui," literally means, a big light.

quite sequestered from the world, but not from Sin. – David wished for the wings of a Dove that he might fly away into the wilderness – and, Cowper, sighed, “for a lodge in some vast wilderness;” here then was one, and yet I doubt not, but that both the Royal Psalmist and Christian Bard, would, with Jerome and others of the “olden time,” who fled to wildernesses and deserts, have proved, that they had themselves with them and that, after all, Man was made for Society. – Dined at Waiorere and started again at 2, p.m., much to the dissatisfaction of Maru, who remained, and who wished us also to stay. Passed through a splendid forest of Totara; and several very fine Palm trees – Nikau, of the Natives.⁴⁶ Halted at sunset on the brink of a small river, called Te Ngau a te Hanehane.

27th. A most miserable night from our winged tormentors! In spite of smoke, &c. &c., the Mosquitoes drove me from my tent, and my Native lads from the shed which they had constructed & fire they had made, to seek refuge in a neighbouring swamp – where among the *Korari* we passed the night; earnestly wishing for day. The whole wilderness resounded with their song – ting, ting, ting, uninterruptedly all night. I was astonished at the noise they made. Early this morning we started, at noon we arrived at Waiomio: this valley has a most romantic appearance, from its towering crags of limestone, which being partly overgrown with evergreen shrubs, gave it, at a little distance, the form of a venerable ruin mantled with ivy. Here, in the side of a hill is the remains of what was evidently a Crater, now filled with water. We dined, like the Israelites of old, “staff in hand” on half roasted Potatoes, being anxious to reach the Kawakawa before night – which village we reached at 5, p.m., and were

46 WC: “Totara,” a kind of *Podocarpus*. “Nikau,” *Rhopalostylus sapida*. The Natives eat the pith of this plant which somewhat resembles sago and to which it is very nearly related. –

very hospitably received, held prayers [15] with the Natives, and being fatigued, retired early to my Tent: not, however, to sleep, for a thief being discovered stealing potatoes, caused such a barking of dogs, firing of Musquets, and clamour of tongues, as would have defied even Somnus himself. –

28th. LORD's-day. Held Service this morning, a goodly assemblage of persons, all attention. – Held Service again in the Evening; and returned to Paihia Station by Canoe. – Praised be GOD for all His Mercies!

1836: 31 May–9 June

Second Trip into the bush, intending to go on to Kaipara.⁴⁷

May 31. Left Paihia – arrived at Kauakaua about 6 p.m., slept in Paul's raupo house.

June 1, Restless night – excessively cold morning, left at ½ past 9 a.m. After walking through rivers running among the trees in the forests, we arrived at Tarawera, the pa of Hara – a well fenced pa, quantity of obscene figures mounted on the Taeapa⁴⁸ – had a long chat with him – gave it to him, I trust in truth, – went on – abt. 3 p.m. arrived at Tourangatira, the people were gone to a hahunga⁴⁹ at Puketona – went on to Onewaka – chief Kuretou, blind; – feast, hahunga here yesterday, spoke boldly to about 20; they wished me to stay, and said, poor souls, If I was to come often and speak in that manner they would wakapono.⁵⁰ Preached this evening from John III, 16, followed by Joseph – gave out some pills – this

47 ATL MS-Papers-11062 includes a bush journal 9 to 28 February and 31 May to 9 June: ATL 88-103-1/10 has a typescript.

48 Fence.

49 Ceremony for uplifting bones.

50 *Whakapono* = to believe or trust. Colenso is already writing notes to himself in te reo.

pa is curiously sitd. on a boldly-curved bank of the river Kopau (the upper part of the Kauakaua) which rushes furiously by here, being swelled by the late flood.

June 2. Slept 5 in the tent – restless night – very cold morning – spoke to people on the parable of the Sower – they seemed very cold though attentive – we struck our tent to proceed when the old blind chief arrived lamenting our going without food, when the truth was that he would not give us any – proceeded – crossed 2 curious bridges, rather dangerous – about noon came up with about 60 persons mostly armed – Mate their chief at their head – I spoke to him and them for near 2 hours, blessed be GOD, bold and fearless – gave physic to his child – they gave us potatoes &c. – saw a curious subsidence of the earth on the side of a hill, about 200 yards long and 60 to 80 wide – brought up at Punakitere (a river which runs on to Hokianga) very much tired – had a nice wash in the river though winter.

June 3. Restless night – owls, kakas, ducks, mosquitoes and rain! Started for the nearest kainga – every appearance of rain, arrived at 9 a.m. at Ranga, saw 2 sick children very near death, began to rain heavily shortly after our arrival – no coffee, no fire, 4 in the tent. Rain pelting in – laid down at 6 p.m. with the comfortable reflection of having at least 12 or 13 hours of darkness and rain to encounter before daybreak.

June 4th. After a wretched night, during which our tent was blown down on us, arose and started – sent Joseph __ to the next kainga to seek for any kind of shelter for us to huddle into from the rain – he returned saying he had found one – it was a large kauta⁵¹ prepared for my reception by being strewed with wet fern, not a nook in it free from wet and wind and smoke – about 20 x 12 ft., sides of ponga.⁵² Read,

51 cookhouse

52 treefern

catechised, addressed natives from Matt. XXVII, 24, 27 – read with them and went to rest.

June 5. Arose last night and took some laudanum in order to procure sleep but failed in procuring the sleep I wished. Read with and catechised natives; addressed them on parable of Wedding Feast – a little boy about 4 years of age repeated Cat. so well, and read also, that I gave him a Catechism. The waipuke⁵³ having made travelling almost impracticable and still threatening rain, resolved to remain over Sunday here – ascended Tauwenua (Commonly called Hikurangi, which is the name of all this district) this hill rises abruptly – soil uncommonly rich all over it – from the top it hollows in the shape somewhat of a Punch-bowl, descended into it – it has boon cultivated all over – with difficulty we got through the brake, here some feet over our heads, to the lake Kereru – the water is very deep – in it are leeches – nearly in its centre is a very pretty little island – very sacred, as the bones of some of note lie there, its name is Motuarangi – rocks round black lava – this lake keeps the hollow *in* the hill dry, being below it. Much to the alarm of my guide I shoved off and kicked the sacred moki of Tu⁵⁴ – the waters, they say, have a subterranean exit from this lake – when they appear – run on – and again sink – again appearing – forming a part of the river called Ko Pou – this river falls into the Punakitere, which enters the sea at Hokianga. Read several Chaps. with the natives, Joseph addressing them.

June 6. Sunday. After *another* restless night found *another* rainy morning! I was fearful we should not be able to hold a service, yet the LORD was better than all my fears. Assembled people, about 20, and spoke to them on John XI, 25, 26. Felt strengthened, bless the LORD. While they were at school, which Joseph conducted, I had one quiet, comfortable hour!

53 flood

54 May refer to a raft made of bundles of raupō, flax stalks or rushes.

Evening service spoke from Matt. XI, 28 – felt maia⁵⁵ – returned to the house, made a good dinner and read and chatted with chief and boys until bedtime.

June 7. Another almost sleepless night – yet I trust a blessed one to my soul. I was very sorry to find another rainy morning. I was determined to start but could not on account of the nuinga of the waipuke,⁵⁶ independent of the rain, so I was obliged to make myself as comfortable as I could with a very bad headache and a cold.

June 8. This morning appeared rather more favourable and accordingly we started in order to return to Paihia by way of Waimate. Roads very much under water. Came to a stream deep and rapid which was only to be crossed by sliding over an old tree, rather hazardous, but crossed in safety. About noon we arrived at another stream which we crossed with less difficulty. Abt. ½ past 1 p.m., we arrived at Kaikohi and were hospitably received by Mata, Rawiri's wife. The Gospel here *shows* itself, the cows, the fowls, the fences, the children, the wheat, &c. Obtained some good milk which was indeed a treat, spoke on Eph. v, 8. Felt strong in the LORD. Oh! the mercy of GOD! HIS mercy!

June 9. Rather wet in tent last night, thunder, lightning and rain; fine morning. Prayers, catechized children, asked them a few questions which they answered tolerably well. Oh GOD, may they be *thine*! Arrived about 2 p.m. at Brother Davis' house, Waimate, after a tiresome, wet and dirty walk.

55 brave, bold, capable, confident.

56 larger part of the flood.

1837**Memorandum...**⁵⁷

[15] After this I made no more long journeys for nearly 2 years, keeping close at home printing the New Testament; which Book I commenced, on March 23/36, and finished, on December 8/37: 5,000 copies. On Sundays, however, I always moved out among the Natives, chiefly to Kawakawa and Waiomio, and sometimes to Waikare. Often importuned by the Tribe at Owae to visit them again; I corresponded with them by Letter. The Testament being completed, I accompanied Rev. W. Williams to East Cape & neighbourhood. –

A number of sketches are dated 1837. ...

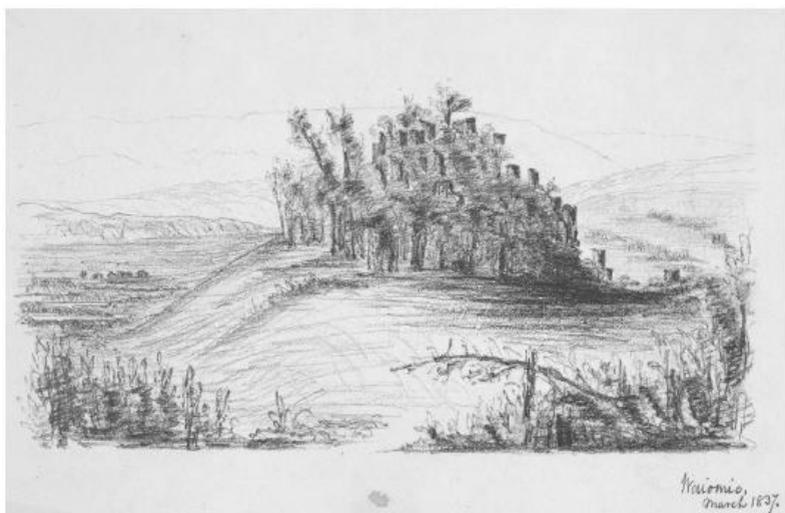
57 ATL MS-0589.



"River, Bay of Islands," March 1837. [Collection of Hawke's Bay Museums Trust, Ruawhoro TS-t-rangi. 67864].



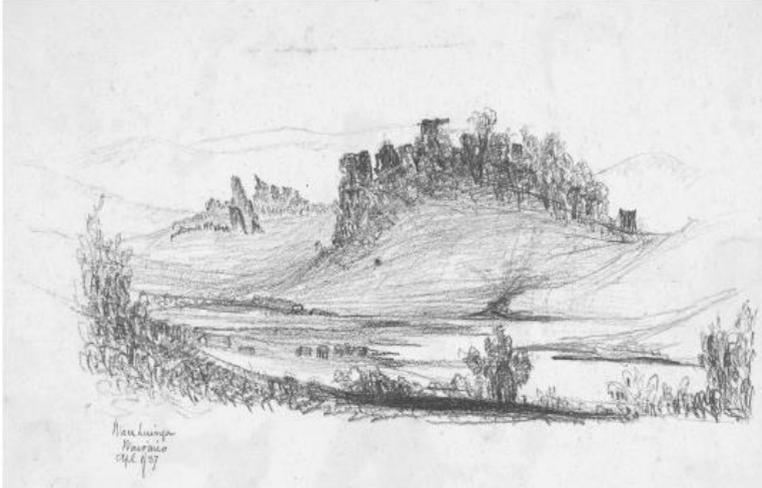
Looking towards the Veronica Channel from Opua, 2021



"Waionio," March 1837. [Mitchell Library. ref. PXA236 CY283; image 8].



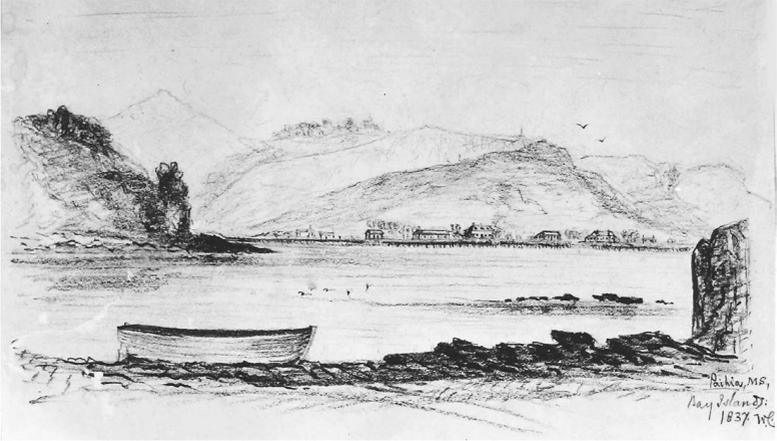
"Waionio," 1 April 1837. [Mitchell Library. ref. PXA236 CY283; image 10].



"Warehuings, Waioioe," 1 April 1837. [Mitchell Library: ref. PXA236 CY283; image 3].



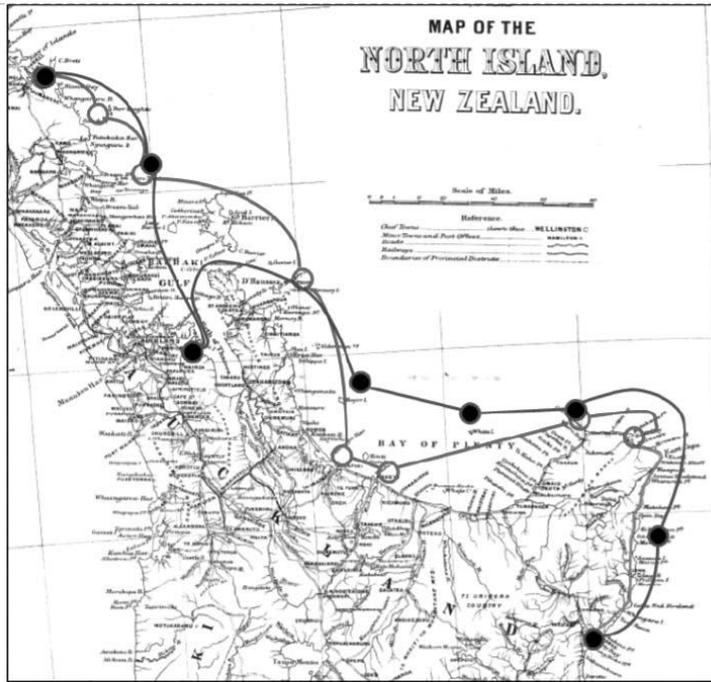
**Limestone formations at Waioioe.
Photograph by Clem Earp, from *eColenso* September 2018.**



"Paihia, M(ission) S(tation), Bay of Islands: 1837. W.C." [Collection of Hawke's Bay Museums Trust, Ruawhāro Tā-ū-rangi. 6417]. A photograph by RJ George of a similar drawing. "Paihia from the islet Motuorangi." in the Auckland War Memorial Museum [PH-NEG-B4819, PH-CNEG-C2973] appears to be of a copy. The drawing was lithographed by David Blair for Colenso W 1888. *Fifty years ago in New Zealand*. R.C. Harding. Napier. 49p.



Unnamed, undated. Unidentified buildings, perhaps Paihia. [Mitchell Library: ref. PXA236 CY283; image 7].



Daily log of a voyage on the mission schooner *Columbine* 1838 from Paihia to Hicks Bay, returning Gisborne to Paihia,

out ○ and back ●

1838: At Paihia

In the winter of this year I was attacked with fever and a serious constriction of the throat—it was epidemic at that time in the Bay and carried off many, both Europeans and Maoris, after but a very short illness. I was brought very low and I knew from what was being said within my hearing that that night was supposed to be my last. Propped up in bed I could scarcely breathe, when my medical attendant, Dr. Ford, (we had a resident Dr. then) proposed a strong blister to my throat. This was spread on stout unyielding brown paper cut

too wide. I having but a short neck it was to me positive torture; I strove hard but could not endure it; beckoning the Dr. I solemnly asked if he were sure this application would do me good. He answered doubtfully. Then I tore it off and dashed it on the floor saying if my time was come I would die in peace. I recovered however from that night, but slowly. On this occasion of my illness the Rev. H.W. and his eldest son, Mr. E.M.W. (who had lately returned from England) were particularly kind to me, and so also were some of the other missionaries. That night one of the finest and stoutest of my young Maories, a young man of 20, or so, from Tolaga Bay, died suddenly. He had only been a few hours ailing, (the Dr. who had seen him said there was really nothing the matter with him) and he would not leave the outer step of my door; he, poor fellow, had heard of my danger and he took it to heart. The Dr. always said that he died of sheer fright and I believe it. One thing is pretty certain that his death retarded my recovery.

In the spring of this year soon after my recovery I went for a change to the Waimate, to Rev. W. Williams and while there, having seriously considered my case and after much prayer for guidance, I wrote a letter to Miss Williams at Paihia asking for her hand; this letter, however, I enclosed open in a letter to her father for him to read and pass on to her if he approved of it. My letter to Miss W. would be deemed a very strange one if compared in the usual tenor and tone of such letters, for I had plainly said that God and His work had my heart and would ever be upper most with me. I had also solemnly bound myself to abide (as far as missionary work was concerned) by the answer I should receive. Her father soon replied saying that the present state of my health etc. preventing him giving his consent. I do not think that my application was ever known outside the family. The parents were too prudent for that, and I religiously kept my word in every sense; none has ever heard of it from me. I never knew

if my letter to Miss Williams had reached her hands. However, after this I was not so often a visitor to their house (only next door) as formerly, and often found it very awkward, especially on Sundays and at our bi-weekly Prayer Meetings, on meeting or parting and shaking hands. Still I could not help fancying that if I had followed my letter up I should have been accepted.

Here I may state that not long before this event I had again had 2, 3 unfortunate squabbles with Mr. Williams, who (as, I have said before) was my next door neighbour and living close to me. At this time and for some months we 2 were the only resident missionaries in the Paihia Station, Mr. Baker having moved to Waikare same 15 miles off and only approachable by boat and at high water. This made it the more uncomfortable for me as I was the only "layman" and almost always at home on week-days and Mrs. Williams was a highly imperious woman, as we all knew! Mr. W. had also recently brought a serious charge against me—of my having written home to the C.M.S. about his purchases of large tracts of land from the Maoris; this I denied wholly and entirely and dared him to prove it. Another thing that had displeased him and some other of the missionaries was the fact of the C.M.S. choosing me as their trustee in Matters of land in N.Z. (their Stations): also my steadily adhering to the regulations of the C.M.S. that their missionaries should not buy nor hold land in N.Z. Then there were many little disagreeable things of almost weekly occurrence, caused by his growing-up sons, which, though small in themselves, were truly crosses, and nearly all of them might have been easily avoided.

In December '38 the Bp. of Australia (Broughton) visited the Bay of Islands. He confirmed a no. of natives and others and ordained a young man, Mr. Hadfield, whom he had brought down with him, at Paihia (now Bp. of Wellington). On the Sunday after my service at the Station I accompanied

him on board of the H.M.S. Pelorus (which ship had also brought him from Sydney to the Bay) and after lunch we went to Kororarereka (Russell) together in one of the ship's boats where he was to preach to the Europeans. Owing to the rough tumbling surf we were obliged to land at the N. end of the long soft shingle beach and it was a sore trial for the Bp. to walk to the other end where the church was, he being lame: he gladly took my arm and it was intensely hot. We were late and the congregation was waiting and (worst of all!) there being no vestry I had to open and unpack the Bp's. trunk of robes and help him to put them on before all. I am sure that both of us felt an awkward situation. I have never forgotten it. Subsequently on finally parting from us he expressed himself very feelingly and pleasingly to me in particular. I mention this because (1) from this period may be truly dated the entrance of H. Ch. views among us missionaries in N.Z. and, also (2) because and owing to the growth of these views I by and bye (in May '41) wrote a letter to him asking for Ordination, but saying I did not want it for any other purpose than that of doing as I had for many years always done without let or hindrance—i.e. preach the Gospel to the N.Zrs. This letter the Bp. never acknowledged, but he showed it at Sydney to Dr. Selwyn, the Bp. of N.Z., when on his way to this country. Dr. S. told me so and here again my plain dealing was used against me.⁵⁸

1838: 1 January–13 February

Jany. 1. – Went on board “Columbine” at 7. p.m., with Revd. W. Williams; and, at 10. p.m., weighed anchor: vessel full, slept on deck. –

58 Excerpt from Colenso's 1883 *Autobiography*.

This was the “holiday” granted the printer and editor on completion of the New Testament in te reo.⁵⁹ Colenso returned to Paihia on the Columbine on 13 February, having explored the East Coast from Hick’s Bay to Gisborne on foot with William Williams. Colenso’s account ends,

[15] 13th. Morning, off Cape Brett, with light wind: noon, we anchored, and were, shortly afterwards, on shore. Mr Williams came *home*; not so myself, *my home is in the wild*. Evening, addressed Natives in Paihia Chapel from Matt. x.7. Blessed be GOD for every mercy! Amen. All I have *seen*, and do daily see, shows me more & more clearly, that a Missionary should be a person who, not only can “become *all things*”, but, who also, knows how to “*endure all things*.”

No other journals for 1838 have survived. Colenso’s report to the Church Missionary Society for the second half of the year shows he was busy in the printing office.

Mr Colenso’s Report⁶⁰

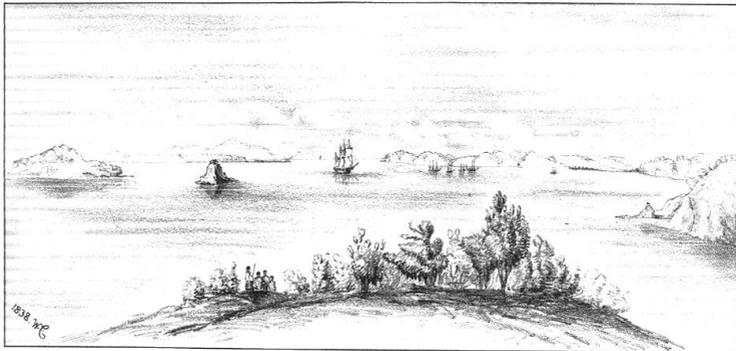
During the last six months I have been engaged as follows. Printing Office. Printing 500 copies 1½ sheet New Zealand Grammar, demy 12mo; composing Order of Confirmation 4pp., post 8vo., & printing 200 copies of same; composing Order of Consecration for burial grounds 4pp., post, & printing 100 copies of same; composing Prayer Book 1½ sheet, demy 12mo., & printing 7000 copies of same. Binding Department. Binding 200 copies of St. Matthew’s Gospel, 200 copies of St. Mark & Luke, 200 copies of John to Romans, 200 copies 1 Cor. to Philemon, 200 copies Hebrews to

59 See Appendix B.

60 Church Missionary Society records.

Revelations, & 9 old Native Prayer & Scriptures. On the LORD's day I have either visited the natives in the different villages, or held service in Paihia Chapel. For near two months of the past six I was more or less unable to attend to my ordinary duties in the printing office &c. through weakness arising from illness, but now through GOD's mercy & blessing, I feel myself once more restored to health. (Sigd.) William Colenso.

He did make sketches in 1838.



H.B. HERALD LITHO.

The Anchorage with Russell, Bay of Islands
From top of the high hill behind Paihia.

2184a-c 66.

"The Anchorage, with Russell, Bay of Islands," 1838. Lithograph by David Blair from Colenso W 1838. *Fifty years ago in New Zealand*. R.C. Harding, Napier. 49p.



"Anchorage, Bay of Islands; from Nihonui" 3 August 1838. [Collection of Hawks' Bay Museums Trust, Ruawhāro Tā-ā-rangi, 6078].
The drawing from which Blair made the lithograph.



From Nihonui Point, 2021



"Part of Waimate from Takapaukura," 20 August 1838. [Collection of Hawke's Bay Museum's Trust, Ruamhoro TS-G-raagi, 7081].



Te Akaunui from Harira road, 2021



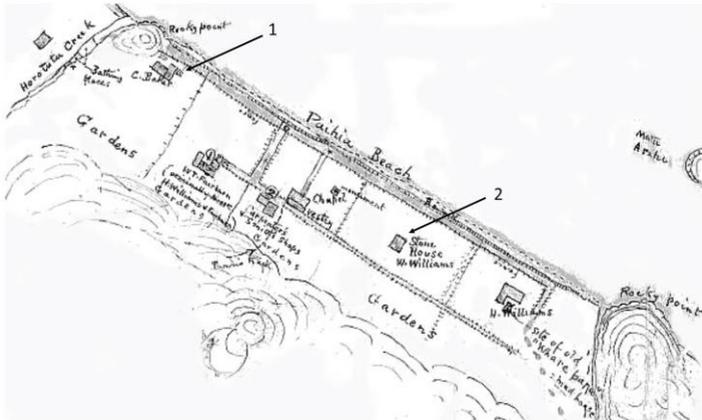
"Broughton's House, Mawea," 8 August 1838? [Collection of Hawke's Bay Museums Trust, Ruawhāro Tā-ū-rangi, 6052]
Mawea was at Lake Omāpere, the site of Hone Heke's pa.



"Okao: Ebenezer cottage in the distance," 17 August 1838. [Mitchell Library, ref. PXA236 CY283; image 19]
Colenso's friend, William Wade, lived at Ebenezer cottage, Okāhau for a time.

1839

In 1839 Colenso and the printing press moved to William Williams c.1832 house at Paihia (the first stone house built in New Zealand). Williams had left to go to Te Waimate in 1835, when Charles Baker moved from his house near Rocky point. After Baker moved to Waikare in 1838, Colenso occupied it with the press 1839 to 1842 when he moved to Te Waimate. John Telford took over the press and occupied the house 1843–1845.



Paihia mission settlement in about 1835, modified from a map by Edwin Fairburn, showing Charles Baker's house (1) which first accommodated the press, and William Williams's stone house (2) where Colenso moved the press in 1839.

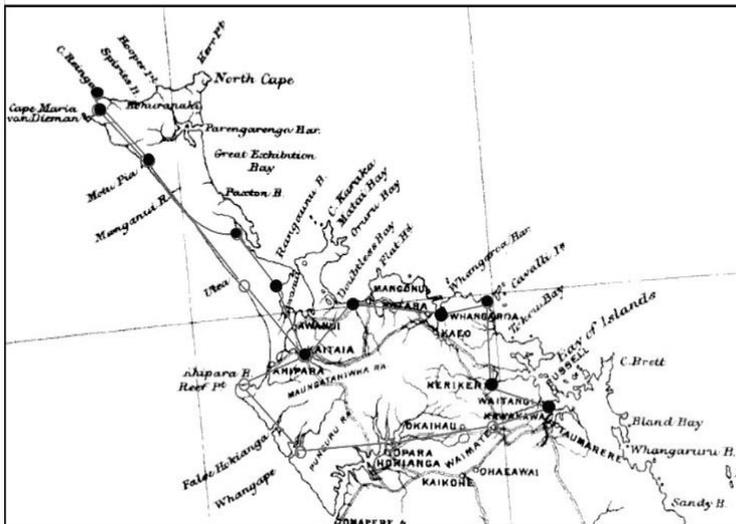
20 March–14 April

Memorandum...⁶¹

[91] Memorandum of a Journey made, in March & April, 1839, from Paihia to Hokianga on the W. Coast, and thence on to Cape Maria Van Diemen; thence returning to Kaitaia Station, and back, by E. Coast to Paihia. –
Extracted from Journal.

Stopping places on a journey to Cape Reinga March and April 1839.

Out ○ and back ●



March, 20th. Left Paihia, this morning for the Waimate Station, on my way to Hokianga. Having arranged with Mr Wade (of Waimate) to proceed on a visit to the Northward. –

21st. Mr Wade & myself left, this morning, for Mangungu, (the Wesleyan Mission Station) on the river Hokianga. Gained

⁶¹ ATL MS-0589. ATL MS-0582 is a typed transcript.

a few ferns in the large wood (*Hymenophyllum scabrum*, very fine.), and noticed the beautiful Palms, (*Areca sapida*,) the largest I had hitherto seen; of the latter, I obtained both fruit and flowers. At 6, p.m. we gained [92] the river Waiho; here, fortunately for us, we found an old boat, entering which we gained the station by ½ past 8, p.m., having to encounter the tide making against us. We were very hospitably received by our Brethren, who were glad to see us. Their Station, too, was crammed, for the “James”, had just arrived from England bringing them several helpers in their Missionary work. May the LORD grant His blessing on their labours!

22nd. Strolled about the Station conversing with the Brethren. Procured a specimen or two for my Herbarium. Took a Sketch of Station. Conversed with Thomas Walker⁶² (a baptized Chief,) and others, on the Errors of Rome. Left, about 4, p.m., (eleven of us in number, i.e., Mr. W., myself, and our 9 natives,) for the other Missy. Station at Pakanae, near the heads of the river. The wind and tide were against us, and the boat small, old, and leaky. Night overtook us on the river, in a place where we were all utter strangers. We had almost concluded to land at the first landing-place that might present itself, but a boat passing us we determined on following that. We did so, until it stopped, when we enquired our distance from, and direction to, Pakanae. Mr. Munro,⁶³ a Settler, who was in the boat kindly invited us to pass the night at his house, which we thankfully accepted. Following him, we got to Mata, (on the N. bank of the river and not far from the heads,

62 Tamate Waka Nene, the second son of Tapua, leader and tohunga of Ngāti Hao of Hokianga, and the younger brother of Patuone. He became the highest-ranking chief among his own people and one of the three leaders in Hokianga. He protected the Wesleyan mission and was baptised in 1839, taking the name Tāmami Wāka, after Thomas Walker, an Englishman connected to the Church Missionary Society.

63 William Munro, Hokianga settler, who later joined Tamati Waka Nene in the Bay of Islands war against Hone Heke.

Pakanae being nearly opposite on the other side,) where he lived; about 11, p.m., after 7 hours toiling in the boat! Here we were very kindly entertained.



"Lake Mawee," 21 March 1839. [Journal, 1839-1840, gifted by Mrs. Martin Simcox, Collection of Hawke's Bay Museum Trust, Ruawhāro Tā-ā-rangi, ms6723 c. 66224]. Hōne Hōke's pa Pūkecūmū jutting into Lake Omapere was sometimes referred to as Te Mawee.



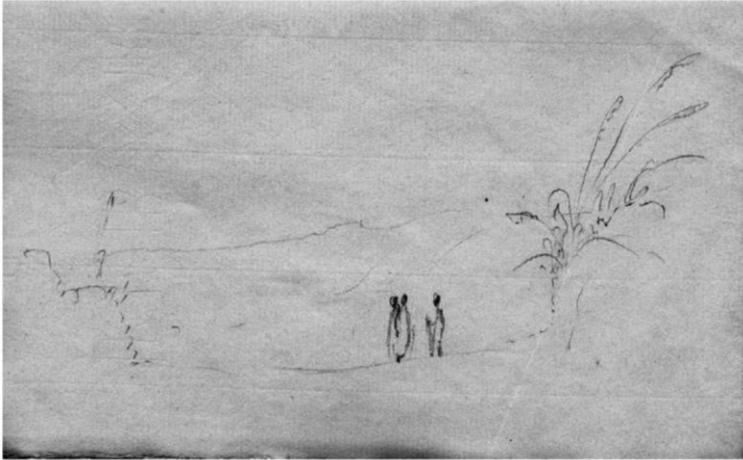
Lake Omapere from the road, 2021. Hōke's pa site at right.



Unnamed, undated: Manguu Mission, Hokianga, 21 March 1839. [Journal, 1839-1840, gifted by Mrs. Martin Simcox, Collection of Hawke's Bay Museums Trust, Ruwāhoro Te-ā-rangi, ms7/23 c. 66224]. Built 1838-1839 for Rev. Nathaniel Turner. Colenso: "Left for Manguu... at Mr Turner's sbt. 8th" Manguu was established on the shore of Hokianga Harbour in 1838 as a Wesleyan Mission station.



Manguu in 2021



Unnamed, undated: between Hokianga and Cape Reinga, 21–31 March 1839.

[Journal, 1839–1840, gifted by Mrs. Martin Simcox, Collection of Hawke's Bay Museums Trust, Ruawhāro Tā-ō-rangi, m67/23 c, 66224]

23rd. Prayers and breakfast over, we, bidding adieu to our worthy host and his wife, left Mata, and proceeded over very high and barren sand hills to get to the Coast. Land of a dazzling whiteness, in many places without the least vegetation. From top of these hills, Mr. W. took a sketch, and I gained a few Botanical Specimens. About 2, p.m., we arrived at a small village named Nukupure; [93] here, on the beach, we dined; conversed with the Natives who said they were disciples of Pikopo. Saw, and endeavoured to read, one of the R.C. Bishops Manuscript Manuals; endeavoured to copy some of the sentences which the Natives would not allow me to do. Gave them one of our prayer books, and, wishing them well, proceeded. Gained a few Geological and Conchological Specimens; and seeds of *Hibiscus vesicarius*, here in flower & fruit. By 7, p.m., through severe walking & much exertion we arrived at Wangape, very weary. Here were a few Natives, with whom I held prayers, and conversed till near 11 o'clock.

24th. LORD's-day. Finding there was a larger village, called Rotokakahi, at a little distance, we arranged that Mr. W. should go thither, to hold Service, while I remained at this place for the same purpose: preached to the few Natives at this place from John III., on the necessity of Regeneration: catechized & read Scripture with our own lads: – Conversed with Natives (in whose ears the wonderful popish medals were suspended,) on the Errors of Rome. Mr. Wade returng. spoke to the Natives from 2 Cor. VI., I reading prayers. The Chief of the party, a queer, little, old man, seated himself in the Morning in a shrubby bush just in front of my tent, where he remained, like an old gander in a nest, until evening, smoking, talking, & dozing away the day; at which I was, I confess, much amused.

25th, This morning I held prayers with, and spoke a few words to, natives. Breakfasted, & started; crossing the little harbour in a small canoe; where we crossed it was not more than a furlong in width. We travelled about 5 miles, when we came to a small village, where we found 2 baptized Natives belonging to our Station at Kaitaia, with whom I held a short conversation, and gave them a prayer Book. From this place we proceeded on to a village, called Herekino; here we found a few natives who could read, and gave them a few Books. Here was a small river [94] which we crossed in a canoe. Our route than lay over sandhills, which were very steep, and the sand very loose, without vegetation; we found it no easy task to gain the summit, under too, a boiling sun. Here and there, we picked up pebbles of Chalcedony & Cornelian, some large enough to form a seal, and of superior quality. Having gained the topmost ridge, we descended again to the beach. About 2, p.m., we were abreast of a small village the women of which came down to the shore to see us, (the men being absent fishing,) their behaviour was not the most decorous; addressed them briefly a few words of exhortation. Proceeded onwards, over very long sandy beaches, with little variation in the

scenery, until 8, p.m., in hopes of finding a village and obtaining some food, but in vain: brought up on the sandy beach, all hands excessively tired. The Moon rode in silent majesty in the dark blue vault of heaven, still the dark gathering clouds to windward foreboded rain; unfortunately we could not find a stick anywhere wherewith to pitch our tents. Mr. W. got his half up, by the aid of our long walking sticks; I was obliged to burrow like a rabbit, a hole in the sand, where, in my clothes, I lay, flinging my tent over me. It rained during the night, fortunately, however I escaped being wet, but was very stiff by morning from my contracted position in my "burrow". Rising at day light I enjoyed a bath in the sea. Held prayers & breakfasted; whilst thus engaged a small party of natives came upon us; from whom I learned that this place was called Mokorau, and that we were not far from a village.

26th. Prayers over we started forwards; soon came to Rangitoto, a village which contains several natives; we saw from 50 to 60, who crowded about us very much. I conversed with them. From the appearance of the course of the land (which we examined with a glass, and marked the bearings of by compass,) – from this place to Cape M.V. Diemen, I should say it must be **[95]** very erroneously laid down in the Charts. Hence, we proceeded onwards by beach about 2 miles further, when we struck off from the Coast in an inland direction for Kaitaia Station. Here we parted; Mr. Wade going directly to Kaitaia, whilst I, diverging to the right, went to a village at a short distance in order to see Te Morenga, the principal chief of this district who very lately (as I heard) had embraced the errors of Popery. On arriving at his village I found he was from home, but his mother sent a slave to fetch him; he soon returned, and with him several chiefs; and, in a few minutes we were discussing the merits of Romanism, with no small degree of zeal. Te Morenga, a fine looking man with a full black beard, stripped himself to the skin, in order

the better to act the orator, whilst all present sat attentively listening. Failed, however, in convincing him of his error; gave him a Knife, Scizzors, &c, on parting. Got here some of the finest & most mealy potatoes I had yet eaten in New Zealand. Leaving him about 2, p.m., we proceeded on towards Kaitaia; met some natives in the way, to whom I spoke concerning their Souls. – One chief said, “Spit thou in my mouth that I may remember thy words”! opening his mouth wide, at the same time, for me to do so!! The man was really in earnest, but what could possibly have induced him to say & do so I cannot say: it is *not* a N. Zealand practice. Arrived at the Station by 5, p.m., over a good level path, all the way from the sea. Felt fatigued; took Service in Chapel with natives, preached to them from Mark X. 51, much blessed in so doing; Congregation, from 60 to 100, were very attentive.

27th. Remained all day in Station, conversing with brethren & lookg. about.

28th. having arranged yesterday for going to Cape Maria Van Diemen today, and being all ready, and lads starting, was surprised & disappointed on Mr Wade’s saying, he should wait till Monday next and go with Mr Matthews,⁶⁴ – so I was obliged either to wait, for company, [96] or go on alone; I, being limited to time, without hesitation chose the latter. Left the Station at 10, a.m.; rainy morning; travelling N.W. by Compass brought us once more to the sea-side, over sand hills. About 2, p.m., we gained the beach, which stretched out before us, without a rock or headland, until lost in the distance: our course lay nearly N., over the firm sandy beach. Soon overtook the old Chief Wharewhare⁶⁵ and a party of natives who were also travelling N. The old man growled & grumbled exceedingly at my going that way; saying, I should

64 Joseph Matthews 1808–1895 established a mission at Kaitaia in 1834 with William Puckey.

65 Te Wharewhare was Ngati Kahu chief at Ahipara.

not go to the Cape, &c, I said, I would; and that when I returned to the Bay of Islands I would also tell the Ngapuhi tribes that I had seen old “amuamu” on the beach of Muriwenua;⁶⁶ he then retorted, observing I had been kind to his son, Te Morenga, but had not given him (Wharewhare) anything; notwithstanding his kind present to me of a water-melon at Rangitoto; I soon saw what was the ground of the matter, so I gave him a little Tobacco & a few Hooks, he giving me in return several fine fresh mullet. Proceeding onwards, we fell in with another party of Natives who were employed in gutting & cleaning mullet, preparatory to drying which operation they performed by cutting the fish down the back with a sharp shell, and taking out the back bone, which done they spread them in the sun to dry. Sat and conversed with Natives while my boys were roasting a few potatoes and fish for dinner. Leaving them, we fell in with another party, who were similarly engaged: this fish appears to be plentiful on these shores at this season; they were taken in small nets, carried out from the shore by wading. It almost appeared a thing incredible, when I looked on the continuous line of breakers which ran parallel with the coast as far as the eye could reach. Evening brought up on a Sand hillock, near the Beach, at a place called Waipahirere. Old Wharewhare came up & pitched a little behind us. Read prayers with my Natives. A few of Wharewhare’s party came to my tent-door, more from curiosity than any other motive; conversed [97] with them, and endeavoured to prevail on 2 lads to accompany me on my return to the Bay of Islands, but was unsuccessful.

29th. Held prayers, a few Natives from Wharewhare’s party present, addressed them briefly in a few words of exhortation; started about 8, a.m., proceeding as yesterday over long flat, sandy beaches. At 11, a.m., came abreast of a little hill rising

66 WC: “amuamu”, a word the natives use in a very expressive manner: – in this place it might be translated, “stingy-grumbler,”

abruptly from the plain around it, named Puketere, worthy of notice as being the only change in the landscape during the whole morning's march. At 1, p.m., we came to a small brook, named Raparapahoe, here, to our great gratification, we found water, (by no means a plentiful article among these sandhills,) and here we rested and dined. 2, p.m., we again started onwards, as before, over the beach; having, on the left, an uninterrupted line of breakers, like a long wall, lost in the distance, in the mist themselves were creating, – on the right, low, broken, barren sand hillocks. Still, there was much of life here, for the shore was tenanted by thousands of sea-birds; Gulls, of various species; oyster-catchers, (resembling the Cornish crow in their black bodies & crimson beaks & legs,) Sanderlings, and many others, by whom a Concert (always out of tune) was continually kept up. We were often amused with those birds, their tameness, dexterity, cries, antics, and disputes, served in a great measure to beguile the loneliness of the way. I caught one, but let it go again, that it might inform his companions of his marvellous capture. At 5, p.m., we brought up night, at a place called Arai, excessively tired; feet much bladdered & very sore. Threw off my shoes, and kept my feet a considerable while in cold water to allay their burning. Strange to say, both myself and lads, suffered far more in our feet and knees from this journey (altogether) than we ever suffered in any other; although the beaches were firm & good walking; owing entirely (I suppose) to there only being a certain set of muscles called into action.

[98] 30th. Wet and lowering morning; it soon cleared up, and at 9, a.m, we started our journey. A half-hour's walk brought us to & rocky headland, named Arai, the *first* rock we had seen since we left Kaitaia; a mile further on from this was another little headland, named Ngaro-maki; off which, and about 2 furlongs from shore, was a sandy islet named Maunganui, (connected however to the main land by a low isthmus dry at low water,) there appeared to be many a reef

out side of the islet over which the seas broke furiously. Here, on the beach I found a fine log of cedar, drifted on shore doubtless from some wreck, utterly useless to the finder from its situation & locality. One of the outermost rocks off Ngaromaki, is, according to the superstition of the Natives, very sacred: (So, in fact, was the route we had come, & the road before us, being that taken by the disembodied spirit of the N. Zealander in order to gain his everlasting habitation off Cape M. V. Diemen!)⁶⁷ I, most sacreligiously dared, to break off some pieces from it as Geologl. specimens; the *first* time it was ever desecrated by human hands!! Proceeding onwards, as before, over sandy beaches, about 1, p.m., we arrived abreast of Matapia, a conical islet about half-a-mile from the shore perforated quite through; the arch thus formed, seemed very large. The shore, to the right, bore evident signs of having been at one time thickly inhabited by Natives, now not a soul! many perished here in those sanguinary wars between the Rarawa and Aopouri Tribes;⁶⁸ it seemed indeed as if swept by the besom of desolation. Hence Pungakoikoi, one long beach, – at which place we arrived by ½ past 3, here we dined and rested ourselves, and here was the *first* hill of earth which I had noticed, by the seaside, from our leaving the immediate neighbourhood of Kaitaia. In the corner, formed by the jutting rocky headland at the foot of the hill, was a pumpkin plantation, a store of pumpkins on a scaffold, a little rill of water, and a “lodge in a garden”;⁶⁹ here was a home for a hermit! Many of the pumpkins had, each, a round hole in them; which holes my guide very gravely affirmed to be caused by the spirits [99] of the Natives in their journey home! “What else could do it?” asked one of them; marvelling

67 Colenso appears at first to confuse Cape Maria van Diemen with Cape Reinga.

68 Te Aupōuri (Ngāti Ruānui) were closely related to Te Rarawa but they had several skirmishes in the early 19th century.

69 Now the carpark at Scott point.

perchance at my utter incredulity; “The rats, perhaps;” was my cool reply; which, I think, settled the question, to all my lads, at least. The Coast here becoming rocky, and the Sea laving the bases of the Cliffs, we ascended the steep hill before us, in order to proceed on our Journey. Gaining the top, the view was most extensive: looking back, by the road we came, we saw many miles of dreary level sandy beaches, stretching far away in the distance until lost in the grey mists of the horizon; these were marked, on the right, by a long interminable line of white foam, and, on the left, by the unvarying Sand hills. In gazing thus *back* over the long and weary way by which we had come without meeting with an inhabitant, for none *lived* there, (and the Spirits, in rushing onwards to their long and cheerless home, either flitted by, shrouded in the ever ascending vapour arising from the breaking surf, unseen by us, or, as the Natives supposed, uncourteously passed our “vile bodies of Clay” in the night, disdainingly to hold conference with us of this lower world!) at the same time remembering, that that tedious route *must* be retraced by us again, ere we should hold converse with a fellow-man, a peculiar kind of indescribable sickening sensation stole over me. x x x x x. I turned from the scene I had been contemplating, and, urging on my lads the necessity of being active, as night was drawing on, our food was expended, & the Sabbath was nigh, I proceeded on my Journey. Before us, was “The Cape”! Yes, at 12 miles, or so, apparent distance, was the ne plus ultra of our ambition and toil!! I rejoiced as much, perhaps, at the sight, as the “ten thousand Greeks” at the sight of the Sea.⁷⁰ After about an hour’s travelling over the hills, we again descended to the sea coast, and crossing a sandy beach, in a pretty little half moon shaped bay, we again struck inland, ascending sandhills, very

70 Xenophon recorded the joyful moment when the ten thousand Greek mercenaries under Cyrus saw the Black Sea from Mount Theches c.400 B.C. Colenso was well read.

steep and more barren and desolate than any I had yet seen; here my guides declared that they could not find the track, the winds having so altered the sand hills [100] making hills where vallies were, and vice versa, that they were quite perplexed and knew not how to steer; at this my lads became quite dispirited, being tired and hungry, and night closing fast about us; there was no time to lose, I knew that there was a small village somewhere near the Cape, so steering for the “dip” of the promontory, (all that was now discernible,) and pushing forwards through fern, swamps, & sand, we, at last, gained the banks of a small river; this, we found to be impassable, from the depth, being dammed up at the mouth by the surf and sand, and not only so, but to our disappointment, quite unpalatable through the sea-water. We endeavoured to force our way up the side of the river, through the thick Jungle of luxuriant vegetation, which, as if in mockery to the barren hills we had recently left, here grew most profusely. While thus engaged, endeavouring to cheer up my lads, I heard voices from a distance; we stopped, listened attentively, not daring to breathe; Yes, ’twas so, – voices of human beings, – I halloed as loud as I could bawl, which was soon heard by them, and, as soon as their fright had subsided, promptly answered. A party of Natives, naked, rushed down and through the river, &, conducting me to the ford, (my lads crossing just above where they were,) brought me to their village; – a wretched little pa, the sticks of the fence of which were so short, that I leaped over them without any difficulty! Yet, these, as I afterwards learn’t, were brought from a distance of between 2 & 3 miles! Here, in this miserable situation, surrounded on all sides by barren sand hills; cut off as it were from the rest of the world, lived 8 individuals, who seemed perfectly astonished to see a white man. The name of this village is Te Werahi, and is about 5 miles from the Cape. Here we also found old Wharewhare and his party, who had arrived about an hour before us; we supposed them to be

behind us, but, they, wishing to be beforehand, passed us during the night. It was nearly 9, p.m., when we arrived; I was for once too tired to converse with the Natives, and they seemed not to desire it.

[101] 31st. LORD's-day, Easter Sunday. At a very early hour this morning I was awoke by the voiciferous clamour of the Natives of the place. They had descried a shoal of mullet at the mouth of the little river, had cast their net, and had captured about 70 fine fish. They brought us some of them, but I refused to accept of them, on account of their being taken on the Sabbath, they knew that this was the "Ratapu",⁷¹ as I, in order that they should not work and plead ignorance, had informed them of it the night before. I was sorry to forego the fish, for my lads' sake as well as my own, but duty and consistency required it; for had I deviated on this occasion, it would have been known far and wide throughout the island, and seized as a precedent. Commenced Conversation with some Chiefs; attention was paid by the two senior chiefs of the village, but old Wareware said, not surlily, he should never believe. I feared, on the way, that if he came hither, he would be a hindrance to the Gospel; as the people of this place, being the remnants of those conquered by his party, were entirely under his influence. Breakfast over, I held Service; old Wareware taking refuge in a hut hard by, to be out of sight, if not out of hearing. – about 25 were present who were not too orderly. After Service I proposed visiting the Cape; considering the very great suitability of the day in which our Blessed LORD, rose from the dead, for going to this descent into the Native Hades, this refuge and gross delusion of lies – and there, with the Volume of Inspiration in my hand, read suitable passages to those who would accompany me to that awful spot! our time too was limited, and we were entirely dependent on the generosity and ability of this little

71 Sunday

party to supply us (8 in number) while here, and, also, with food for our journey back. About noon, one of the Senior Chiefs of the place, as guide, my 5 lads, & myself and dog, started for the celebrated “Reinga”. Wind very strong from the N.N.E., so much so that I was nearly blown down. We travelled for about 2 miles over sand hills and sandy beaches, when we commenced ascending hill on [102] hill, without a path, which, together with the wind against us, was very disagreeable. After nearly an hour spent in ascending the hills, we sighted the Cape once more, and commenced descending towards it, to do this, however, from the steepness of the descent, required as much, if not more wariness, than the ascent demanded. We gained the valley at the bottom of the hill, drank of the little stream (to the astonishment of our guide,) from which, according to the Natives, the Visitant unclothed with mortality takes his last sip of terrestrial beverage, and, crossing the brook, found ourselves beneath the sacred rock! – An almost naked & very craggy promontory jutting out into the sea, which washed 3 sides of it. In front, and about 40 feet in height from the rocks beneath, projected the long and bleached main root of a Pohutukawa Tree,⁷² which our guide, with becoming seriousness, told us was the place from whence the spirits took their last leap into the ocean below! “Look”, said the old chief, “don’t you see, how it is whitened and the bark gone, too, with the treading of their feet?” An argument, which, to him, and doubtless to many others, was unanswerably demonstrative. One of my lads (Tarawero, the son of Wininga, a Chief of note at Poverty Bay,) proposed to clamber up the almost perpendicular race of the cliff, to the “sacred root,” to get me a branch from the young tree, which was vigorously shooting up from the remains of the old one; but, the wind was so very high, the footing so precarious, and, if any accident occurred it would

72 WC: *Metrosideros tomentosa*.

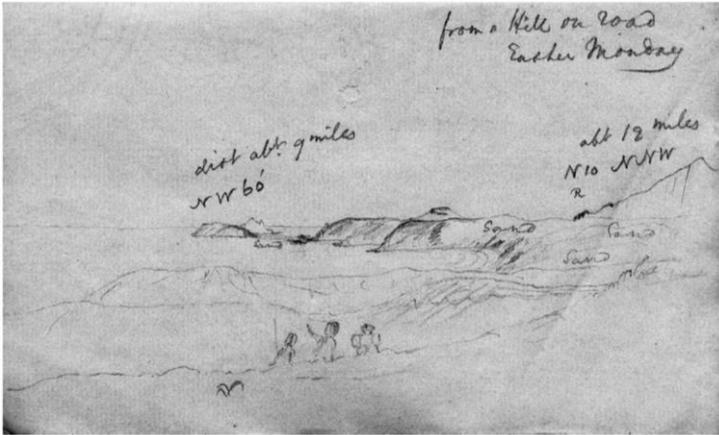
have been directly imputed to our daring impiety, and thus made a great obstacle against the progress of the Gospel, I, therefore, desired him to desist, and borrowing the old Chief's axe, I chipped off a piece of the rock from the face of the Cliff, as a trophy; what peculiar lustration the axe required to purify it, I do not know. – The old Chief asserted that he had seen the spirits going off the root! but was much disconcerted, when, having got him to allow that some New Zealander or other died every hour, I proposed to remain [103] and, nolens volens,⁷³ to keep him also there, until he could point out a spirit unto us. The tide, fortunately, being low, we took our stand beneath the leap, and there, – under the “root,” the ocean rolling majestically at our feet, before us an illimitable expanse of sea & sky, behind us the towering crag, and we, ourselves, standing as it were on the utmost verge of time, looking into the eternity which lay before us. – I read some suitable passages of Scripture, which I had selected for the occasion, making a few remarks thereon. Leaving the place, we passed round the base of the cliff to the other side; ascended and descended our hill, long and steep; and got to our little encampment by 5, p.m. Having rested a short time, I held Service, but was much interrupted by old Wareware, (by whose side I had ventured to take my stand,) with whom I had a long discussion. Truly *gross* darkness rests on this people; yet, to many of them “light has sprung up”! the “day sprung from on high”, it is to be hoped, is breaking upon them, and the cloud of error's dark night, shall be effectually dispersed before the refulgent rising of the Sun of Righteousness! Yes; had we no other indication of it, than that fearless offer of my lad, – to ascend that dark and frowning and hallowed spot, in order to get a branch of that tree (a spot, which for ages has been universally held in the highest reverence by all the N. Zealand tribes; a spot, which no one had ventured to

73 *Nolens volens* = like it or not

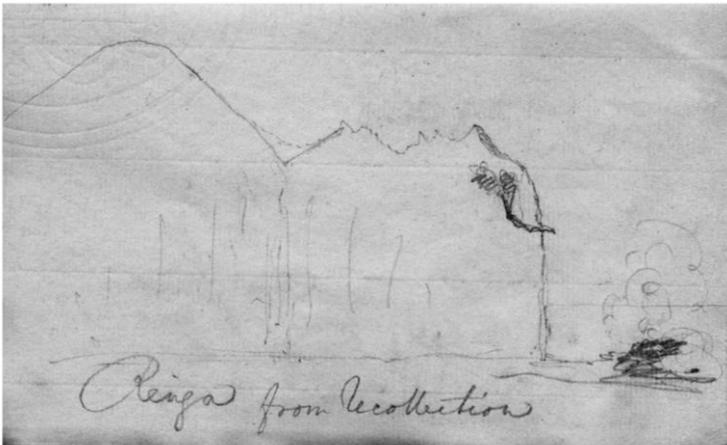
approach, until of late, much less to profane, and that, too, in the face of the old Chief, who, like a guardian of the sacred fane, asserted aloud its sanctity, and deprecated the wrath of the “Atua”⁷⁴ on the impious wretch who should dare with unhallowed hands to desecrate this holy place!) it would require no peculiar sagacity to perceive, that the mighty spell of Satanic delusions and lying vanities, which has so long bound this nation fast in misery, as with a cart-rope, is fast dissolving. An offence of this nature, at no very distant period, would have caused a war – a [104] crusade, – which might very probably have ended in the extermination of the tribe to which the offender belonged. I was glad to perceive that the old chief, spite of his superstition, his assurance, and never-failing refuge of framing a lie to meet his purpose, was hard put to with some of my remarks and questions, to the delight of my lads; who seemed to enjoy greatly the exposing of the follies and errors of their forefathers. May the LORD, in mercy, open his, their, and our eyes, to see, know, and obey the truth as it is in Jesus! Amen.

April, 1st. Rising early we held prayers. The old chief brought me a middle-sized pig, as a present, which we could not possibly take with us over the sand hills; a circumstance which the old man most pathetically lamented! I gave him a trifling present of a pair of Scissors, a little Tobacco, a few Hooks, &c; such was his ignorance that he knew not the use of Scissors; Tobacco, too, he did not use but passed on to his woman; the hooks he was much pleased with. He had given me a water melon which grew by his own house, and which was sacred, as a particular mark of favour; the only one I saw in the place.

74 Atua = ancestor with continuing influence, god, demon, supernatural being, deity, ghost, object of superstitious regard, strange being.



"From a Hill on Road, Easter Monday." Cape Maria van Diemen, 1 April 1839. [Journal, 1839-1840, gifted by Mrs. Martin Sincox, Collection of Hawke's Bay Museums Trust, Ruawhoro T8-0-rangi, m67/23 c. 66224]. Colenso: "Left at 6 wind high sand blown in our eyes distressing—at ¼ to 9 reached Punga kokoi breakfasted..."



"Painga from recollection."

[Journal, 1839-1840, gifted by Mrs. Martin Sincox, Collection of Hawke's Bay Museums Trust, Ruawhoro T8-0-rangi, m67/23 c. 66224].

The situation of this little pa is one of the most dreary that can well be imagined; surrounded by barren sand hills, of great height, from which every blast that blew, whirled torrents upon the place; and so fine, that it came through the cloth of

which my tent was composed, clothes, &c, &c. Had time permitted my doing so, I should have spent a week here; for I much wished to look about me, & to see what was to be seen. I only obtained a new sp. of *Lymnaea*, and, a specimen of a *Pimelia*, n. sp. Struck Tent, and started, on our way back, at 6, a.m., wind distressingly high, sweeping volumes of sand from the ridges of the sandhills into our faces, so that every now and then we were obliged to stand still and turn our faces against the siliceous blast; our guides continually missing the way (though we had taken another from the village) made it doubtful whether it was advisable or not to proceed; we persevered, the lads wishing to get out of this dreary region as quick as possible, and, by dint of great exertion reached our halting place, Pungakoikoi, by 9, a.m., where, sitting [105] snugly in the corner at the bottom of the cliffs, we breakfasted; From this sheltered retreat we had a prospect before us, which though of an astonishing was by no means of a pleasing nature. – The wind was carrying the sand from the hills in dense clouds to the sea, so that the outlines of the land were not discernible, being entirely lost in an ochrous mass of Cloud, caused by the great quantity of sand with which the air was filled! We had no time to lose, nor to spend here; so arranging matters as we best could, my natives wrapping their extra shirts, &c, closely about their heads and faces, and I, following their example, with my Handkerchief, we proceeded, trusting, in great measure, to our feet to keep us in our course. About noon we passed the perforated Island, Matapia; and by 3, p.m., we reached Ngaromaki, here we dined on what little we had, (potatoes & water.). Starting again, we brought up, at 5, p.m., at Arai, our old sleeping-place, thoroughly weary. Found 2 or 3 shells on the beach, which may prove, on examination, to be n. sp. At Maunganui, (the islet,) the isthmus to which was now dry being low water, we found 2 or 3 natives gathering shellfish. These had come down from inland, or rather, from a village on the other coast,

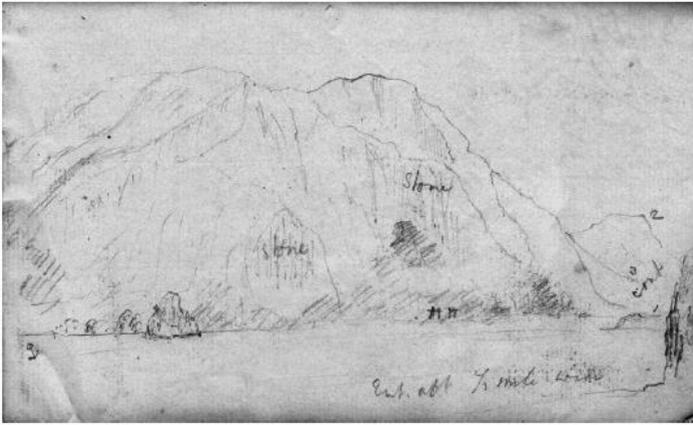
to get a supply of their favourite dish. I prevailed on one, the son of the Chief of his village, to go with me, to guide us tomorrow across the country to the N.E. Coast. How often was I reminded, this day, in travelling, of an Arabian Desert! though, doubtless, it could only be such in miniature; yet that was enough. I believe, that if one of us, or our poor dog which accompanied us, was to have lain down and to have slept soundly, a very short time would have sufficed to have covered him with sand. – The large shells, from which the tide had just receded, were presently covered. The desolate appearance of every thing about us was quite indescribable.

2nd. Started this morning, without breakfasting, at 6; and walked, at quick march, for upwards of three hours over these level beaches, as we had to reach Raparapahoe to get our breakfast, having some [106] potatoes at that place, which, in journeying onwards, we concealed in the sand; I, being unencumbered, was sometimes so far ahead as not to be able to see my boys. We reached Raparapahoe at ½ past 9, with terrible appetites. While cooking Messrs Matthews & Wade & natives, came up, on their way onwards to visit the Cape. *They* were going on smoothly on with the wind behind them, whilst *we* had this obstruction to contend with at every step. About 11, a.m. we once more started; bidding farewell to these shores & sea, we directed our course (following our young guide) inland, in an E.N.E. direction; over very desert sandhills, the steepest too we had yet seen. The wind was very strong and directly in our teeth my poor lads with their loads could scarcely make head against it. We very often missed our footing, having to walk on the ridges of the sand hills there being the firmest sand, when the consequence was a roll into the loose sand below, and a Sisyphus-like task of having to regain the point from whence you had fallen, which you accomplished just in time to see that you were the last in the line of march, and, that if you were not very quick on the heels of the vanguard you would in this trackless waste lose

the way entirely. An hour's exertion brought us to the top of the high hills, which we had seen from the sea-shore; here, or rather, *there*, (for it was below,) at the foot of the hills we had just gained the summits of, was a beautiful little placid lake, surrounded on all sides, save at one corner, by dry, arid, barren, sand, that *one* corner however stood out into the lake in all the loveliness of verdure, the more lovely from its situation, reflecting in its blue & calm bosom, its elegant mantle of green. The lake's name is Arawata, and is about 3 miles from the shore we had recently left; Proceeding onwards, a half-an-hour's march brought us in sight of Houhora, (Mount Camel, on the maps,) on the N.E. Coast. Here our young guide was entirely at a loss; not being enabled to discern any track; – in this dilemma I steered (by compass) for the mountain [107] we had just seen; in about 2 hours' time we reached the banks of the inlet which runs up from the sea from 8 to 10 miles, on the opposite side of which to where we were stood the venerable grey hill – not inappropriately perhaps named Mount Camel. This inlet is, in some places, about 2 miles wide, and abounds in sharks. Here was a peculiar parasitical plant, (a sp. of *Cuscuta*?) which wound and twined about every bush in such a manner as to present a most serious obstacle to the traveller; it bore, at this season, neither leaf nor flower; nor could I find, in all my research, a single root! Our guide now knew where we were, and conducted us to a small village, the Chief's name of which was Te Ruimakutu. There were about 20 or 30 natives who were very hospitable towards us; held prayers & conversed with Natives during the evening. –

3rd. Held prayers and addressed natives; breakfasted, struck tent & started at 9, a.m., for Kaitaia Station. Reaching the river's margin and proceeding by it, we soon found we had a creek to cross, *how* to do so was not so easily ascertained. Seeing a Canoe on the opposite shore, at the very foot of the Mount, we hailed the same, and it was soon paddled over unto

us. They ferried us across the creek; and were rewarded with two Small Books; though they themselves could not read, yet, they told us, there were those at their village who could; that a woman was the only one to do so correctly and that she was in consequence thereof their teacher!

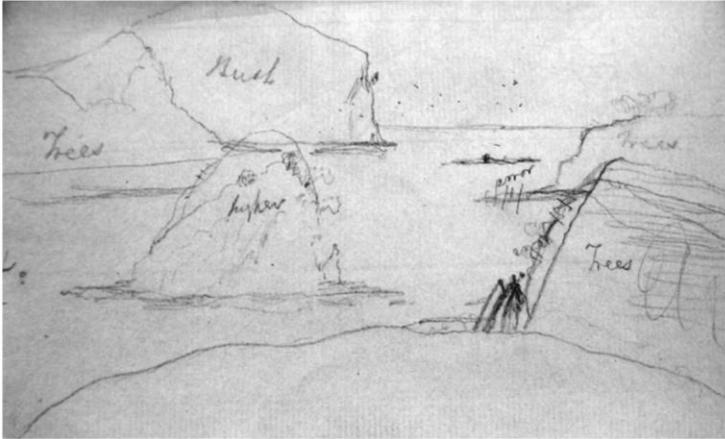


Undated: views of Mt Camel, Houbora Heads. ("Entrance about 1/4 mile wide").

[Journal, 1839-1840, gifted by Mrs. Martin Simcox, Collection of Hawke's Bay Museums Trust, Ruawhāro Tā-ā-mangi, m67/23 c. 66224].



Mt Camel, Houbora Heads in 2021



Unnamed, undated. Houhora head. [Alexander Turnbull Library Ms-0588]

Leaving this place, we proceeded by the beach in an E.N.E. direction; our young guide remaining behind. At noon, Mount Camel bore N.W., – and at 2, p.m., we reached, what may be termed, the mouth of Rangaunu river. Our course was clearly pointed out to us at the village where we last slept, and at this place we *should* cross the river, and proceed by it on the S. bank, but, to our great disappointment, there was not only no present means of our doing so, but no prospect of our being speedily enabled to accomplish our object, even if we waited where we [108] now were, for the breakers ran very high so as to preclude the possibility of crossing to the other side, until the sea became calmer. Thus were we obliged to turn up the N. bank, proceeding in a S. direction. Here, we had a most wretched walk for many a weary mile; through mud, mangroves, and salt-water marshes;⁷⁵ very much in want of fresh-water. For which necessary article we sought in vain in such a place as this. At sunset, we were obliged to bring up for the night, on a little mound, with every prospect of rain, in a place where not a stick could be found large enough for a

75 Kaimaumu swamp.

tent pole. We knew not where we were, nor what direction to take; look what way we would we saw nothing but wilderness. We had no water, save a little horrid stuff, which after a long search, we dipped up from the mud among the mangroves; fortunately I had caused the boys to bring some of that with us, for I judged from the appearance of the country that we were not likely to get any better. My poor lads, too, had only a handful of small potatoes between them all. And, to make the matter approach somewhat the nearer to a “peck of troubles”, my right foot had been all the afternoon so exceedingly painful about the ankle-joint, that it was with extreme difficulty I could hop forward.⁷⁶ So that, on the whole, we had much need of the Christian Graces of Patience, and Content. Held prayers; and sat talking with my lads to keep them & myself somewhat cheerful, in our desolate situation.

4th. It rained heavily at intervals during the night accompanied by fitful gusts of wind, I was apprehensive my tent would come down as it was but half-erected, but, much to my satisfaction, it stood it out. we started at 7, a.m., *sans* breakfast; my foot & ankle were exceedingly painful, still I managed to hop along with a stick, often obliged to rest from excess of pain; I began to be apprehensive that I should have to be left behind in this wild place, where was neither food nor water, as I could not think of detaining [109] the Natives with me, who were equally as much, if not more in want of food and water as myself. What made the matter the more distressing was, the thought, that we might be possibly going in a wrong direction, and so have to retrace our road back again! Road, indeed, there was none; our course we directed as we considered best, through moors, reeds, and tangled fern, but always on the flat, which kept us from seeing to any

⁷⁶ Colenso (and his father) suffered from gout, triggered on this occasion perhaps by dehydration.

distance. In this dilemma I hobbled to the nearest rising ground; and, gaining the top, surveyed minutely with my glass the whole country round about me. At length I saw, or fancied I saw a House, at some miles distance; which, on pointing out the spot to my (mis-named) guides & expressing my hopes of a habitation being there, they assured me that it was so, and that they knew the place and owner, and, moreover, that there was a good road all the way thence to the Station. We unanimously agreed to direct our steps thither, with all possible despatch. So proceeding on with renewed alacrity, we soon came to a little Inlet of the Sea, not more than 14 or 16 feet in width, but about 8 feet in depth! and, apparently, of this width and depth as far as we could see either way. The bank, too, was so thickly matted with rank vegetation, that to force one's way through the same was more labour than to cross the water. But oh dear! the opposite side had lately been cleared of bush, &c, by some accidental fire, but, (as is generally the case at this season,) the fire had only burnt up the leaves & young twigs, leaving the blackened stalks and stems, which now stood, like a field of ebony-spears in regular battle array on the opposite shore! There was, however, no alternative; so stripping on the spot, and swimming across, I landed, scaled the bank, made the best way I could through the black chevaux-de-frise that withstood me, and came out – I was going to write, like a Zebra, but not so *regularly* striped – in a very peculiar plight! Still further, I then had the delectability of putting on my shirt, &c. without washing! at which the Natives could not refrain from a hearty laugh, in which spite of chagrin, I was obliged to join. From this Creek, never-to-be-forgotten, we had a long & weary [110] walk across a *dry* swamp, (worse, from its pits and entanglements, than any wet one I had hitherto seen,) to the house which we had descried in the distance. This house was

inhabited by a Settler, named Southee,⁷⁷ who had been in expectation of seeing us, having heard from Mr. Puckey⁷⁸ of our probable return to Kaitaia by that way; he received us very hospitably, and we were very hungry; having dined, he put us across the main river (there very narrow) in his boat; from which place a very good road extends all the way to Kaitaia. We reached Kaitaia about 5, p.m., thankful, I trust, to get there: Blessed be GOD for all His mercies!



"Kaitaia from the N.W.," 5 April 1839. [Mitchell Library: ref. PXA236 CY283; image 18]
 Colenso's party reached Kaitaia about 5pm on 4 April after a long trudge. "Friday 5. Foot much swelled and painful—Kept at home nearly all day."

5th. Foot still painful, though less, & swelling decreasing; remained in Station. At Prayer Meeting was enabled to speak from Ps. 61. 3; – and I trust somewhat from Experience also.

LORD's day, 7th. This morning Bror. Puckey read Native Prayers, and I preached to a congregation of about 400 Natives, from Luke XXII. 31, 32; though the Chapel was crowded to excess, the Congregation was very attentive and

77 Henry Southee was married to Ati, daughter of the Rangatira Ruanui.

They farmed both sides of the Awanui river.

78 William Gilbert Puckey 1805–1878, Kaitaia missionary with Matthews.

decorous. Afterwards, I preached in English from Isaiah 53. 6. Afternoon, we held an English Service at Mr. J. Matthew's house; addressed Brethren & Sisters in the Work from Nehem. VIII. 10. Evening Service in the Chapel, I read Native prayers and Bror. Puckey preached; I was much affected in hearing the Natives sing the Hymn called "Kena";⁷⁹ the words were so very affecting, and the *time* of the tune so well kept by them.

8th, This morning at School (at which there were more than 200 male natives present,) Mr. Puckey proposed to them to go to a wood about 2 miles distant, in order to fetch home to the Station the Timber which had been felled and prepared for ground plates for the Church about to be [111] built, to which they all readily assented. After breakfast, I left this very interesting station and field of Missionary labour on my way to the Bay of Islands, Bror. Puckey going with me about a couple of miles. About a mile and a half's distance from the Station we met those Natives returning with their voluntary loads; a very pleasing sight indeed to see them; here were more than 150 Natives willingly & cheerfully carrying these heavy pieces of wood to the Station for the house of the LORD! I could but "wish them good luck in the Name of the LORD", and breathe forth a silent aspiration for their success & welfare. Noble,⁸⁰ their head Chief, rode by their side on his horse encouraging them in their work. Bror. Puckey returned to Station with them. About 1, p.m., we reached a village, called Mangatete, where we dined; gave out a few books to the Natives, who are under Instruction from Kaitaia; they have a Chapel here. Proceeding on, over hill & dale, by a pleasant path; by sunset we reached Oruneke, a scattered village, being

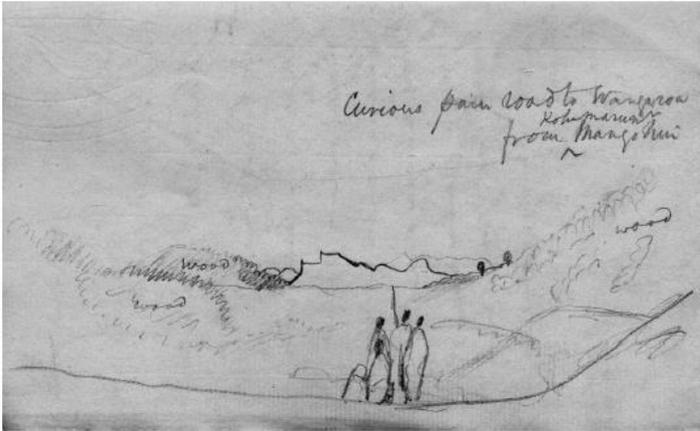
79 Kena he waki nari = Canaan is a happy place (ATL MS-Papers-0757). This copy was found in 1966 in a Maori New Testament printed by Colenso at the Paihia Church of England Mission Press in 1837.

80 Nōpera Panakareao ?-1856, tribal leader, evangelist and assessor: of Te Rarawa iwi at Kaitaia.

part of Oruru. The Chief and his wife were professedly inimical to the Gospel; I pitched my tent however close to his dwelling. Here were several professing Natives, some of whom had been baptized by the Wesleyan Brethren. They all flocked around me, and we soon made a little party. Held Evening Service, preaching to them; & spent the evening in Conversation. Went late to rest.

9th. Early this morning we started. Dame Nature, shrouded in a dense fog had not yet awoke from her nap; the Sun had not peeped over the Eastern hills, and the morning was very cold. Our route, at first, lay over very steep hills; so steep that we were obliged to lay hold of roots, &c, to keep ourselves from falling backwards. The brow of one of them was turreted with massy Blocks of Red Jasper, which, as the sun arose, wore a beautiful appearance, being gilded with its rays. About ½ past 9, a.m., we reached Kohumarū, a small village on the banks of a purling stream; here we were hospitably entertained, and here we breakfasted. Held Morning prayers, addressed Natives; (some of whom were baptized,) [112] gave them a book or two, and proceeded on our journey. The Scenery this day was of the most enchanting description: – the broken topped hills – the interminable forests dyed with every hue – the meandering streams – the plantations in the vallies, thick with corn – now and then a glimpse of the sea – and the ever-appearing peak of the towering mountain, Taniwa,⁸¹ in the distance, all contributed to lessen the length of the way. By sunset we reached the inner banks of Wangaroa Harbour. Descending from the forest to a village on the margin of the water, named Te Totara, we found a large party of natives, who appeared to be the worst I had seen in all of our journey, in their manners and behaviour, doubtless arising from their intercourse with the Shipping.

81 Mt Camel.



Undated: "Curious pa in road to Wangaroa from Kohumaru nr. Mangonui." 9 April 1839. [Journal, 1839-1840, gifted by Mrs. Martin Simcox, Collection of Hawke's Bay Museums Trust, Ruahure T4-9-rangi, m67/23 c. 66224]



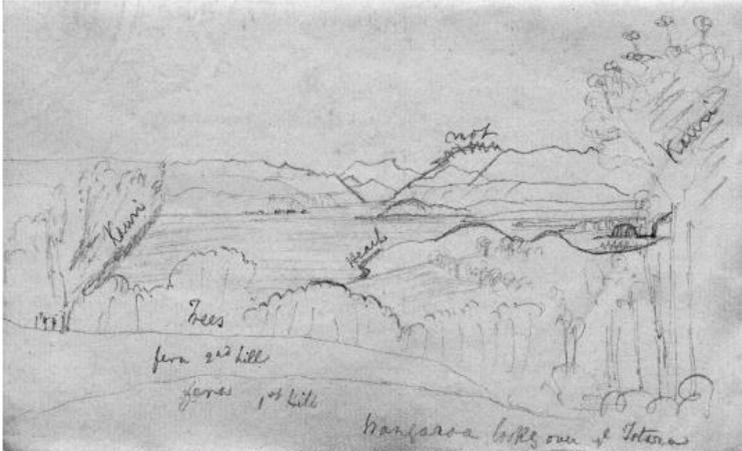
View of Akatarere from Salvation road, 2021.



Unnamed, undated: Taratara, near Whangaroa, 9 April 1839. [Journal, 1839–1840, gifted by Mrs. Martin Simcox, Collection of Hawke's Bay Museums Trust, Kuaoharo Te-ō-rangi, ms67/23 c. 66224].



Taratara from the road, 2021.



Undated: "Wangaroa, looking over the Totara," 9 April 1839. [Journal, 1839-1840, gifted by Mrs. Martin Simcox, Collection of Hawke's Bay Museums Trust, Ruawhoro TS-9-rangi, m67/23 c. 66224]. Colenso: "Breakfasted with Mr. Shephard and left abt 9." James Shephard had the Anglican mission station "Waitangi" at Touwai Bay, Wangaroa Harbour.



Wangaroa Harbour from Totara North, 2021.

Here, fortunately for us, was a small canoe which belonged to Mr. Shepherd,⁸² who lived somewhere on the banks of the Harbour,) the tide being in our favour we took the Canoe, and entering the same with our baggage we just brought her gunwale level with the water's edge! Unfortunately, none of us knew whereabouts Mr. S. lived, and night was fast approaching; had I any idea of the distance, &c, I had never gone thither by night. – We were seven, and our large dog; it was only by sitting *still*, with one hand continually baling out the water, which every ripple sent unceremoniously in, that we could make any progress. We passed the melancholy scene of the cutting off of the “Boyd”, and were progressing towards the outer part of the harbour, when we met a large Canoe manned with several natives who told us, if we proceeded we should certainly be upset, as the wind was setting against the tide, and they, with their superior vessel had narrowly escaped the same. At this time we were passing under those perpendicular cliffs which are under, and forming the base of “St. Peter's Copula;” here we could not land, not without, at least, turning our Canoe adrift & scaling the precipice before us, which was very high.⁸³ We, therefore, paddled on.

Night overtook us, – no sign of a human dwelling was anywhere to be discerned. – we were all cold, wet, hungry, and weary, and with the prospect of [113] an upsetting before us, which the Natives, most provokingly, continually spoke of, as being about to take place. We knew not where to go – we could not land – we were every moment getting into rougher water – and we had to cross the harbour to the opposite shore, for from the Canoe, which we spoke, we learned that Mr. S.'s house was on *that* side! I have read of a

82 James Shepherd 1796–1882 was a Wesleyan missionary at Kerikeri; in 1836 he bought land at Tauranga, Whangaroa.

83 Cupola of Saint Peter, also named Hopekako, a headland on Whangaroa Harbour, site of an ancient pā.

man, who, on being placed within the boiler of a steam-engine to hold up a large hammer in order that the places might be riveted firmly, fell asleep, while in that situation at which I was greatly astonished, – and you, my Father, may be, perhaps equally astonished, when I tell you, that, notwithstanding the predicament in which we at this time were, I could not without the greatest difficulty keep myself from every now & then nodding under the influence of the drowsy god; although, from my being seated on the top of my box, every nod, however slight, caused the Canoe to lurch so as to give free ingress for the wave over her side, to say nothing of the danger in which I was of sliding off the box into the “obscure profound” beneath! my lads too were much annoyed at my doing so. – In this manner we pulled gently on for some time, until perceiving a fire on the opposite shore, and deeming we were advanced far enough down in the harbor, (for we could distinctly hear the surf on the outer heads,) we concluded to paddle across to the place from whence the light proceeded, – Committing myself and those with me to GOD, I gave the word to cross; – we paddled, it was a time of quietness – the boys ceased talking, – the dog, from nestling uneasily in his watery bed, in the canoe’s bottom, became tranquil, – and GOD being merciful & gracious, we crossed in safety! ’Twas the “blackness of darkness” around; nothing but the outline of the hills in bold relief against the starry sky, was distinguishable in the “mass of palpable obscure” – save, where the fire ever anon shot up a flickering flame, as from a [114] dying ember. Towards this light, or fire, apparently a long way up a narrow creek, we directed our Canoe, but soon getting aground on the mud bank we could proceed no further. We bawled, again and again, to the Natives who were around the fire, at the very top of our united voices, but they kept such a horrid noise, some singing, some crying without the least intermission, that it was a long while before they heard us. At length one came towards us,

who, after some parley, as to who & what we were, where from, whither going, &c, &c, consented to pilot us to Mr. Shepherd's; whose house, he informed me, was hard by. We paddled, about a half a mile along shore, when we were obliged to land from its being low-water, – Leaving the Canoe & passing, or rather stumbling, for we could not see, over all sorts of things up a ravine to Mr. S.'s house, we got there in safety. Mr. S. came out, with no small degree of surprise to see such a party, and myself among them, at such an hour. Blessed and praised be the Holy Name of our GOD, for his mercy & guardian care, vouchsafed unto us on this occasion!
Amen.

10th. Breakfasted with Mr. S., who is here assisting in the building of a House for himself and family; Mrs. S. and family being still at Kerikeri Station. Breakfast over, we proceeded on our journey. Half-an-hour's walk brought us to Karangahape, the village of Hemi Kepa Tupe,⁸⁴ a Christian Chief. Saw him & several other baptized Natives; was pleased with the little I saw; gave them several Books, as I found many who could read. Proceeding on, we came to a village on the outer coast called Wainui; what a contrast between this village and the one we had just left! *here* not a native could be found who knew how to read who shewed the slightest concern for to know of the things of GOD! Here were six English seamen who had recently deserted their ship, a Whaler at anchor in Wangaroa Harbour; they were in the swamp cutting reeds & rushes, in order to build them houses in this place, I sent for them, and conversed with them, found that they were determined to remain here with the [115] Natives.

84 Hemi Kepa Tupe = James Kemp Tupe fl 1831-1841; a signatory to the Declaration of Independence in 1835, a Ngai Tuhunga chief of Whangaroa.



Undated. "Ngairo, Cavalles," 10 April 1839. [Journal, 1839-1840, gifted by Mrs. Martin Simcox, Hawke's Bay Museums Trust, Ruawhoro Tā-turangi, MS 723 c, 86224].
 Colenso: "Scenery several times this day beautiful Cavalles's Lady near the shore forming such a beautiful background—abt. noon we reached Ngairo a small village delightfully sitd."



Ngairo, with the Cavalles islands beyond, 2021.

I reminded them of their obligations as baptized persons, and professedly Christians, &c, &c, to all which they spoke very fair, reminding me of the Jews of old, (Deut. v. 28, 29,). Leaving this place, and proceeding by coast, we soon arrived at Ngaire; a small village most delightfully situated. There were a few Natives; the Chief said he was building a Chapel. Gave them a couple of Books, & a few words of Exhortation, and proceeded. A little while sufficed to bring us to the next village, where I had intended to pass the night. Matauri, is a delightful spot! In front, were the broken Cavalle Islands, only 2 miles from the shore, the water between which, on this occasion, was so tranquil, and so enchantingly reflecting every possible shade of colour, as to cause the eye of the gazer to be unwearily rivetted to the spot – on the right, Point Pocke, & Cape Brett, (the N. & S. Heads of the Bay of Islands,) with the little islets of the same stretched far away into the ocean – whilst beneath me, on the plain, were the houses, the plantations, and Canoes of the Natives, and on a mound to the right the little Sanctuary, – the whole had a most panoramic appearance, and most pleasing effect. Here I found Thomas Hou, a baptized native, formerly a priest, at one period residing in Paihia Station; he and the people, who thought well of the “sect everywhere spoken against,”⁸⁵ were very glad to see me. I pitched my tent on the mound on which was the little Chapel, and assembled the Natives within its walls to Evening Service; the Chapel was provided with a door, Table, and Bench, all of native workmanship; about 25 present from the village whom I addressed. Service over, 6 or 7 natives staid to converse on things spiritual; we conversed together, and with them I was much pleased.

11th. This morning we held Service together in the Chapel; addressed the Natives who paid great attention. Breakfasted, and started, accompanied about 2 miles on the road by several

85 Acts 28: 22.

Natives, who made many enquiries on spiritual subjects. Parting with them, & proceeding [116] onwards we soon arrived at Waihua, a romantically situated little village; on the summit of a little hill the chapel was perched; from the cliffs the Pohutukawa, (in size and appearance a second oak) hung pendent, as if every breeze must necessarily send it to the bottom. Of this place I took a sketch. Hence, by Coast, to Takou, another village. Hence to Tohora-nui, a little place where a few natives resided; there were none but women at home, who gave us some food, their husbands and male relatives being at Kerikeri. Having dined on our potatoes, we continued our Journey, and by 5, p.m., arrived at Kerikeri Station. Mr. Kemp⁸⁶ was from home, at Tepuna, Mr. King's;⁸⁷ Mrs. K. received us kindly.

12th. Leaving Kerikeri this morning about 10, in a boat, we reached Paihia Station at 5, p.m., – praised be GOD for all his manifold mercies.

14th. LORD's-day. Feared my cold which I caught at Kerikeri on Friday night, (through my incautiously washing in the river on my arriving thither in the cool of the Evening,) would hinder me from taking my duty. Took, however, Home duties: – morning, at 8, held Native Service in Paihia Chapel; at 11, held English Service, in same place, large congregation, 80 present who were very attentive, greatly blessed in preaching from Mark x. 51. Crossed in boat to Kororareka to hold Services there; at 2, p.m., held Native Service, only 30 persons present, who were all attentive. Little after 3, held English Service, only 8 or 9 came; the LORD strengthened & blessed me in speaking to them. Returned to Paihia; at 6, p.m.,

86 James and Charlotte Kemp were, with other missionaries, the co-founders at Kerikeri of the second Church Missionary Society station in New Zealand.

87 John King and William Hall were the first missionaries Marsden brought to the Bay of Islands in December 1814. King later lived at Te Puna.

held Evening Native Service, preached from Heb. x. 29. –
 Again blessed by the LORD, though *most unworthy*, but I wish
 to hear the cry extorted – “What shall I do to be saved?”



Undated: "Looking over Waianae," 10 April 1839. [Journal, 1839-1840, gifted by Mrs. Maria Simcox, Collection of Hawke's Bay Museums Trust, Ruwiharo Te-ō-rangi, ms 67/23 c. 663/24]. Colenso: "... on to Matarau beautifully situated—(a) (valley) Ind. in front Cape Owen & pt. Pocock to the right quite panoramic. Soon arrived at Waianae an interesting little village romantically situated." Bearer with pack at right.



From above Waianae bay, Point Pocock in the centre right distance, 2021.



Undated. "Waitangi." 12 April 1839? [Journal, 1839-1840, gifted by Mrs. Martin Simcox, Collection of Hawke's Bay Museums Trust, Ruahure Tā-nangī, m67/23 c. 66224] Waitangi from the north—flagstaff middle left in front of Motunui island, Taylor island to its right, then Pahiā middle right, ships offshore (above Busby's house, built in 1834). The annotation "Waitangi?" seems not to be in Colenso's hand.



James Busby's house, Waitangi, Bay of Islands, Northland, New Zealand.
Mandy album 3. Ref: PA1-6041-25. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. [records/22478377](#)

1839: 19–25 June

Memorandum...⁸⁸

[35] 1839. June 19th. Left Paihia Station this morning on a visit to the Natives residing in Wangaruru Bay and neighbourhood; at 2, p.m., reached Waikare, found the Natives absent at their plantations. Strolled into the Woods, saw a splendid specimen of *Aralia crassifolia*, *Solander*;⁸⁹ – returned to village, held Evening Service, 15 Natives, only, attended, addressed them from Mark I. 15. Spent an agreeable Evening in conversing with Natives. –

20th. Started this morning for Wangaruru. Three hours travelling brought us to Houkio's village,⁹⁰ at the head of the river, but, to our disappointment, neither Natives nor Boat was there. Passed on, through mud and reeds to Wangarua, another village, on another branch of [36] this river; here we found a Canoe, got in, and at 3. p.m., landed at Wangaruru. Very many dead since I was last here, and the village itself much altered in appearance. Sat and conversed with Kauwata and Maruwenua the Chiefs; Kawata said, "I shall now turn to the Gospel and believe". – Held Evening Service; a white man, who resides hard by, came to prayers. Continued chatting with Natives until past 8. Am to go, tomorrow, with Kauwata to look out a site for a Chapel.

21st. Early this morning I held prayers; read Rom. VI. addressing the Natives from the same. Went with Kauwata and fixed on a spot for a Chapel; I have, however, no faith in *his* word. Visited some old men, who, apart, were engaged in carving a Canoe, this being *sacred* work; conversed with them on Divine things, but, alas! harder than the nether mill-stone is the heart of an *old* man, who has been from his youth up

88 ATL MS-0589.

89 *Pseudopanax crassifolius* = horoeka, lancewood.

90 Little is recorded about Houkio.

addicted to all manner of vice. – We must sow in hope, by the side of *all* waters. – Breakfast over, we left in our Boat (which we found here,) for Owae; which place we reached at 1. p.m. The Natives were absent in their plantations; hearing that I had arrived, they lost no time in coming to see me again; old and young, Chief & Slave, all vied which should be the most complimentary. – Sat down and catechized children. At 6. p.m., held Service in the little Chapel, which three years and half before I had assisted in erecting; little place well-filled with Natives, upwards of 50 present, preached to them from Rom. vi. 17. Service over, I sat and conversed for some time. Since my first visit, five adults have been Baptized from this village, and have hitherto walked consistently. Fixed on proceeding to Wangarei on Monday morning.⁹¹

22nd. At School, this morning, were, 1st adult male class, (all [37] readers in the Testament) 6; 2nd ditto, 14; women 24; total adult 44. Had a long conversation with Ngere,⁹² and baptized Natives, on Growth in Grace, Regeneration, &c. &c. Sent James, a baptized Native of this place, to Whangaruru, to hold Service there tomorrow. Natives going to their plantations, I strolled into the Woods, to see if I could not find somewhat new in the Botany of this District; found an orchis, (n.sp.) two Ferns, (one, a *Schiza*, n. sp. probably the other a *Marattia*, *M. elegans*, Endl.?) and for the first time, though I have often in my journies diligently sought it but in vain, the N.Z. Spinach, (*Tetragonia expansa*). Returned to village; conversed with Chiefs, fixed on building a new Chapel. They would not pull down the old one until I came, I having assisted in its building. Evening held Service in little Chapel, read John XX. and expounded part of same. Samuel, a blind

91 WC: The little old chapel which had become rickety and rotten, was now to be pulled down (so the Natives said) until the builder, shod. again visit them.

92 Hori Te Ngere and his people are associated with Whangaruru and Te Ruatahi.

baptized Native, offered up a very evangelical prayer. The little place was filled, about 50 present; all very attentive.

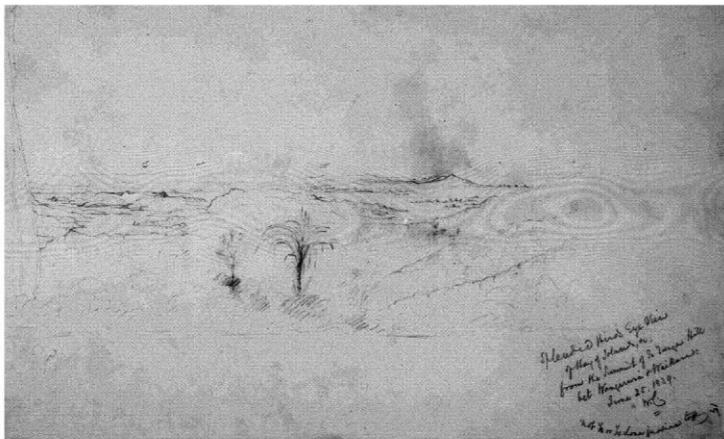
23rd. LORD's day. Early, I visited a poor sick woman who is near death, she expressed herself as having a trust in Christ to whom I endeavoured to direct her. Held Service, about 60 present; discoursed from blind Bartimeus, Mark X. After Service, I held School; the rain which began to pour down drove us for refuge into the little Chapel: I took the class of Readers, 5 in number, while *blind* Samuel catechized the 2nd class, which he performed admirably, – he put the question, and, (to those who knew not) he gave word by word the proper answer. Infant class, 13 in number, some of whom were very interesting; but, poor little things, they were sadly in want of garments, now the middle of winter, yet, some were 2 together under one old flax mat a little larger than a handkerchief!⁹³ Dismissing the male, and infant schools, (as we invariably begin and conclude) with singing and prayer, I assembled the women, 24 in number, none of whom could read, but they could, in general, repeat their Catechisms well. At 4. p.m., I held Evening Service, preaching [38] from Luke, XXII. 31, 32. Much amused this evening with overhearing the Children, who were assembled together in one of their houses, singing the “ba, be, bi, bo, bu” song, keeping time thereto by patting their hands. Assembled Natives, and held a Conversational meeting, for 2 hours, natives attentive; some of their answers not exactly to the point were still very good. The weather has changed to a Winter's gale from the N.

93 WC: I must look to my Cornish friends for some childrens garments: and hope those who love the Lord Jesus will be “one and all” in this matter. (Colenso's “support group” in Cornwall included his pastor Thomas Hutton Vyvyan, his father, his favourite aunt Charlotte (his mother's sister) and two wealthy and influential women, Mrs Garnon and Mrs Robins, the former the widow of a missionary. See *eColenso* February 2017).

which will prevent my going down the coast in the Boat to Wangarei.

24th. This morning I visited 2 natives who never attend Service, the only 2 in the village who sit apart from GOD's House; spoke to them, I trust my words may be instrumental in rousing them. Weather unsettled, decided on returning to Paihia; sent a Testament, and a message, to Iwitahi, the Chief of Wangarei District;⁹⁴ Gave a Testament to Ngere. Marked out site for Chapel; distributed a few little things, and sending boys and baggage to Boat (intending to walk to Wangaruru wishing to see some Natives residing in a village between this place and that,) I, once more, bid adieu to this interesting little pa. – Procured a few Botani. & Geologi. Specimens – one, a beautiful Pittosporum, (*P. crassifolium*, Solr., probably,) and obtained a specimen or two of a fine land-shell, (*Lymnoea*, n. sp.). Fell in with a party of Natives, at a place called Paparaamu, in going towards them I was attacked by a dog, who, though he tore my clothes, fortunately did not bite through. Found, that the blind chief, Tatu, who, 3 years ago I had seen at Wangaruru, was at the head of this little party. Conversed together for some time: he solicited a Book for his sons who could read; they went on with me to the Boat, and received a few small Books. Arrived at Wangaruru, at 5, p.m. At 5, held prayers preached to Natives from Luke xv. Distributed several Books. Conversed with them till 9. Kauwata's eldest son is to go with me tomorrow, to fetch a few nails, &c., in order to build a Chapel.

94 Te Iwitahi was chief of Te Parawhau hapu. His kainga was at Pakaraka (or Parakaraka) 4 miles inland from Pihoi (See Clem Earp in *eColenso* February 2018).



"Splendid Birds Eye View of Bay of Islands, &c.," 25 June 1839. [Mitchell Library: ref. PXA236 CY283; image 14]
 "from the Summit of Te Ranga Hill bet. Wangaruru & Waikare... Not $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ done justice to"

Inaccessible in 2021, owing to kauri die-back protective measures.

[39] 25th. Very early this morning, on account of the Tide, I left this place for Waikare. Kauwata's eldest son (Harori) a fine youth, who can read well, accompanying me. Travelled slowly (as my Boat would not arrive at Waikare before night,) Botanizing by the way. Found 2 Ferns, acquisitions to my Herbarium, (one a *Trichomanes*, the other an *Ophioglossum*.) Most splendid Bird's-eye view of Bay of Islands, Coast to the N., as far as Wangarua, Coast to the E., &c. &c. from the summit of the Ranga, a very high hill over which the road passes; took a Sketch but could not do the Panorama before me justice. Arriving at Waikare, I held Service; only 3 or 4 Natives from the pa attended: Oh! the gross darkness which has ever hitherto brooded over this village! My boat arriving, & tide favourable, I proceeded down the river to Paihia Station. Got there by 10 p.m. Bless the LORD for all His Mercies!

1839: 10 August

Among the Donald McLean papers (inexplicably) is the following account in Colenso's hand. The substance of the argument is perhaps trivial but the tone is unmistakeably hostile....

Augt. 10th. 1839

Memoranda of a Convn. which took place between the Revd. H. Williams and myself this morning—

Revd. H.W. called on me and proposed my going to Kororareka tomorrow (Sunday) to hold service, to which I assented.—Some conversation about the proceedings of the R.Catholics ensued: I gave him a paper to read, contg. an acct. of a trial, in which a R.C. priest was the plaintiff, and, as it was 9 o'clock, rose to go to the Pg. Office, requestg. him, if he was agreeable, to sit & read the paper. He then sd. he wished to have some convn. abt. my lad's taking a blanket from one of his boys the evg. before—adding “it has never been the custom so to act when a lad did amiss, but to see the Master of the lad & acqt. him with the behavr. of the lad, &c &c,” and that I had “acted very improperly” in so acting. Here I sd. that *he* had acted so many times—at which he got warm, and denied it, challengg. me to adduce an instance—I soon recollected the case of Kahukoka, &c, wch I related, when he declared, 'twas not so—I reminded him that. in so doing “he charged me with a downright lie,” whc he, slapping the table with his hand, repeated it, adding 'twas impossible for him so to have acted, as 'twas contrary to his principle—whc he had followed for near 17 years, &c, &c. I sd. since then you thus chge me with a downright lie, our convn. had better end here, &c.—For that affair took place between us two. He asked me to give up the lad's blanket—I refused to do so “unconditionally”—he sd. the cases were not parallel—I sd.

they were—he sd. the action of my lad was a “dirty trespass.” I sd., allowg. that, I acted then as you wished me, gave an utu, &c.—He sd. that no time had elapsed in that case, but in this I had gone quietly to bed, &c &c—I sd. that there, *I* went to him, here ’twas evidently his, or his lads, to come to me—as to time, that no time had elapsed in pt. of law—he havg. come as early as he could—I had the Natives talkg. to at the time, more than 20, they left at past 8, P.M., 2 fr. Natives (Robert & John Tupe) were here when they were leavg. these 2 infd. me that H.W. ret’d. late from Korora. ill, slept in boat, and that tho he had fixed that p. at Korora., he was so unwell as to go to lie down—these reasons were sufft. to keep me (had it been my place) from going to him that night. He again asked me to give up the B., I refused “unconditionally”—as I had often taken his lad’s clothes, and given them up, but now I wod. make an ex: especy. as I had often been insulted by his lads, and also, in this case, Messrs. F. & B’s lads had restrained them selves from touching that wood on my speakg. to them & that in this, tho I had spoken to his lads, they went and cut it up. He sd. in thus speakg. I insulted him as the Master of his lads. I sd. No; for it was the fact, &c; at this he got warm, very warm & sd. “You are an Insolent Man” I sd. I had never insulted him in my life, that I had always respected him. He sd. “Your lang. has been most insulting”—I sd. “I am detd. Sir, not to be irritated by anything you may say; but I pray you don’t use that language to me for ’tis more than old Adam will quietly bear, &c.” “Why,” sd. Mr. W. “did you not complain if my lads had insulted you” &c, I sd. that I had sevl. times, & that it had not been done lately, for when Mr. Ashwell was here, he was the objt. of yr. ridicule. He sd. “You and Mr. Ashwell are a pair of you,” &c. I replied, “You must think, Sir, and let think on this matter,” He sd. “for this 4 or 5 years you have behaved in this unbecoming manner &c” I sd. that I again repeated it, that his lads had ever behd. most insultingly to me, and more than that, that no other Missy.

wod. have ret'd. Natives in his employ that had so repeatedly behd. themselves amiss to a brother Missy. as his lads had behd. to Mr A & myself".—He sd. "I was never so insulted by anyone in all my life as by Mr. Ashwell, save yourself." I repeated— "Our convn. had better end here, after what he had sd." He sd. "Yr. conduct has been most extraordinary"—I said— "That, Sir, is a mild & bland expressn. after what you have just said—I pray you don't back out of your repeated assertions in that kind of way Sir." At this he rejoined with increasg. warmth— "I tell you, that the strongest possible terms I know of cannot convey the Insolence of your language and your improper conduct to me before the Natives." (this was accomp'd. with peculiar gestures of his fist, the skirts of his dressing gown, &c &c, all which declamn. only convinced me more deeply that he was in a great passion)—I then sd. "You will bear witness of my calmness under all this—I have only to say, "I wish I had some witness to your repeated expressions, or that you wod. give me those words in writing"—He exclaimed, "Write them down, I'll sign them."—He was then going out, and he asked me again to give up the B., I firmly rep'd. not without an utu as I did in the affair of the pails. [He had before sd. that he wod. give the lad a new B. & chge it to my a/c—when I rep'd. I wod. not allow it—& sd. that if he gave his lad a new B. I wod. give mine a reward for doing what he had done,—he sd. that my lad wod. not have touched Pare's (?) blanket, if he had he wod. have been "gobbled up"—I sd. if P. had laid hands on my boy I wod. have laid hands on P.—he said that P. was a Goliath—well sd. I gt Goliath was overcome by little David; that I knew not whose garmt. it was, save it was that of an offender, and that the boy was his, and that I blamed my lad for not bringing me more—he sd. if it had been so his lads shod. have been Muru for Muru"]

I then sd. "You will please bear in mind, Sir, in conseq. of these assertions of yours, that all our convn. on any subject

must henceforth be at an end.”—to this he replied, “certainly so”—I again repd. the Sentence, layg. emphasis on “You will please bear in mind, Sir,”—and adding “Unless you retract those words”—to which he replied— “That I’ll never do unless you make an apology”—To which I repd. “It is most laughable, Sir, to think you cod. suppose such a thing”—

Here our convn. ended.

Blessed be the LORD! for keepg. me throughout in calmness and collectedness. Oh, GOD, do thou pardon all thou didst see amiss in me, and do thou pardon thy servt. W. also, givg. him to see his errors.

“Exurgat Deus!”

(written within 2 hours after the convn. took place)

Samuel Kempthorne later observed, “The Revd. H.W.— and Mr. C. were for a long time without speaking to each other.”

1839: 24 September–1 October

[39]Another Journey to the same places, as those visited in the preceeding. There being no other person to visit but myself, induced me to go again. –

Sept. 24. Left Paihia Station this morning on a visit to Natives in Wangaruru Bay and neighbourhood. Arriving at Waikare, and pitching my tent, I rang the Bell for Prayers, about 25 Natives assembled together, held Service and addressed them from Matt. XXVII. 18, 19. After Service, Hikitani and Takahi, (two of the oldest and principal Chiefs said to me, “I shall now turn, &c, &c,” – Conversed with them for some time, & was pleased to hear what they said; should be much more so did I not know too well what the N. Zealander is, – old habits are not so easily removed, as I *know from experience*. – Still, nothing is too hard for the LORD.

25th. This morning we started, over the hills & through the forests for **[40]** Wangaruru. About noon we came abreast of a plantation, where a Chief of note, named Houkio, lay dangerously ill; with him, on a visit of condolence, were the principal persons from Wangaruru. The people seeing us, hailed us, inviting and welcoming us thither in their usual rude but hearty manner; on descending to the plantation, and finding that the Wangaruru Natives were there, I made up my mind to spend the remainder of the day & night at this place. Visiting Houkio, (to whom I had often spoken before on the necessity of preparing for Eternity) I plainly perceived that the hand of death was on him, and that he had not many days to live. I talked to him, in the most affectionate manner, earnestly exhorting him to look to Jesus. He listened quietly, but, I fear, not desiringly, to my words. Turning from him I sat and conversed with Kauwata, Maruwenua, and other Chiefs, endeavouring to improve the present affliction. Towards sunset, Kapotahi, (principal Chief of Waikare,) and

several others arriving, put an end for the time to all speaking. The repeated firing of muskets, the crying & howling of the women, and the shouting of the men, scared the very birds from the woods by which we were surrounded. In the midst, too, of all, to the disarrangement of my gravity, a woman severely rebuked a child for causing a shrill sound by means of a leaf of *Carex* held in his mouth, saying, It would cause rain! Alas, the lying vanities of the heathen! Would that such were confined to them, have we not similar in Cornwall among the peasantry? – After about an hour’s dismal wailing and bellowing, the noise, in some measure ceasing, I held prayers. I took my stand by the side of the dying Houkio, and preached to the Chiefs and people, more than a hundred in number, the truth as it is in Jesus: The LORD greatly strengthened me & blessed me in that solemn Service! Whilst speaking Kapotuhi interrupted me, saying, “I believe, I believe, I will now turn; I will now take the word; Give me a Book to fight [41] Satan with, &c, &c.” After Service I sat and conversed with them till a late hour. I was much pleased with what they said, but from what I know of the New Zealander, or rather of the human heart, I fear they will soon forget all their promises. – “They have well said,” &c, Deut. v. 28, 29.

26th. During the greater part of last night the Native Chiefs, (regardless of the dying,) were engaged in making Orations. Kapotahi seemed to be endowed with lungs of Brass, reminding me, of the poet’s description of, – “Stentor, bellowing to the Grecian crowd, – or Homer’s Mars.”⁹⁵ –

How many speeches he, alone, made, I can’t pretend to say; one thing only was the burden of every harangue – pigs and land disputed. An owl was perched on some tree hard by, which ever and anon hooted most gravely! retaining its

95 Creech (Juvenal): “Who rage and storm, and blasphemously loud, As Stentor bellowing to the Grecian crowd, Or Homer’s Mars”.

situation and loquacious propensity, spite of the din, or the glare of light arising from the numerous fires “i’ the tented field.” Held prayers this morning, and again addressed the assembled Chiefs and Natives. I once more earnestly besought Houkio to flee to Jesus, by Faith in his Atonement, but, alas! I fear he was not aware that he *needed* Him – although he has been a Native Priest, and, but a very short while ago, murdered a poor woman at Waikare. I gave him a little Bread and Sugar, out of my small stock, and, administered a dose of Dover’s powders;⁹⁶ (as he wished sleep and ease,) struck Tent, and proceeded on to the Boathouse, a mile farther. We launched our boat, pulled down the river, and across Wangaruru Bay to Owae, where we arrived about noon, welcomed, of course, by Natives. I was much gratified with the Chapel they have built since I was last here; a fine Native House, neat and strong, 25 x 20 and 9 feet high. I had promised them 3 glazed sashes and a Door, now I will add a Table, & have [42] prevailed upon them to subscribe for 3 additional sashes so as to have a sufficiency of light.⁹⁷ Held Service in the Evening about 70 present, who were very attentive. Spent Evening in conversing with Baptized Natives on Spiritual Subjects. LORD, Revive Thy Work!

27th. After Morning Prayers, the Natives dispersed to their work in Their plantations (this being the planting season,) and I, as I intended here a few days, took boat and visited an Island about six miles from this place, lying off the S. headland of Wangaruru Bay, named Rimariki. – My object was twofold, – to have, with my Telescope, a bird’s eye view of the Coast, to see how far it was practicable for small Boats, and to obtain, if possible, some addition to my Herbarium. We landed, and went pretty nearly all over the Islet; from the top I

96 Ipecacuanha, powdered opium, and lactose.

97 WC: They have now six glazed sashes in their neat little chapel; which is the only one of native workmanship in N. Zealand possessing that luxury.

had a splendid view of the Coast, up and down, from Cape Brett to beyond Wangarei, and from the rocks and breakers everywhere discernible, I thought it by no means a pleasant voyage in the winter season, nor, indeed, at any time, save in very calm weather. Only gained a small plant, a *Rumex*. – Returned to Ouae, and in the Evening, held Service, addressing Natives. Service over sat and conversed with Natives on things of GOD.

28th. Morning Prayers over, the Natives went, as yesterday, to their respective plantations: so I was left nearly alone. I engaged myself in taking a sketch of the place, &c. One aged lady remained in the village; I sat down and conversed with her, found that she was dreadfully superstitious; so much so that she had never yet dared to cross the threshold of the House of Prayer! She promised, however, to commence now, and to continue to go “henceforth and for ever”! Evening, Natives returning, we held Prayer Meeting in the Chapel, when I again addressed them. –

29th. LORD’s Day. Morning, held Service, preached to Natives from Mark I. 15; Puninga, the old lady, with whom I conversed yesterday [43] was present. After Service I superintended Schools, – number present. Men 27, Women 29, Children 11. School over, it commenced raining, and soon rained heavily. I much feared from the appearance of the weather, and the quarter from whence the wind came, that the gale which was now upon us would be of long continuance. For me there was no alternative but to remain quietly in my Tent, although from its situation, a descent in the side of a hill, I was likely to have more water in it than would be comfortable. Held Evening Service, preached from 1 Tim. VI. 6–12, much blessed myself, but I fear my Discourse was not greatly relished by my audience. Covetousness is the besetting sin of the New Zealand professing Christian, would that it were the only one, or, that it were confined to them only! I

intended to assemble them again in the evening, but was obliged to abandon this design on account of the incessant rain. Much blessed this day by my Heavenly Father in my own soul: LORD, make me thankful, humble, dependent on Thee; and enable me to trust thee where I can not trace Thee. – Amen.

30th. The wind having ceased, and the sea somewhat calmed by the Rain, I left Owae this morning for Paparaaumu. On getting outside the headland of this village, we found the swell very heavy, I thought that we should be obliged to put back, but persevered, and after some exertion, reached Paparaaumu in safety, breaking an oar, and being very sick by the way. Here I found Tatua, the blind chief, he welcomed me most heartily and really seemed quite glad that I was come to see him. He said, that himself and party were Christians; that they still had their Books, which they had received from me, and that they used them, &c; that 3 of his party could read but that they had no Testament; that they held Prayers morning and Evening, and on the LORD's day they abstained from work, read prayers, &c. I sat and conversed with several old grey-haired men. Held Evening [44] Service, preaching to Natives from Mark I. 15, they very attentive. Two hours after they requested me to preach again, which I consenting to, I read part of Acts XVII, commenting on same. Afterwards sat in door of Tent conversing with them till a late hour.

October 1st. Rose, but before I was dressed, the Natives rang their bell, (i.e. beat an old hoe suspended to a string,) summoning to Prayers. I held Service with them, and once more preached to them, exhorting them to forsake all their Native Superstitions and Errors and Flee by Faith to Jesus as their only Hope. Breakfasted, and left in the Boat for Wangaruru; on arriving thither I found the village without a single inhabitant, not even a dog – supposed them to be all up the river with Houkio. Pulled up the river and proceeded

directly to Houkio's place. Found him alive but much weaker than when I last saw him; conversed with him, earnestly begged him to look to Christ as his *only* refuge, &c, but he seemed to say it is now too late, &c. Gave him a little provision, &c. and bidding him a last Farewell, I proceeded on to Waikare, reaching thither by 6, p.m.⁹⁸ Found my boat awaiting my arrival, at which I was very glad, having had a very long journey this day by land and water. Arrived at Paihia, by 9, p.m.

1839: 5–24 December

Memorandum...⁹⁹

[44] Visit to Wangarei, and places adjacent; thither by water, returning over land.

Decr. 5. James Busby, Esqr., British Resident, knowing that I wished to go to Wangarei to see the Natives, and Mr. B. having engaged a little vessel to take him thither, on some business, kindly offered me a share of the cabin, which I accepted.

7th. This evening at 6 embarked on board of the "Black Joke" for Wangarei,¹⁰⁰ winds light made but little way during the night.

8th. LORD's day – Morning found us off Wangaruru, breeze light but fair. Nausea great with violent head-ache; neither

98 WC: Houkio died, a few days after I had left him.

99 ATL MS-0589.

100 The New Zealand Company had a 20 ton schooner named the *Black Joke*; the name was a bawdy reference. See *eColenso* September 2017.

[45] ate nor drank during the voyage.¹⁰¹ About 6, p.m., we made the N. Head of Wangarei; entered, and ran up the Bay about 5 miles when we got aground on a Sandbank; carried out an anchor and got our vessel off again. About 8, p.m., Mr. B. and myself landed on a low Sandy beach, where, pitching a Tent, we passed the night, much annoyed with Mosquitoes, preferable however to the rolling and pitching of our little vessel.

9th. Most gloomy morning! threatening a gale of wind and rain. We returned on board the vessel. The Master declining to go up any farther, and Mr. B. choosing to remain on board for the time, I proceeded up the Bay and river, in the Vessel's boat, about 12 miles when I landed; met with Iwitahi, Karekare, and other Chiefs. About a mile further was Pihoi, a little village where Stephen resided, thither I went. Welcomed most heartily. Sat and conversed with Chiefs. My sending Iwitahi a Testament, seems to have been instrumental, under GOD, in causing him to think a little. Held Evening Service, preaching from Rom. VI. 23, people very attentive. Sat & conversed with Natives until 10, p.m. –

10th. At a very early hour Stephen rang the bell for prayers, before I could possibly get out of my tent. I, afterwards, Catechized Natives through 2 Catechisms; poor souls! their stock of Information on Spiritual things is very scanty, Yet, I have no doubt but that they would quickly acquire more had they but a Teacher. Sent a Messenger to Wareora to fetch Kaikou, (the young chief whom I formerly saw at Waiariki on my first visit to these parts, which village having been deserted, is now in ruins,). Visited Ratu, the village where Karekare resides, not finding him at home, I went on to the plantation where he was at work, putting up a fence; sat down

101 Colenso was always seasick on voyages, an impediment that later prevented his examining the botany of the Subantarctic islands at George Grey's request. See *eColenso* June 2012, July 2014.

and entered into conversation with him. Returning to Pihoi, I found a species of *Urtica*, (*U. debilis*, *Endlicher*, probably,) a plant much disliked by Natives.¹⁰² Called on a Scotchman, who lives in this neighbourhood, had some conversation with him. At the request of Iwitahi I went with him to his village, called Parakaraka, about 4 miles further inland. Arriving thither, his people, 14 in number, assembled together; I sat read, & conversed with them until evening. Returned to Pihoi; in my way back I discovered a n. sp. of *Ipomœa*, with remarkably small corolla.¹⁰³ [46] Arriving at my tent, I was much amused with an old woman, who, with a laugh, asked me in a most serious, or rather serio-comic, tone, whether she might not go and cry with one of my lads, as her love was so great towards him, from his coming from the same tribe as herself! Beat the hoe for Evening Service; old Karekare came to prayers; read John VIII, & exhorted them to consider their ways and receive the Gospel.

11th. Stephen, this morning, held prayers. Started, this morning with Stephen and party, for Tangihua, a village distant about a day's journey where Motutara resides. On arriving however at Te Waiti, I found that there was a great assembly of Chiefs from all parts, and that Motutara, also, was hourly expected; all were meeting in order it to transfer some land to Mr. Busby and receive payment for the same.¹⁰⁴

102 A nettle.

103 *Ipomoea cairica* = coastal morning glory, powhiwhi.

104 ATL MS-0588 is Colenso's rough diary for 1839; it contains a te reo vocabulary, a head count of local villages, directions, school rolls, sketches, pressed feathers and ferns – and diary entries, one dated 13 December 1839 listing the price paid by Busby for the land: "At Taika in Wangarei Bay, (I) witnessed in tent the Signing of Deed of Conveyance of Land to Mr Busby—signed by myself, by a man named E. Shannon and several others as witnesses. Tiraau, Motutara, Karekare, Tutahi, Amooteriri, Pou. Payt. 40£ in gold, 60 Blankets, 10 Coats, 10 Trowsers Blk, 25 do— white, 20 shirts, 25 do— white, 4 cloaks, 5 gownpieces, 15 Hdkfs, 3 Hakimana (single barrel guns), 20 Hoes, 20 Karauni (crowns?), 20 Patiti (hatchets), 15 Iron pots, 20 adzes & axes, 2 Bags

The old chief of this village (Tutahi) was indeed glad to see me. There was also Tirarau, from Aotahi, and several others whom I well knew. Tirarau, who was dressed in an Albanian dress, was still the same kind of being that I had ever found him – good tempered, intelligent, & willing to converse, but not to receive the Gospel. – Conversed with Chiefs and others until evening, (having determined to remain at this place,) – held Evening Service at my Tent-door, was much gratified to see the number that did rise up and come to our party, full 5/6ths of all present; Tirarau and a few others sitting apart, though all within hearing. I read John III. and was greatly blessed and strengthened in preaching to them. One young Chief of Tirarau's party, in the midst of my addressing them, rose up, took off his hat, and came over and sat down with our party. Karekare, formerly Tirarau's head priest, sat with us with his Books; and so did Tutahi, the venerable old chief of this village; and Toru, also, formerly priest of this very place, (who, when I was here, in 1836, sat apart on a house-top during Service, with whom, also, I had a dispute,) now, both with their Books; Toru had taught himself to read! Tutahi could not read, but could repeat the Services, Catechisms, Hymns, and some Chapters well by heart. LORD, despise [47] not thou the day of small things! Held Prayer Meeting this evening before Tent door; Samuel, Paul, Joel, Stephen, John, and Lydia, baptized Natives, present; with many other Chiefs. Sat conversing with Karekare until late.

12th. Paul (our Teacher from the Kawakawa) held Prayers this morning. I was much displeased with his manner as he was scarcely audible. – Baptized Natives are sometimes thus before an assembly of Chiefs. Tirarau informed me of the misconduct of W. White, the ex-Wesleyan Missionary,

shot, 5 cannisters powder, 80 lbs Tobacco, 1 Box pipes, Gift to Tirarau 1 Dble barrel gun." See *eColenso* September 2014.

towards his sister, &c, &c.¹⁰⁵ Mr. Busby had sent word to the Natives that he should land this morning at the little village of Taika, about a mile more to the S., and on an inlet of the Sea; and as all parties, male & female, Chief and slave, were going thither after the Mammon, and I, having been strongly urged to go, I made up my mind to accompany them thither.

Breakfasted, struck Tent and proceeded: half-an-hour's walk brought us to Taika. Shortly after Mr. B. landed, bringing with him the various articles he had brought as payment.

Knowing that I should not find "a time" just now for anything religious, I took a stroll into the woods, where I am ever at home. On my return I found that Motutara had arrived.

Evening, held Service, Mr. Busby, present, preached from Acts XVII. 30, 31; Tirarau & party sitting apart, as before, yet within hearing. Blessed be GOD! the iron chain of slavish fear is fast departing from off the necks of the New Zealanders! – A short while ago, I might have entreated from sunrise till sunset, and not a single soul would have inclined his ear if the principal chief should have happened to be inimical to the Gospel – now, here were Tirarau and Motutara, the two most influential chiefs in the whole district between the Bay of Islands and the Thames, both inimical to the Gospel, and yet could hardly find fellows enough to bear the company!! – "This is the LORD'S doing & is marvellous in our eyes!" – sat up, conversing with Tirarau, and party, till near midnight.

13th. Rose early; held prayers before sunrise, preaching from Eph. v. 14, [48] Tirarau and party still apart. Visited some sick, with whom I conversed; found that the old Chief was in the habit of talking to them. Walking this morning at a short distance from the village, Tutahi, the old chief, hobbled after me to tell me the state of his heart, which he beautifully

105 William White 1794–1875, a Wesleyan missionary who encouraged Hokianga Maori to retain their land. Angry Europeans retaliated and he was accused of adultery with Maori women. See <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1w19/white-william>.

illustrated by a thistle which he pulled up; I was much struck with his plainness and simplicity. Mr. B. paid the Chiefs this morning for his Land; Tirarau and Karekare shared out the property: Tirarau reserved nothing whatever for himself! Mr. B. having determined to return to the Bay by Mangakahia, in order to see the land he had purchased, and I, having made arrangements for visiting Ngunguru and other places on the Coast, we were obliged to separate. Accompanied Mr. B., Tirarau, Motutara, & others, by a very bad road, to Wakahau, here we dined, and parted. Returned to Taika (about 6 miles distant,) got back just in time to hold Evening Service; contrast very great, comparing the present stillness with the noisy bustle of the morning; all present at Service. One poor lad is a deplorable object, having lost nearly the whole of his hands and feet through Scrofula;¹⁰⁶ this lad could read well, having taught himself and appeared very shrewd. Assembled all this evening; Catechized; chatted, &c, till late.

14th. Held Prayers this morning, and once more addressed these Natives. Distributed several small Books, Medicine, &c. Found that a little girl of Tutahi's, about 3½ years of age, could repeat great part of the Morning Service; his youngest boy, also, a pretty infant of about 2 years of age, could repeat several sentences of Scripture which the old Chief had taught him! may the LORD, in mercy grant that these rehearsals be not "vain repetitions"! I could not but think on the beautiful apostrophe of our Blessed LORD to His Father, Luke X. 21. Left this place for Pihoi; took sketch by the way.

106 Scrofula is tuberculosis of the lymph nodes in the neck. This "poor lad" was probably suffering from leprosy, of which Elsdon Best would write, "He (the Maori) assuredly had a form of leprosy, termed *ngerengere*, *tuhawaiki* and *tuwhenua*, in olden times.... *ngerengere* caused the extremities to drop off joint by joint." (Elsdon Best 1924. *The Maori*. Vol. 2. Wellington, Harry H. Tombs Ltd. p49). See *eColenso* November 2014.



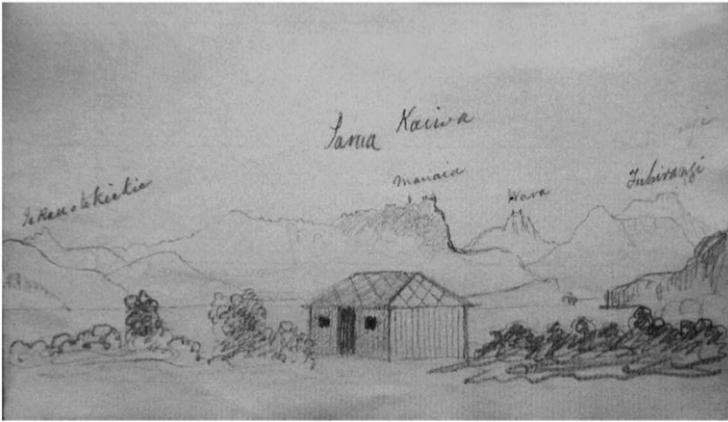
"View in Bay of Whangarei from road bet. Taika & Te Waite,"
14 December 1839. [Mitchell Library. ref. PXA236 CY283; image 17].



Clem Earp notes that Colenso sketched this scene from a spur above the Whangarei suburb of Toetoe, just north of Longview Estate winery, where he took this photograph (*eColenso* June 2018).

Numbered features are those identified by Colenso in other sketches as : 1. Matakoho island, 2 Motukiwi/Tapu point, 3 Te Whara, 4 Manganese point/Te Waro (not Pouawe), 5 Taranga/Hen island, 6 Manaia.

Also A Onerahi peninsula, B Otaika stream.



Undated. [Alexander Turnbull Library Ms-0588] A view over Whangarei Harbour toward the north. Colenso, 17 February 1842. I proceeded on to Parua ... Breakfasted & proceeded to Kaiva Bay wh. we crossed in a Canoe at an exceedg. quick rate, sailing before the wind.



Clem Earp took this photograph from the beach in front of the Pines golf course in Parua Bay, Whangarei harbour. His numbers on Colenso's sketch identify the modern names of landmarks: 1 Mt Manaia, 2 Te Whara, 3 Mt Aubrey, 4 Mt Lion, 5 Motukiore, 6 Manganese point, 7 Solomon's point, 8 hills on Reserve point peninsula.

The nemes "Te Rau o te Kiekie" and "Tuhirangi" are not known today.

Passing through the village of Te Waiti, I was hailed by Toru, who, with his wife, came on with me to Pihoi, that they might attend Service there tomorrow. Arrived thither, at 3, p.m. found Iwitahi and other Chiefs there. Every prospect of a severe gale. Rain soon poured down in torrents; no prayers could be held, there being no house large [49] enough for us to assemble in. Lay down in my clothes, expecting every moment the tent to be blown down. Rained heavily all night.

15th. LORD'S Day. Weather clearing a little this morning, I was enabled to hold Service, about 60 persons assembled, among them were several Chiefs; I preached from Rom. i. 16, Congn. very attentive; one white man who lives in the neighbourhood also came. I was obliged to stop, for a short time, in the midst of Service, in consequence of the rain, but the natives stirred not. Service over I went to Taika, (according to a promise given yesterday) arriving thither I assembled and Catechized Natives; endeavoured to teach the children to sing a Hymn. Held Service, near 30 persons present, preached from Acts X. 34, 35; bade adieu to the people and place. Returned to Pihoi, held Evening Service, preached from Luke VIII. 18., much blessed, though greatly fatigued, and with a very severe pain in the Chest; weather still lowering.

16th. After another night of pouring rain, morning dawned on a very gloomy prospect: – a country half-inundated, with every sign of plenty more rain. It soon recommenced; so that to stir out of my little tent was totally impossible unless I wished to be drenched. I was obliged to sit still, wrapping myself in my cloak with an umbrella over my head. Passed the day in conversing with Chiefs one or two at a time, making up medicine, &c. Evening, weather still the same; Paul held prayers with Natives in their little hut. Conversed with Stephen and Rebecca, his wife, this evening; exhorted

them to “quit themselves as men” &c, &c, & gave them directions about sundry little matters.

17th. Weather still gloomy and lowering: about noon, the rain abating, we broke up our encampment and proceeded over the high hills to Wareora, a messenger having come, on Saturday last to conduct me thither; Karekare and Toru accompanying me. It required a little exertion on our part to ascend those high & barren hills of clay, so very steep & slippery. Rain overtook us when advanced about 5 miles on our journey, and continued throughout the evening. The roads were all under water; the swamps, lakes; and rivulets, torrents; – from the [50] general appearance of the country, shrubs and bushes torn up by the roots, &c. the rush of water yesterday must have been fearful. Karekare carried me across several deep places of water. Arriving at Wareora, (about 9 miles from Pihoi,) I found a pleasing party of Natives assembled to meet me, some of whom had come for that purpose from Ngunguru, a distance of 24 miles; I, being thoroughly soaked, was obliged to change my clothing, which done, I held Service with the Natives in their neat little Chapel; whilst addressing them they listened with almost breathless attention; together they amounted to 30 souls. Greater part of whom were people seen by me in my first visit to these parts, in 1836; they lived, then, at Waiariki: the incessant rain prevented my again assembling them for Conversation.

18th. After a most wretched night from Mosquitoes, which were innumerable, covering and darkening the sides of my Tent, and which nothing, not even Fire, Smoke, nor Water, would drive away, I arose feverish and unrefreshed. Rang the bell (an hoe!) and held Morning Service, preaching from John III, on the Necessity of Regeneration; I was graciously blessed with utterance. After Breakfast I again assembled them in their little Chapel, and questioned them on the Truths and Doctrines of Christianity. Exhorted them to stand fast &

persevere in seeking the LORD. I gave them several small books, and started, at 11, a.m., for Ngunguru, much to the regret of the Natives; several of whom came after me, “Sighing”. Two or three Chiefs accompanied me. Found the brooks and rivers much swollen; managed to cross by stripping and sitting on the Natives shoulders, &c, &c. After walking and wading for about 12 miles, we reached that part of the river where it is navigable for Canoes from the Sea; here I found a small party of Natives, who were represented to me as followers of Pikopo;¹⁰⁷ I spoke to them, and brought them to attend to the truth *as it is in* Jesus; they however had nothing to say to me, nor would they accept any of my Books which I offered them (the first time I ever had a Book refused the acceptance of.) I left them with regret, for they were a fine-looking party of young men. We got into our Canoe, and went for some time merrily down the river, gliding swiftly [51] along by the great flood. The hills rose precipitous and high on either side, clothed with forests to their summits, and the Scenery, in many places, was most enchanting. Hitherto the axe of the feller had not come up against these eternal woods; here stood the Pines in Nature’s lovely order, some, hoary with age, elegantly festooned and draped with Mosses, and Lichens, and climbing Ferns, as if done with Fairy fingers – some, green, brilliantly green, in pristine vigour – , others, dark, sombre, of every shade, all beautiful! – Seldom, however, did any eye behold them, save that of the Native, who sees no beauty in the Landscape. Oh! what a mercy to see the beauties of creation! what an unspeakable privilege to see GOD – *a Father – in all* His works, and so “look up through Nature unto Nature’s God”!! I landed, at a sacred spot, to get a branch of a new sp. of Pine, here was an old Karaka tree, which the Natives reverence as hallowed, being the ancestor of the Ngunguru Tribe!! After paddling

107 WC: Pikopo, is the name the New Zealanders have given to the Romish Bishop. (“pikopo” is a te reo rendering of episcopal).

about 14 miles (following the windings of the river) we landed at a little village called Tongake, pleasantly situated on the water's edge very near the Heads; at this place, Te Peke, the Chief who had come to Wareora to meet me, lived. Here I found 2 or 3 Chiefs, and a few women; all of whom were quite unconcerned about anything save Land or Goods; they came not to welcome us, nor to the spot where we held Service, hard by Tepeke's House, within the pa. Service over I went to them; had some conversation with Motiti, a middle aged Chief, on Religion, – the present state of N. Zealand – Land question, &c.

19th. After passing a miserable night through Mosquitoes, which incessantly annoyed me, causing me to leave my Tent and flee to the seaside, and, there, in a Canoe, to seek a few moments respite and repose, I arose, and held prayers; Motiti attended; Service over I went to see a Chief who had a very bad leg, poor fellow! not a thought concerning Eternity! Talked with him; breakfasted; left this place, Te Peke accompanying me. An hour's walk brought us to Tutukaka, a rather romantic little harbour; – [52] here it was that H.M.S. "Buffalo," lay, and took in her cargo of spars in 1838, – here, also, were 5 white men residing, Sawyers, who seemed by no means glad to see me. I was, however, enabled to overcome their rudeness by speaking kindly to them, and endeavoured to point them to Jesus; one poor fellow seemed to be not far from his "narrow home", to whom I gave a little medicine, & parted; – our road, or rather route, for road there was none, lay over high, steep, and densely-wooded hills; the late very heavy rains, and the continual rooting of the innumerable wild pigs that infest these forests, had made the loamy soil little better than deep mud, so that in some parts it was with great difficulty that we made any progress. Saw today, for the first

time, that very splendid Pine, *Dacrydium plumosum*,¹⁰⁸ Don. About 2. p.m., we arrived at Mata Pouri, another small harbor, with a very narrow entrance; here, travelling, aye moving, was almost out of the question from the rich luxuriance of the untrodden jungle, and the quantity of mud & water; – however, we persevered, Te Peke continually assiduous in assisting me in every difficult place. At 5. p.m., we brought up at Otakahia, a sandy beach; all hands excessively fatigued. I pitched my Tent on the Beach, scarce 5 yards from the ocean which was rolling majestically at my feet. – “LORD, how wonderful are thy works in wisdom thou hast made them all! This great & wide sea, also, &c.” – In travelling hither this day my lads had, without difficulty, killed 2 wild pigs, which gave them a splendid supper! Whilst supper was preparing I strolled among the sand-hillocks, and found that beautiful little plant, *Fuchsia procumbens*, (originally discovered by the unfortunate R. Cunningham, and subsequently by my much lamented friend the late Allan Cunningham, Esqr., King’s Botanist); also, a *Chenopodium*, n. sp.? Mosquitoes here were but few; Sand-flies, however, were very numerous. How beautiful it is to hold prayer on a Solitary beach, in the solemn and still hour of night! On such occasions, Faith, as it were, o’ersteps the veil, and holds more than ordinary communion [53] with the departed. Oh! for Grace always to walk and act at “seeing Him who is Invisible”!

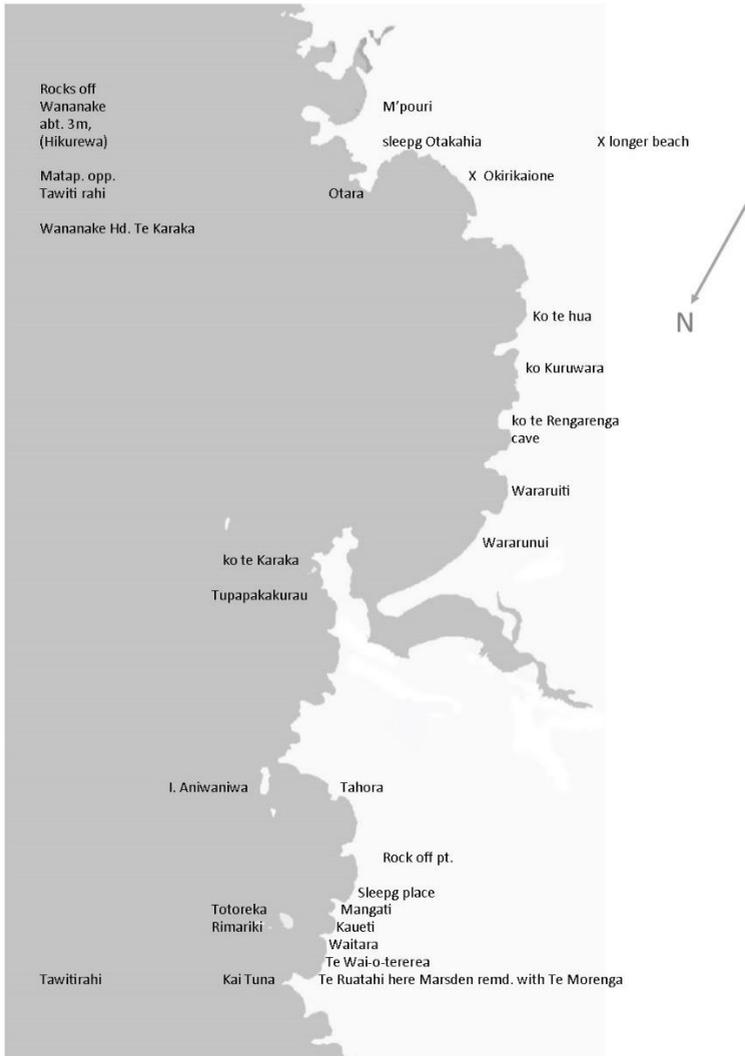
20th. Rose, held prayers together, breakfasted and proceeded; our route this day was much the same as yesterday, only more of rocks, and cliffs to climb up and get down over, in some places, too, this was not done without difficulty and some danger. Passed over (down) a precipitous Cliff called the “Rengarenga”, a cliff from whence the venerable Mr.

108 *Dacrydium plumosum* = *Libocedrus plumosa*, kawaka, New Zealand cedar.

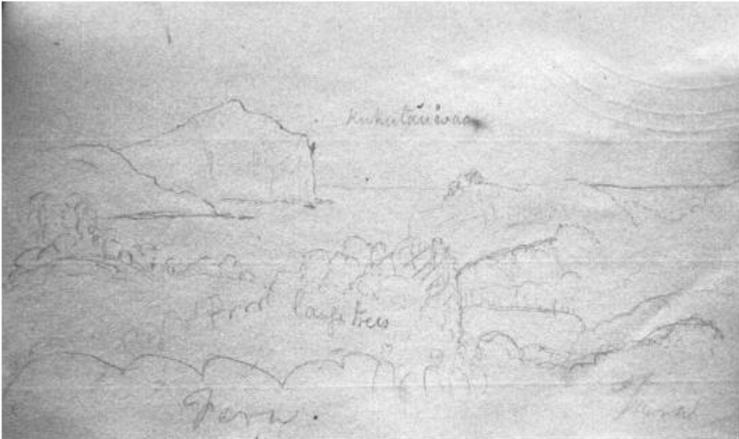
Marsden fell, some years ago;¹⁰⁹ he was the only Missionary, (Natives say the only white man,) who had ever trod these wilds save myself. Gave GOD thanks for His saving his Servant on that occasion, & for his subsequent keeping, and finally taking to Himself! Took a Sketch of the place. We killed another large pig this day, which wounded several of the dogs, and very nearly me, before he was secured. At night we brought upon a gravelly beach, named Mangati, where was just room to pitch my tent above high-water mark. All hands fatigued; supped and retired to rest.

21st. Held Prayers, breakfasted, and proceeded, still by Coast. About 2, p.m, we arrived at Owae, where we were heartily welcomed by the people. Sat talking with Natives; was informed of Samuel's conduct, (the blind Native,) in breaking up the Fowling piece of Ngere the Chief. It should appear, that during Ngere's absence from the village, one "of the baser sort", got possession of his Fowling-piece and fired it off. On Samuel's enquiring why he did so, and, what he fired at the reply was, I am firing at you! on which, Saml. obtained possession of the piece, and smashed it to pieces as satisfaction! Ngere bore his loss, on hearing of it, with more composure than Samuel did his fright – I gave Samuel a severe talking to for his conduct, telling him, much to his astonishment, that he ought to make it good, &c, &c. Evening, held Prayer-Meeting, about 50 present; all, I believe, residing in the village; read Matt. XXIV. and addressed them from verses, 12, 13. –

109 Marsden recorded the difficulty of this 1820 trip, but not his fall at the Rengarenga. For a full account of Colenso's connections with Marsden see *eColenso* September 2017.



Tawhitirahi is the largest of the Poor Knights islands, 20km offshore. Colenso recorded that he was the first European since Marsden to walk this coast, that Marsden fell at the Rengarenga bluff (which Colenso sketched) and stayed on Te Ruatahi island with Te Moenga on his journey north in 1820.

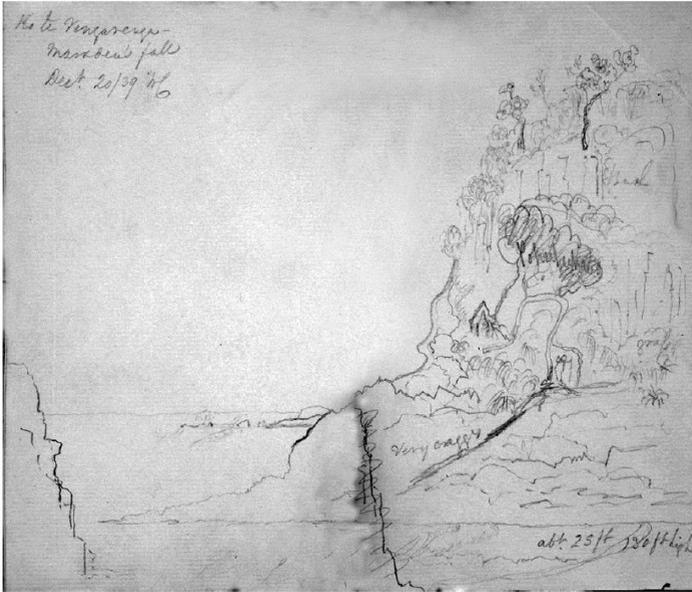


"Kukutuwao," undated. The island off Tutukaka [Alexander Turnbull Library Ms-0588].



?? Need to go back and check this. This is looking over Rocky Bay to Middle Gable.

Next page: Colenso's sketch "Ko te Rengarenga, Marsden's fall, Decr. 20/39 W.C." (ATL MS-0588) and Clem Earr's photograph of a typical Whananaki coastal cliff with pohutukawa tree roots, just north of the *Capitaine Bougainville* memorial (eColenso January 2019).



22nd. LORD's day. Rose early; met "enquiring Natives", according to appointment [54] examined and prayed with them. Held Morning Service, about 70 present; preached to them from Rev. III. 1–3; great attention. Service over I mustered them for School; taking the Men first; – first Class, readers, 6; 2nd ditto, 16; women, 30; Children, 13: total 65; all who live in the village and neighbourhood, or very nearly so. Evening; held Service; addressed Natives from John XII. 46. Afterwards I met Baptized Natives, with whom I conversed for some time; seriously warned them of what I fear is creeping stealthily over them – lukewarmness.

23rd. Early this morning I rang the bell, held prayers, addressing Natives from Phil. II. 12. Was much grieved, on finding that not one of my own lads were present, nor Abraham, the resident Teacher, nor several of the Baptized & Enquiring Natives. None but those who are similarly engaged can possibly know ought of the joys or sorrows of a Missionary among the Heathen – i.e. of *one* who has been *sent by* Christ to his labour and whose heart is in his work. Too often, alas! it is the case that hopes are realized (as it were) to be abandoned; and yet *not* abandoned; no! though blasted, still he hopes against hope; and is, sometimes, permitted to see a fulfilment of all his fondly-cherished wishes. Often, however, the contrary is the case. Notwithstanding, he labours on, – even though called to endure the bitterness of hopes deferred, continually deferred – constrained by an omnipotent power he pursues his way; and the Last Day alone will tell how Instrumental he may have been for good in the LORD's hand! Some of my happiest moments have been by the sick and dying New Zealander – *there*, one sees the true value of earthly things – of all that is amiable, and lovely, and desired! – *There*, the LORD hath graciously shewn *me* the real value of Botany, and Geology, &c, &c., so keeping me from being snared by them. There, I have seen the preciousness of the Promises, and the

blessedness of a Foundation, and of Simple Faith in Christ. – *There*, I have thought – who shall dare limit the Benevolent Omnipotence of JEHOVAH in Christ? For, if a *Jew*, on the Cross, who might have known pretty much of the whole economy of his people, as far as related to the Way of Salvation; of somewhat, too, of a glorious [55] chain of prophecy predicting the Messiah – found Salvation in the last hour by an act of simple faith in the Redeemer; How much more may not a New Zealander find mercy at the hands of that *Same* Redeemer, (who is unchangeable and ever-willing to save the uttermost,) of whom he has now at the last hour for the first time heard of, and to whom he does all that he can do, direct his prayer for mercy? I, for my own part, have good hope of all such as do cry to Christ – in their crying to him they do all in their power, an Archangel could do no more. – x x x.¹¹⁰ To resume: about 9, a.m. we started, by Coast, and reached Paparaumu, a small village, by 11. There were several Natives, but I could not prolong my stay among them, my allotted time for being absent having expired, provisionally expended, &c, gave them a few words of exhortation in passing. Struck inland, over very high hills, for Penaruku: at 2, p.m., we halted to roast a few potatoes, while doing so several Natives from Wangaruru came about us, among others Kauwata's sons, who gave me a pigeon they had just shot. Pushed onwards for Waikare, by an old and almost unfrequented road, which, from the steepness of the hills, long sedgy grass, fallen timber, &c, was a very fatiguing one. We waded, and re-waded the Waikare stream more than 20 times, and, finally, by a forced march, reached Waikare by 8. p.m., but could not obtain a Canoe, by which to proceed to Paihia, nor get any food! About midnight a Canoe was procured; but that was aground on the mud-banks, through the ebbing tide, so we were obliged patiently to wait till morning.

110 A credo indeed.

24th. Early this morning we made as quick a march as we could through the mangroves and mud to the Canoe. Entering which, we paddled down the river, and, hoisting our rush sail, got safely to the Station by 10, a.m. – Praised and magnified be the Name of the LORD, who brought us safely through all our difficulties! Yea, let all that is within us bless his Holy Name. – Amen and Amen –

Mr Colenso's Report¹¹¹

During the last six months I have been engaged as follows~
 Printing office. Compositing Prayer book from P.12 to P.36 half sheets demy 12mo. & printing 7000 copies of the same.
 Compositing English circular to Captains & others. Foolscap 8mo. & printing 500 copies of the same.

Printing 1000 copies of native tract pp24 demy 12mo. & also 1000 covers of the same.

Printing 2000 copies of ditto and 2000 covers ditto for Auxiliary Tract Society.

On the LORD's day I have either visited the natives in the different villages or held the services in Paihia Chapel. The week night services also I have attended to in my turn in common with the members of the station. I have also been engaged in counting out Testaments & packing the same for the Colony. On Wednesday March 20th. I left Paihia on an excursion to the northward visited Hokianga & Wangape, thence by way of the coast to Kaitaia from Kaitaia to Cape Maria van Dieman across to Houhora back to Kaitaia thence to Oruru & Paihia by way of the coast; reaching home on Friday April 12th. On Wednesday June 19th. I left Paihia to visit Wangaruru & Ouae natives & returned to Paihia on June 25th.

(signed) Wm. Colenso.

111 CMS records, presumably first half 1839.

Mr. Colenso's Report¹¹²

During the last six months I have been engaged as follows –
Printing Office Compositing small prayer books, 2nd. edition, 36pp. demy 12mo and printing off 20,000 copies of same; printing off 6,000 copies of Sig. A.E. of large prayer book. – Compositing Prospectus Circular, and Placard of Victoria Institution and printing 300 copies of the same. Compositing Primer – (Pukupuku Wakaako) 24 demy 20mo., and printing 10,000 copies of the same. Compositing Bishops address (Pukupuka Kauwau o te Pihopa) 10pp demy 12mo and printing 4,000 copies of the same. Compositing scripture questions (Kupurei) 8pp demy 12mo and printing 3,000 copies of the same. I have also been engaged in folding up 500 copies of the New Testament for binding in parts, In counting out and packing Testaments for Colony. On the LORD's Day I have as usual visited the natives in the different villages. On Tuesday Sep. 24th. I left Paihia on a visit to the natives of Wangarei and Owai &c and returned to the Station on Tuesday Oct. 1. On Saturday Dec. 11 I left Paihia on a visit to the natives in a little vessel for Wangarei in that District and returned to the Station by land by way of the coast on Dec. 24. Sd. W. Colenso.

112 CMS papers, latter half 1839

1840: Treaty of Waitangi

In January '40 H.M.S. Herald arrived in the Bay of Islands bringing Capt. Hobson R.N. who was our first Governor. Immediately on his arrival my hands were full to overflowing with extra printing for the new Govt., and that too in the English language for which I had no type cases, and was therefore obliged to have the additional "sorts" of letters in little piles on tables and boxes and even on the floor. I also assisted him at the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi on the 5th. and 6th. Feby. After a few months, however, I was obliged officially to complain to the Committee of missionaries that I could not properly any longer continue to execute the now Govt. work required, and in time I was relieved of that. I never got a single Id. for it, only a strong letter of thanks written solely by the Govr. himself. Often had I to go without a meal or proper food while so working.

Early in this year I began to think of preparing for a future visit to England:—(1) to see my parents and family once more (as I had promised to do on leaving at the end of 7 yrs), (2) to obtain Ordination, which the C.M.S. had led me to look forward to, and (3) to seek a wife among my country-women in the W. of England, and this the rules of the C.M.S. allowed and provided for their single missionaries at the end of 7 years service, so I wrote them a letter upon this subject (written Jan. '40 ansr. recd. Aug 19/41) stating that when I should have completed the Maori Ch. of E. Prayer Book (the full ed. with the Psalms etc.) then in hand, which I supposed might be about Jany. '42, I should like to return to E. for the abovementioned purposes, and in course of time to come, back to my labours in N.Z. It was more than 18 mths. before their reply reached us.

Now, according to certain rules or by-laws among the missionaries in N.Z. this was one, that any letter of this kind written home to the parent Society must pass open through the

*Committee of missionaries here in N.Z., for them to see and consider etc. This Committee meeting every 6 months, consequently my letter home went through their hands in the usual way. Of course I know not what remarks or comments the Com. of Miss. made upon my letter in their writing home to the Society at that time; long afterwards however I did hear that as they (the N. Missionaries) were all fathers of large and rising families comprising many daughters they did not see why I could not be well suited from among them.*¹¹³

1840: 6 February¹¹⁴

As the Lw. of E. gives no civil power to Her M. out of her Dom. her efforts futile unless you consent –

Her M. has comd. me to exp ps. matters to you pt. you may underst. them. –

Pe p. of Gt. B. are, thk G – free – & so lg. as by do not transgress the Laws they can go when they please & their gov. has not power to restrain them.

You have sold them lands here and encouragd. them to come here

Hr. M. always ready to protect her subjts – is also always ready to restrain them.

Hr. My the Q. asks you to sign ps. Try. and so give her pt. power wch. shall enable her to restrain them.

I ask you for ps. publicly I don't go to one c. to anor –
I'll give you time to consr. the proposal I'll offer you

113 Excerpt from Colenso's 1883 *Autobiography*.

114 Colenso's shorthand note of Hobson's speech to the chiefs at Waitangi on 5 February is in his bush journal for 1839 at MTGHB, photocopy at ATL MS-Papers-0675 and MS-Papers-6870. Fifty years later he wrote his account of the Treaty signing. See *eColenso* October 2014.

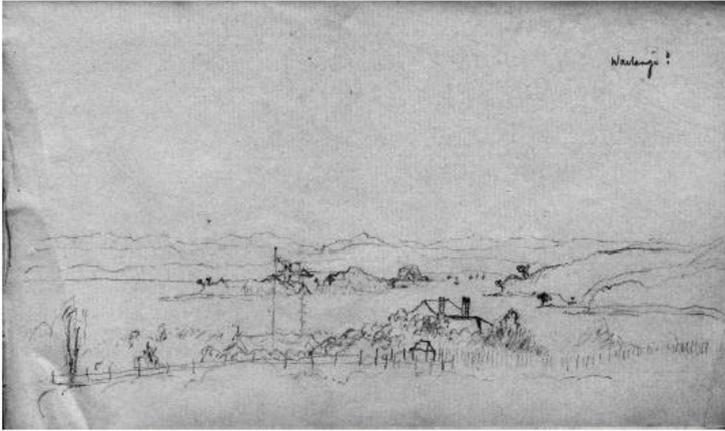
What I wish them to do is expressly for their own good as they will soon see by the Ty.

You yourselves have often asked the Kg. to extend his protectn.

Her My now offers them that protect. in þs. Treaty.

I think it not necessary to say any more about it. I'll therefore rd. the Treaty.

One thing I'd ask – Do you think it better for þs country to be ruled by the Q. who has no other Int. but þrs. or those persons who come here with no other desire but to purchase lands for þmselves?



Undated. "Wairangi." 12 April 1839? [Journal, 1839-1840, gifted by Mrs. Martin Simcox, Collection of Hawke's Bay Museums Trust, Ruawharo Tā-rangi, m67/23 c. 66224]. Wairangi from the north—flagstaff middle left in front of Motunuaire island, Taylor island to its right, then Pahiia middle right, ships offshore (above Busby's house, built in 1834). The annotation "Wairangi?" seems not to be in Colenso's hand.



James Busby's house, Wairangi, Bay of Islands, Northland, New Zealand
 Mundy album 3. Ref: PA1-4-041-25. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. [records/22478377](https://records.22478377)



"Southern view of Waitangi," 9 March 1840. [Mitchell Library: ref. PXA236 CY283; image 16]. A month after the Treaty was signed.

Need a drone to replicate this

1840: 7–16 April

Memorandum...¹¹⁵

[56] Visit to Wangarei and neighbourhood, by another route; performed in April, 1840.

Tuesday, April 7th. Left Paihia Station this morning, at 11, in boat for Kawakawa, arrived there, dined, and proceeded to Waioomio. Called at Wini's village, and the old Chief accompanied me to Hinukuku. Held Evening Service with about 30 Natives. Conversed till a late hour with Wini and others. –

8th. Held Prayers; addressed these hard hearted Natives; breakfasted, struck Tent and prepared to proceed; when an event took place which appeared at one time, rather serious. – Buckling on my travelling belt and shaking hands with the Chiefs, I was going on, (my lads having started,) when one demanded payment for the Fern on which I slept the preceding night!! I felt very much grieved at such an unparalleled request, (coming too from a Native of this place, where I had particularly labored, Sabbath after Sabbath, for more than 2 years, the inhabitants of which, in all their Sickness, had ever been attended to by myself with medicine and little articles of food, supplied with Books, &c, though, I am sorry to say, without the least indication of good resulting therefrom,) and replied, "I shan't give you anything whatever; if you wish a reward you must come and take it, that is, if you are strong enough to do so". On which he advanced, seized the travelling pole which I held in my hand, and wrested it from me; while he was doing so I coolly took from him a pipe, which he had in his mouth, and hid it in my Vest. He brandished the pole to throw at me, which I parried with my

115 ATL MS-0589. ATL 80-038-01 contains a two sheets of a pencilled bush journal 7 to 17 April 1840.

hand. He demanded his pipe, which I refused, alleging his bad conduct. On which he seized the straps of my belt, and rent off 2 loops, tearing, also, the sleeve of my shirt, and taking me up (as a child) by the legs, lifted me in the air, to the amusement of those present. Hitherto I had acted wholly on the defensive, but this last was rather more than I was inclined to submit to; so, lifting my heart in ejaculatory prayer to the Strong for strength, I turned to my assailant, and, seizing him by the right elbow, desired him to look out the place on which [57] he would be laid. He, looking somewhat afraid, wished me to let go my grasp; “No,” I replied, “it is my turn now; say, where will you lie?” so saying I tripped up his heels, and threw him, “*easy*,” a “fair fall”. He arose, and made at me; I said, “Enough” but, finding he would not be still, seized him again by the elbow, and down he came in a trice; taking good care to throw him “*hard*”, this time. On which he got up, and, shewing the New Zealander, seized a knotty branch of a tree, and made at me. I called on the lookers-on to lay hold of him; but they moved not. – I was, however, not intimidated, (having proved my arm to be rather longer than his,) so, seizing him by the throat I ran him backwards against the end of a house hardby where I pinned him fast; the stick having dropped, and his short arms hanging powerless by his sides. There I kept him, until Pohe, a young Chief, came up and laid hold of him. Having refitted, I upbraided the Natives for their ingratitude, and conduct towards me; on which they remarked, that were I not a Missionary and known to them I should be stripped, &c. I took his pipe and broke it up, for the tearing of my belt and shirt. To shew however that I had no malice against him I offered to shake hands with him, which he disdainfully refused. So I went on my way, giving GOD thanks for His delivering me from this “bear”. We travelled until nightfall, through woods and wildernesses, when we brought up, by the side of a stream, very hungry, not having eaten since breakfast.

9th. Onwards, through swamps. Arriving on the banks of the River Wairua, we fired a musket as a signal to a party living at a short distance, to paddle their canoe hither. One small canoe only arriving, we placed our bundles in it, and, being ferried across, proceeded to find our way through the wood. I soon repented my having left the Canoe; words cannot describe the tangled brake we were in! after the most arduous exertions we gained the open fern-land, where [58] I, exhausted and hungry (not having breakfasted,) threw myself down. Got up, and walked to Kopunuingaoho, the village of Taramoeroa, who received us very kindly. Here, in this isolated place, surrounded on every side by dense, primæval woods, lived 6 or 7 individuals! A lad, who had lost his fingers and part of his feet through that terrible disorder scrophula, was the priest of the village, being the only one who could read, and who held prayers twice a day. – Here I thought, in this *vile* house of clay, is, perhaps, an heir of glory! much pleased with Toenga's (the afflicted lad) conversation. Having eaten, and refreshed, we passed on through long swamps mid-leg in mud and water. Brought up after dark at Haukawakawa, much fatigued. Here I had slept 4 years before!

10th. Rose, held prayers & breakfasted. Started and soon arrived at Parekai, the village of Iwitahi, found that the inhabitants were all absent. Proceeded, about 1, p.m., arrived at Pihoi and were hospitably received; sat a short time to allow lads to get some food, and passed on to Te Waiti; in the way I met with Karekare and others who turned and went thither with us, where we were heartily welcomed. Found that Several Chiefs were here assembled to a Hahunga; in a little enclosure sat Te Haro, Kawanui, and Tauwitu, three Chiefs of note, being Tapu (i.e. sacred). One of Tutahi's wives had died since I was here last, when they buried her.¹¹⁶ This being the

116 WC: The Native custom is, to suspend the body in a tree, or to lay it in a canoe, &c, until the flesh has decayed, then gather up the bones,

first departure from the National custom (in this neighbourhood) of hanging the body in a tree, &c, I was not a little gratified in hearing that they had so acted. Held Evening Service, preaching from Rom. vi. 23; upwards of 100 Natives within hearing, of, whom 20 or 30 sat apart from the “believing party”, being “tapu”; Abraham (who accompanied me) also addressed them. After Service, sat and conversed with the old Chief Tutahi, Toru, Karekare, and others till late. Distributed several Books, &c, &c.

[59] 11th. Rose early, held Prayers, preached from John II. 1, 2, several natives sat apart while 60 assembled to service. After Prayers I walked up to the 3 Chiefs who were tapu, and entered into conversation with them; (I had purposely avoided them yesterday that they might see how displeased I was at their conduct, although my tent was pitched but a few feet from them.) GOD graciously opened my mouth and enabled me to point out the errors, superstitions, and Abominations of their practice. While speaking, and to my surprise and great delight, Te Haro, the oldest of the trio, rose up, took some food into his hands, placed it on his neck, &c, and said, “There! I am no longer tapu; nor shall I be again: give me a sharp axe”; (meaning a *book*). Kawanui, also, rose up, did the same ceremony; and said very nearly the same words. Tauwitu sat alone, declaring he could not dare to do so, through fear of his Atua; who would certainly destroy him if he dared to touch food with his hands!! I never before knew of a similar instance; surely this was a triumph of the Cross! Te Haro much wished for a Book; I assured him he should have one. Sat and conversed with Chiefs, Karekare, Parihoru, Tutahi, and others. Karekare got up and made an oration, expressing his wish that I should never omit the continually

scrape, wash and decorate them, make a feast, and convey the bones to some pit or hole which has been the vault of the tribe for years, perhaps ages.

returning thither to see them, &c, &c. Venerable old Totahi! I hope *in* Christ he will find Salvation. He knows by heart (for he cannot read) Matt. 3, 4, 12, 20, 21, which Chapters he rehearses at Prayers, Morning and Evening, and the LORD's day. Here was a disciple of Pikopo from Mangakahia; with him I was [47] obliged to hold a long Conversation, and had to oppose much of what he had to say. Pikopo told him, so he said, to mingle with our disciples at prayer, &c; I reminded him of a sifting-day, when the chaff would be separated, &c. Left this place together for Pihoi; arrived wet at Ratu, from rain; sat and conversed with Karekare. Proceeded to Pihoi. Every appearance of bad weather coming on, just as when here last. [60] Conversed with Stephen & Rebecca in my Tent, and with several young chiefs. One young man has come all the way from Mahakitahi to procure a book. Distributed several Books, nothing like enough to meet the demand. Held Evening Service, which I was obliged to shorten, there being no House large enough to hold us, and rain commencing. Sat in tent conversing till late.

12th. LORD's day. Very severe night of weather; rain and wind, yet I warm and comfortable in my little Duck Tent. No moving out for the Rain; at 11, a.m., lighted a Candle and held Service in a long, dark, House, into which we were obliged to creep on all fours, like a cat, and when in could barely stand upright under the pitch of the roof; 40 persons present, to whom I preached from Acts II. 37–40. Service over, Stephen and Abraham held School with men, and Rebecca with women, whilst I wrote two Letters, to Pou, and to Motutara,¹¹⁷ calling on them to consider their ways, and accept the Gospel. Held Afternoon Service, upwards of 40 present, preached from Heb. III. 12–14, greatly blessed with utterance. In the Evening, assembled Enquiring and other Natives; read Heb. XIII., and was enabled to address them very

117 WC: Two chiefs residing in the vicinity.

feelingly. Exhorted them to seek the LORD; to assemble once a week for Edification, &c, – Ruia, Iwitahi, Tautoro, and others, spoke to the purpose. Ngarohaere displayed much of a “root of bitterness springing up”, warned him against it; concluded with singing and prayer. Iwitahi followed me to my Tent to tell me of his prayer, &c, &c; hope there is a great change effecting on this man; for years he has been a complete tyrant and murderer. – On remarking Touta, a little deformed slave, who has always been very attentive on the means of Grace; and recollecting the other poor lads, so dreadfully afflicted with scrophula, yet earnest inquirers after the Truth I had a peculiar illustration of 1 Cor. i. 27, 28, which powerfully affected me.

13th. Rain all night and rainy morning; no moving out. Sat [61] in Tent, and wrote Letters to Te Peke at Ngunguru, and to Kaikou, at Wareora, as I shall not now be able to see either of these places. Conversed with Natives on building a Chapel; Abraham, Stephen, and Chiefs, commenced building a Chapel this afternoon, timber being on the spot; I was much pleased to see Karekare, and Wakaariki, two old priests, together with Iwitahi and others zealously working about the same. Evening Service I addressed them from Mark XIII. 37; – Service over, and Supper ended, I assembled them in the “long house”, and read 1 Philippians to them exhorting them from the 27 & 28 verses. While engaged in doing so, a little incident occurred, which threatened serious consequences. Iwitahi, the Chief, had always been in the habit of sleeping during Service, for which I had often spoken to him but to no effect; now, however, that his name had been set down in the Book as a disciple, I made up my mind to put, if possible, a stop to his doing so, especially too, as others were not behind in following his example. Whilst discoursing, he, sitting near, not only slept but snored, on which I desired those next him to arouse him; this, however they did not dare to do, knowing too well the savage character of the man. Finding that they

would not, I did, in a gentle manner, which greatly exasperated him. He said many hard things, of which I took no notice, but quietly proceeded in my Discourse. He leaped up, tore his Book to rags, and threw it at my feet; and talking furiously rushed out. I coolly gathered up the fragments, put them into my pocket, and continued my Discourse. He no sooner got outside, than he gained possession of his fowling-piece (double-barrel) which he fired off as fast as he could load her. I trembled for my poor lads who were outside, and who were in a shed near him, as one of them had previously incurred his displeasure, and was, moreover, from a Tribe with which they had formerly been at war; – as for my own self, I felt calm and astonishingly supported. I concluded our Service with Singing and Prayer [62] after which, the Chiefs present commenced talking about Iwitahi. All were indignant at the Book being torn up; “Jesus Christ newly crucified; Jesus Christ newly murdered”, &c, &c, were the expressions from everyone. Karekare proposed, that all Books should be returned to me, and carried away, since their Chief had behaved so bad: I feared this proposal would be acceded to, and combatted it with all my might, observing, “*Then* the Devil will indeed rejoice; he does already, how much more then”! I told them that Satan was angry at our commencing a Chapel for GOD in this Place, hence his demonstration of opposition, &c. Our conference ended in a determination to keep the Books and to proceed with the building of the Chapel. Had a long conversation with Stephen and Kahunui, one of the best I have had here – Grace is the same in all hearts. Kahunui presented me with a pig and a basket of food.

14th. Very early this morning one of Iwitahi’s wives came to my tent & said, he was greatly ashamed, &c, &c; I replied, “Had he merely got up, raged, and went out, I would go to see him; but since he has torn up the word of my Lord and Sender, and cast it away, I can not now go to see him”; – Still rainy, yet we prepared for a start. Struck Tent, shook hands

with all; Iwitahi came out of his house and seated himself by the side of the path. Seeing that I was about to pass him, he rose up, and held out his hand; I took it, and talked to him; shewed him his error, declared that he had not injured me, and exhorted him to seek repentance and Faith from the LORD. He listened quietly but made no reply; So I left him. Arrived wet and weary at Kopuuingaoho; held Prayers, sat conversing a short time, and then retired to rest.

15th. Heavy rain, rattling thunder, and very fierce lightning during the night. Oh! how loudly the thunder echoed among these [63] everlasting hills! Morning broke upon a country half inundated. Held prayers; discoursed to Natives from Luke XV., only a few souls in this little place, where they are separated by many a dreary mile from any human being. Breakfasted; Conversed with Natives; Rain abating, we determined on proceeding. Canoes being ready, we left this place about noon, and entering the Canoes, (two wretched things the least movement in which would have ensured their upsetting us into the dark muddy torrent over which we were silently borne,) and paddling about 2 miles, we landed on the opposite side of the river, and began our miserable march. In fact the whole country was more or less, according to the situation, under water; I was very soon glad to find that I could get on, without being more than up to the knees in the same. One long swamp, now a lake, in which we were obliged to make a circuitous route, was, in some parts, very deep; so that, with the Rain from above, and water from below, we were indeed wet. About sunset we brought up on a hill side, in a most deplorable plight, having travelled, in distance, but a very few miles. It was some time before we could get a fire; spite of all our united exertions. Supped, held prayers, & got a little sleep, spite of the Mosquitoes. Thunder, Lightning, & Rain, in the night.

16th. Early this morning, held prayers and breakfasted. Recommenced our march. For 4 or 5 miles our route lay over a range of hills, which were comparatively dry and good walking ground. Arriving at Waipuakakahu, (at other times a little rivulet, which, in going onwards to Wangarei, I cleared at a stride,) we found the valley filled with an immense body of water, rushing swiftly past in dark eddies. I endeavoured to sound, in some places, with my long travelling pole of 7 feet, but could not find bottom; I managed to cross, partly by wading, partly by being carried, & held up; but the main channel I crossed by getting astride the trunk of a large Tree, which [64] fortunately we found floating in the stream, and so, sliding forwards, I managed to get to the other side. Travelled all this day with great perseverance, as, tomorrow being Good Friday, I wished to gain if possible the Station this night. Sunset found us at Waiomio. Passed on, without halting, by moonlight to the Kawakawa. Launched our Boat, and reached Paihia Station about 11, p.m. We travelled more than 40 miles this day – equal to, I dare say, *at least*, 60 English miles, – and, though dreadfully fatigued, reached home without injury! Praised be the Name of our GOD! –

I very nearly lost one of my lads, subsequently, owing to cold and over-fatigue, occasioned by this adventurous journey.

1840: 30 August–6 September

Memorandum...¹¹⁸

[64] Journey to Wangaruru Bay, and Villages adjacent; August, 1840.

118 ATL MS-0589.

Wednesday, August 30th. Proceeded by boat this day to Waikare, on my way to the outer coast. Held Evening Service at Waikare, only 10 present.

31st. Proceeded on this morning to Punuruku. Here I found Kauwata and his party. Pitched tent, sat and conversed with Kauwata and his sons; upbraided him for not building the Chapel he had promised. Held Evening Service, preached from Luke IV. 17–19. Spent evening conversing with the Natives. The only fruit, as yet perceptible, among this Tribe, is, that a few of them are able to read the Word of GOD; and have Testaments among them.

September 1st. Held Morning prayers; read John III. & exhorted the Natives to heed the Word of Life. Conversed again with Kauwata, who took me to a place where several posts and rafters were a-preparing, which he affirmed to be for his Chapel; however, I had no confidence in his words. Left this village, in the boat, for Paparaaumu. Arriving at the latter place, was welcomed by Wakaparu, the Chief, – sat & conversed with Natives. Evening, held Service in the Chapel, about 35 [65] present, addressed them from Eph. v. 14, 15. Service over, and supper ended, I reassembled them in their Chapel, and conversed with them till a late hour; exhorting than to make sure work for Eternity.

2nd. Held Morning prayers, read Matt. XXV., discoursed on the Judgement. Sat and read several chapters with Natives; distributed several small Books. Left this village for Owae; arrived thither about 2, p.m., & was heartily welcomed. Evening Service, addressed Natives, in their Chapel, from Luke IX. 62. Spent Evening in conversation.

3rd. LORD's day. Held Morning Service, preaching from Rev. III. 20–22. Held Schools; men, 19; women, 24; children, 10; Catechized Men; addressed Women; Catechized and examined Children; they make but little progress in

knowledge, chiefly from not having a Teacher. True, they have a Native Teacher, but he is but a Native, and knows not much himself. Held Evening Service, preached from latter part of Proverbs I, which I had previously translated. Supper over, assembled Natives in Chapel, & spent evening in questioning, and conversing with, them.

4th. Visited Mimiwangota, a place on the S. Head, inhabited by several whites. Procured one or two new species of shells; and a new shrub; returning, it was very rough, but we got back in safety. Held Evening Service, addressed Natives from 1 Cor. xv. 58. Sat and conversed with them till late.

5th. Left this morning in boat for Paparaaumu; landing here, I besought the Chiefs and Natives to heed the Word of GOD. Sending the boat on, and going myself by land, I fell in with the Chief Noupeke and his party, with whom I spent some time in conversation. Leaving them, and entering boat, I landed at Te Mateatai, to see a white man and his wife, named Graham, who reside there. Mr. G. was not at home, Mrs. G., with whom I spent some time in conversation, regretted much her situation, exposed to the insults of these rude Natives [66] and cut off from the ordinances of GOD's House, so very different to what she had been accustomed to in Scotland. Leaving this place we pulled up the river, to the Boathouse, landed, and proceeded to a plantation where the Wangaruru natives principally were whom we had seen & conversed with in our Journey forwards, promising, on our return, to spend a night at this place. Arriving thither, we found the Natives some engaged in planting potatoes, some in sharpening stakes of which I took little notice at the time, little thinking what was near at hand. My tent was scarcely pitched, when a report of muskets was heard, on enquiry, I found that Pi, (an old savage Chief, with whom I had had two encounters before, and which were by no means pleasant,) was coming with his party, from his village at Waikare, to this place to plant some

potatoes. I was quite satisfied with the answer; when presently the party appeared, descending the hill into the plantation; when the Wangaruru natives rose in a body, with those stakes which they had been sharpening to meet them, as they, (Pi's party,) myself and lads, supposed in play, such being the custom of the N. Zealanders, on which the Waikare party, throwing aside their spades & muskets, gathered rods and fern stalks to receive the Wangaruru Natives. A short while before Pi's son had taken a woman from the Natives of this part, and now they thought they would have amends; the rush was made, and, in the melee two or three of the Waikare natives got stabbed with the sharpened stakes of the other party. The Waikare natives immediately threw off their clothes, flew to their arms, loaded their muskets and double-barrelled pieces with ball, and, urged by old Pi, who danced, and yelled, foaming at the mouth, like a demon, made after the Wangaruru natives. Oh! what an uproar!! I immediately ran up, and got between the two parties, begging them to desist. (The Wangaruru party [67] had armed themselves also by this.) Pi ordered me away again & again, but I would not declaring that they should shoot me *first*. I, believed that whilst I danced about with them (for we were incessantly changing our position) they would not fire, as I was between them, keeping always before Pi. My situation was by no means pleasant for their pieces were loaded and cocked, and the brake in which we were was high. Suddenly one of the barrels of Pi's piece went off, (whether purposely or not I cannot say,) and wounded a Wangaruru chief slightly in the leg. On this the uproar increased, if possible, tenfold – Women screaming, children crying, men bawling, yelling, and dancing about, and I in the midst, with my great travelling staff! After about a half-an-hour spent in these exercises, Pi declared he would go and set fire to all his store of seed potatoes at the end of the plantation, (had he done so, a war would no doubt have afterwards taken place between the two

parties,) so saying he snatched up a flaming brand and ran off to the store, I after him, begging him to desist; we got to the store, he laid down the fire to gather together some dry leaves and fern, on which I seized it ran to the river and threw it in; he ran for more fire, I ran also & stood before him, holding his hands; he ran to another fire, I also, & again hindered him, he kicking me most unmerciully (luckily the N. Zealanders don't wear shoes,) which I took all in good part; he ran to another fire, I with him, and again hindered him, on which he seized a *ko*, (a native wooden spade) and belaboured me well, nearly breaking one of my fingers, however I kept my temper & took all, still following him about the plantation. Finding he could not succeed in burning his seed potatoes; he, seizing a spear, ran to kill the young Wangaruru native, who was, in a measure, the cause of the quarrel; I again before him, hindered him, getting some more kicking [68] and torrents of the vilest language. By this, he was nearly exhausted, and I was beginning to feel tired; but I knew that if I could persevere a little longer I should gain my point. He then flew among the other natives I with him, and, in time, (after about an hour spent in this manner,) succeeded in quelling this lion without myself or anyone (save those who were stabbed) receiving any injury! All glory & praise be to GOD, *my* GOD!!! Examined the wounded, found them to be but slightly so. One, who was stabbed between the eye & nose, narrowly escaped losing his eye. – Throughout the afternoon the Natives were loud in their praises to the white man; save Pi, who would not look at me. In the evening he sent me a quantity of potatoes. Held Evening Service, addressed Natives from I Mark, 15 verse; several of Pi's party present. Spent evening conversing with Maruwenua and party. –

6th. This morning old Pi came to prayers, and to shake hands; Maruwenua gave me a pig. Left this place for Waikare. Arriving thither we waited for the Tide to flow; and got to

Paihia Station by 10. p.m. Blessed be GOD, for all His Mercies! –

Mr Colenso's Report¹¹⁹

During the past six months I have been engaged as follows.

Printing Office. Compositing Catechisms, 28pp, demy 12mo. and printing off 10,000.

Compositing Lessons No. 1, 2, 3, 4, and printing off 2,000 copies.

Compositing title page, for parts of New Testament, and printing off 1500 copies.

Compositing Sigs. S.A. S.B. S.I. Psalms 36pp., demy 12mo., and printing off 11,000 copies.

Compositing and printing off the following for Government of New Zealand

Circular letter calling meeting of Chiefs at Waitangi: 100 copies.

Proclamation against all future purchases of Land, 100 copies.

Proclamation, declaring Cap. Hobsons appointment, &c. 100 copies.

Cattle impounding Natives: 100 copies.

Circular to Native Chiefs, desiring them not to regard false statements, &c, 100 copies.

Proclamation (English) against purchasing Soldiers stores, 100 copies.

Proclamation (New Zealander¹²⁰) against purchasing Soldiers stores, 400 copies.

119 1840

120 ie, te reo.

Proclamation asserting the Queen's Sovereignty over N. Island of New Zealand; 100 Copies.

Corrected ditto ditto: 100 Copies.¹²¹

And also – In counting out 500 Testaments in sheets and sending to the Colony;¹²² in ditto 500 ditto ditto, to be bound here. In warehousing printed books; in counting out, packing up, and sending off books to different stations, as pr. return herewith sent. &c. &c. &c –

On the LORD's day I have, as usual, visited the Natives in the different villages; chiefly however at the Kawakawa.

On Tuesday April 7th. I left Paihia on a visit to the Natives at Wangarei Bay and Neighbourhood; went over land and returned by the same route, on the 17th. of the same month to the Station; having had very bad weather.

Enclosed is a return of books, I issued &c. during the last six months.

Sd. W. Colenso

[Return of Books issued from the Press from April to September 1840].

1841: At Paihia

In course of time (Augt. '41) I received an answer to my letter from the parent Society in which, while they did not wholly refuse my application, they begged me to reconsider it at that peculiar juncture, when the R.C. Mission had but lately come to N.Z. and the works from the press were needed more than ever through the recent rapid extension of our mission.

121 Colenso pointed out to Hobson that there was an error in the original copy, where the latitude was incorrectly stated.

122 ie, to Sydney (the New South Wales "Colony"), where some of the testaments printed by Colenso at Paihia were bound.

They also went on to say that the very prosperity and stability depended mainly on my remaining at my post, at all events for a season, and so, I felt obliged to abandon my proposed voyage home, and thoughts of seeking a wife, at least for some time. My letter to them in reply I wrote in Sepr.

And here I should briefly state that I did not feel that pressing want of a wife that many do, partly perhaps owing to my having been so long and so thoroughly domesticated and drilled in by sheer necessity to learn many home and household duties—in cooking, cleaning, sowing, mending etc. and I believe I may truly say I ultimately learned them well. But social and domestic matters were not now so pleasant or so lightly felt as formerly; my neighbours, missionary brethren and their wives, were not so kind and far less homely than in former years. Europeans were coming into the Bay to visit and to reside, and there was no small interruption through their calling etc. etc.—the very Maori domestics were becoming unsettled and often capriciously left without warning.

As a matter of course, when the contents of the open and public letter from the C.M.S. respecting me and my application to them got known here among the missionaries and also of my determination to remain quietly at my work, some of them were not backward in advising me to look out for a wife in N.Z. among their daughters. At that time there were only 4 of their daughters of eligible age, viz., of Mr. Davis 2, of Mr. King 1 and the Rev. H.W. and Mr. Baker, and this last hardly so. The 1st., and by far the oldest, I had scarcely ever seen, her fathers station being quite isolated and out of the way at Tepuna near the N. head of the Bay; the second was an invalid and had been so for several years; the 3^d. I had written to on this subject 3 years before. She was now grown to be a fine young woman of very retired manners still living with her parents next door to me, but of whom I

*had long since wholly ceased to think as a wife, while the 4th., Mr. Baker's eldest child by his 1st. wife, had but very lately come out from home to join her father and of whom little was known & she was still at school in the strn.*¹²³

1841: 3–7 January

Memorandum...¹²⁴

[68] Journey to Wangaruru, and adjacent villages, performed in January. 1841; intended to have been extended to Wangarei.

January 3rd. LORD's day. At Waikare, on my way to the outer coast; Held Morning Service with Natives, about 40 present, preached from Matt. XXIV. 11–13. Afterwards, held a Morning Service in Mr. Baker's house,¹²⁵ with Europeans, Mr. B. reading prayers; preached from Luke XIII. 6–9. Held Evening Service with Natives, Mr. B. reading prayers, preached from Rev. XIV. 6, 7. And an Evening Service with whites in Mr. B.'s house, to whom I discoursed from Rev. VI. 2.

[69] 4th. Waiting at Waikare for the arrival of Natives from Owae, who had been sent for last week, and who ought to have been here by Saturday last; without whom I can not proceed, not having any Natives to carry my Tent and baggage. Went into the village and conversed with Chiefs, had a long and earnest conversation. Was enabled to meet all their objections against the Gospel. When, O LORD, when,

123 Excerpt from Colenso's 1883 *Autobiography*.

124 ATL MS-0589. ATL MS-Papers-11062 has a manuscript providing a resume of his mission activities for 24 January 1841 to 30 October 1842.

125 Baker had moved to Waikare in 18**.

allow me to inquire, when wilt thou send this sombre pall from before their eyes? –

5th. Still waiting at Waikare. Cannot conjecture what could possibly have detained the Owae Natives. Sat and conversed this afternoon with a Rotorua Chief, who is come hither to obtain muskets and powder to carry on the war, got little from him but bad language. Fully shewing what man naturally is, and what I should now be but for the Grace of GOD. Endeavoured to hire Natives this evening but could not succeed.

6th. Natives not having arrived, I started, this morning, for Owae, with only my steward-boy, Kahukoka, merely taking a tent and a change of Clothing. A very hot day. At 11, a.m., we arrived at the plantation (through which our road lay,) where we had our encounter with Pi. Here was Houkio's mother at work among the kumaras, although nearly double with old age. She expressed herself very glad to see me, we sat by the wayside and conversed for some time. Poor, old, and ignorant creature, (though very sprightly and animated in conversation,) she professes to believe in Christ! She also told me she had been dreaming about me, and now her dream was fulfilled. Sought for means to go down the river, as our boat was at Owae, being taken away by the Natives. Went over to Maruwenua's plantation, at a short distance; sat and conversed with him and some others. They gave us some food, and arranged to paddle us down the river, when the tide flowed [70] for a Hatchet and 8 figs of Tobacco!! with this exorbitant demand I was obliged to comply. Tide flowing, we proceeded. When we had got about 3 miles down the river, they, seeing the mullet leaping plentifully, must needs land, and cast their net. This detained me a considerable time. I had, however, an opportunity of seeing how they take this fine fish. They carried their net from one shore to another, in the little sandy cove where we were, as speedily as possible, and,

paddling quickly on the outside of the same, beating the water with long poles, returned to the shore from whence they set out. They then took up the net, beginning at the end, and took out the fish, which were caught by the gill-covers: of course, only the finest fish were secured the small ones passing through; precisely as Mackerel off Cornwall are taken in a driving-net. They got about 50 fine fish, and gave me 10, for assisting & detention. Hence, tho' late, we paddled to Paparaaumu, landing there about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8, p.m.; found about 60, men, women, & children; they rang their bell just as I landed, so I proceeded forthwith to their miserable shed, (fit emblem of the *strength of their belief*,) but having no light, we could not see to read; we sang, or rather growled a Hymn, I addressed them on their miserable state, concluding with prayer. My cold was much increased; having no bedding, I lay on the sand in my clothes, flinging my tent over me, to keep off the dew.

7. Before 4 o'clock this morning the Natives rang their bell, and had some kind of Service among themselves. I rose soon after, but the greater part of them were gone. Oh! what gross darkness enwraps these people! oh! how painfully do their hearts go after covetousness!! I wrote a Note, and despatched my lad to Owae, that the Natives might proceed without delay to Waikare, for my baggage, food, &c. My cold was much increased; sat on the sand and conversed with two or three [71] Chiefs, and exhorted them, for some time, to consider the things of GOD. About 7, a.m., I commenced my journey to Owae. Found Wakaparu, (one of the Chiefs of this part,) at a little place about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile from the village I had left: he had not heard of my arrival. Sat in his house and conversed with him, his wife, daughter and slaves; much pleased with this man, the only one, apparently, among the whole number of this Tribe, who seems to care for the Word of GOD. He called on his wife and daughter to heed what was said; listening attentively himself and making several pertinent

observations. May the LORD bless him! Much grieved to hear of the repeated offers made to him, by the whites in the neighbourhood, for his daughter, for the vilest of purposes. Oh! what a heavy curse the white man, the Christian!! white, has been, in many instances, to N. Zealand.¹²⁶ Proceeded onwards, alone, over dreary beaches. On arriving at the end of a beach, called Mokau, where the road wound up the face of a high and wooded cliff, I found that there had been a subsidence of the cliff in that very spot, so that it was now impossible to get up its perpendicular face – a thing very common in the clayey cliffs of N. Zealand. I had, therefore to make my way through thick bushes, fern, and fallen timber, of old growth, &c, most peculiarly matted together. The Sun was scorching hot – not a breath of wind – the fern higher than my head, and so old and matted below as to preclude my putting my feet to the ground – then there were the clouds of fine hairy dust from the young fern-shoots – my big straw hat & staff there in the way, &c, &c, so that I had to make most desperate exertions to *get up* through what I had about me. Never before was I in such a situation. Every moment I seemed as if I must either fall downwards over the precipice, or perish in my miserable entanglement. This lasted more than half an hour; during which period I rested several times; (if such could be called *rest*,) and prayed to the LORD to deliver me. Blessed be His Name! [72] I gained the summit at last, where I gladly threw myself on the ground to refresh: I was very near fainting, and had not a dry thread in my garments. What would I not then have given for a cup of cold water? I was soon, however, to endure a second trial! I missed my way, and had, in consequence, such a distance to scramble through a horrid mass of fallen trees and brush wood! I got however in safety to Owae about noon, and trust I was thankful to GOD for His gracious deliverance. Found that my

126 Colenso would write, later

lad had despatched the Natives to Waikare; and that the Chiefs and people were at Mimiwangota, a place about 8 miles off, a messenger however was sent to fetch them. Very hospitably received by the few who were at home, and soon got a breakfast of fish and potatoes. My cold however had greatly increased; sat and conversed with Natives. About 5, p.m., a boat arrived, J. Busby, Esqr., (late B. Resident,) and G. Mair,¹²⁷ Esqr. J.P., and Ngere and Warau, the Chiefs of Owae. The two former Gentlemen were returning in a boat from Ngunguru, whither they had been, when, happening to land at Mimiwangota to dine, they heard from the Messenger of my being at Owae, so taking the 2 Chiefs with them they came in to see me. They kindly determined to remain all night, that we might be together. Assembled Natives in Chapel, read part of John III., and, with extreme difficulty, addressed them a few words. As the Evening advanced I became quite hoarse, and at last, could not articulate so as to be intelligible. Mr. Mair got me a pair of blankets, from Ngere, and wrapped me in them, making me some sugar and warm water as a diaphoretic! Both my friends were exceeding kind and attentive. What a night of fever and perspiration! Everything wet, through and through!! Morning came I could hardly speak. My two kind friends were determined to get me to return with them to the Bay, to which, after much importunity on their part, I consented. As I could not [73] possibly proceed on my journey in the state I then was, and if I remained here I should be of no service whatever from not being able to speak; – if I got better, at the end of 2 or 3 days, my allotted time for being absent wou. be so far advanced in, as to cause me then to return. So I consented to go back; struck tent, and entered their boat; at 6

127 Gilbert Mair 1799–1857 lived in NZ from 1824 till his death. He married Elizabeth Puckey and they had 12 children. He signed the Declaration of Independence as a witness and was present at the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. It was he who rowed Colenso ashore on 30 December 1834 from the *Blackbird* at the Bay of Islands.

entered Wangaruru heads, at 9, a.m., reached the head of the river, where we met the three natives coming from Waikare with my baggage; reached it by 2, p.m., – waited for the tide, and, about 9, p.m., landed at Paihia. Sent immediately for Mr. Ford,¹²⁸ the Surgeon, who came over and gave me some Medicine. –

I was for 3 or 4 days in Mr. F's hands; who, at first, was highly apprehensive from the unfavorable symptoms which shewed themselves. Blessed be GOD! I was, through Grace, and a firm reliance on the alone merits of my adorable Redeemer, "kept in perfect peace;" and resigned to live or die. He, however, has raised me up again. May it be to serve Him more *zealously* than ever! Amen

1841: 27 February–23 March

Memorandum...¹²⁹

[73] Journey to Wangarei and adjacent villages; performed in February and March, 1841: being, too, my last journey.¹³⁰

Saturday, February 27. Left Paihia this morning at 7, a.m., for Waikare, on my way to the E. Coast. Lowering and rainy, obliged to shelter by the way from heavy showers. At 2, p.m., weather clearing, we started onwards from Waikare. My lads were gone on ahead; and I, in crossing a muddy stream of water on a tree laid across the same, fell in; water to the armpits, scrambled out as well as I could in a pretty plight. Could

128 Samuel Hayward Ford 1811–1876 was sent to NZ by the Church Missionary Society and arrived in 1837, our first resident surgeon.

129 ATL MS-0589.

130 ATL MS-058. ATL MS-Papers-11062 has a bush journal for 27 February to 30 March 1841.

not allow myself to change my apparel, as I had but one other suit with me, and this being but the commencement of this day's journey I might have another fall ere night; [74] obliged to keep myself warm in these cold and dense woods by extra exertion in walking. At 5, p.m., we arrived at the head of Wangaruru river but could not use our boat she being too much out of repair, nor could we obtain a Canoe; in this dilemma, we agreed to scramble over the hills towards Punuruku; we did so, and reached Paparaaumu by night-fall. Had the people here solicited us so to stay, I should without doubt have consented, for I was very much in pain from Rheumatism, I was fatigued, and it was getting dark; but they did not so much as ask us to stop! We proceeded; on entering the wood it was the very acme of darkness, we could neither see each other, nor the trees, nor the little path, nor our own persons! I had never been in a wood by night before: here and there the luminosity occasioned by the decaying timber was most intense and beautiful, shining with such a peculiar silent lustre, (if I may so speak) in the depths of the forest.¹³¹ Thus we passed on at a snails' pace through woods, up and down Cliffs, and over rocks, until from the rising of the tide it was quite a difficult matter to proceed at all, (these parts being only travelled over at low water, or half tide,) from the cragginess of the rocks, and the extreme darkness. Often we could not discern the water from the rock, save when the wave broke, displaying a spectral gleam of white; add to which my great pain, and hunger also; and you have but a faint conception of the horrors of *this* night journey. One of my natives (Demetrius,) who now and then carried me through the deep water with me on his back, at last, (owing to the darkness and slipperiness of the rocks,) stumbled with me on his back, by which we both got bruised and wet; this made him averse to the carrying of me again, fearing the

131 Colenso described such bioluminescence much later

consequences of a fall. Nearly 3 hours passed away in these exercises, when I, in endeavouring to gain a footing higher up, out of the reach of the waves fell and nearly fainted. At this time I was alone with Demetrius, (having despatched the other lads on before to gain assistance and torches from Owae, to pitch my tent, &c.) who, though close to me I could scarcely distinguish; he, seeing me lying on the rocks after [75] my fall, fell on his knees and offered up a most devout supplication to GOD for aid, and for help for me. I hesitate not to say, that it was well worth enduring all I had endured that day, to hear that prayer offered up under such circumstances by a New Zealander in such a situation. How that lad has been endeared to me by such uncalled for conduct! would that my treacherous memory recollected the words of his supplication. Soon Natives and lights came from Owae. A Native carried me to the beach. Having drank a little water, I again got up, scrambled thro' another wood, down a horrid descent of a cliff and into Owae; arriving about 11 p.m., quite exhausted. Blessed be GOD for delivering Mercy!

28. LORD's day. Held Morning Service, though unwell, preached from I John X. 1–5, about 80 present who were very attentive. Afternoon, superintended schools; men 21, women 29, Children 17. Evening, held Service, preached from the Baptisms of Simon the sorcerer & the Ethiop. Eunuch, Acts VIII; Intending to pass those whom I might consider fit, to receive that ordinance at Paihia. Service over assembled a party of Ngatitu Tribe, who had come up from Wangarei in order to meet hither a missionary, they were seeking for Baptism, having been some time Candidates. Kaikou was at the head of the party. Conversed with them for some time.

March 1st. Prayers over, held school. Afterwards assembled again the Ngatitu party, examined them. Consulted with Abraham and James the Teachers of this village, as to whom of this place they considered fit subjects for Baptism:

assembled the persons pointed out by them, conversed with & examined them. Evening Service, preached from John VI, 27. Afterwards assembled both Ngatitu and Owae enquiring Natives; with whom I passed the Evening conversing & questioning. To me this has been a very important day, having to decide whether those Candidates are fit or not: I feel my own inability and unworthiness for this office, and have, I trust, been enabled to look to Him, whose name is “Counsellor” for direction.

[76] 2nd. Wrote Letter to Revd. H. Williams, sending 13 natives from Owae and 6 from the Ngatitu party, to Paihia to receive Baptism; Kaikou among the latter. Blessed be GOD for these, some of the first-fruits from those parts! May they all be Baptized with the Holy Ghost! Left this place this mornng. on our way to Wangarei. At 2, p.m., we stopped to roast a few potatoes, at a place where the people who formerly resided on an islet opposite were slaughtered, roasted, and devoured by the Waikato Tribes, a few years ago; I could hardly make up my mind to dine in such a place – but all N. Zealand is thus defiled! Proceeding onwards saw several human bones in the way, – one of the victims must have been of immense stature, – these were bones of persons slaughtered by the Waikare people; passed the root of a tree on which the Chief of the District was overtaken in his flight & murdered – Mercy the N. Zealander never knew in battle. It is harrowing to hear the relations of the Natives – but more so to hear Baptized Natives relate those scenes with apathetic indifference, with a laugh, and a “serve them right”! *This* generation of N. Zealanders are conversant from their childhood with deeds of blood and cruelty – to man and inferior animals – and old habits are not easily eradicated. Whilst, however, it is a subject on which I do not desire to think too deeply, I conclude, “All things are possible with GOD” – and, “The LORD knoweth them that are His”. These places were once inhabited by many hundreds, if not

thousands of souls; now they are all desolate not a creature living on this Coast (save at Ngunguru – on, all the way to Wangarei). Passing over one of the beaches we picked up a new sail and mast of a boat; fear some boat has been upset. Evening, at 6, we brought up at Wananake: here were 2 old men (belonging to Owae,) who were truly “Monarchs of all they surveyed”. They received us very hospitably and gave us plenty of such as they had, Potatoes & Fish. We had prayers which they attended. I spoke to both of them about Jesus; [77] and endeavoured to direct them in all plainness to Him; they assented to do all I said, but I fear I am not simple enough. – May the LORD grant me to preach his Gospel in all its blessed simplicity! Was obliged to leave my tent, and take refuge in the smoke of the fire from the innumerable mosquitoes, passed a very uncomfortable night.

3rd. Early this morning we held prayers, and proceeded on our journey. Collected by the way, some fine species of *Fuchsia procumbens*, and a *Lobelia*, n. sp., and some other plants, (yet to be ascertained,) together with some shells; a rich acquisition to my Cabinet; although I have not time to arrange them. Chased and caught a wild pig. Arrived at Matapouri, crossed the mud and jungle, (never-to-be-forgotten,) and dined; while our potatoes were roasting my lads caught immense fresh-water eels, 2 of which they soon roasted. About sunset, we arrived at Tutukaka, where we bivouacked for the night on the Sand. I sent John on to Ngunguru, about 2 miles distant, to inform the Natives, and to bring Te Peke, the friendly Chief, back early in the morning.

4th. A rainy morning. Whilst washing Te Peke came, and seemed very glad to see me; held prayers, and proceeded to Ngunguru. A canoe came in from the sea as I descended the hill; found it to be from Wangarei, with Toru and others on board. Welcomed to the place by Tahau, Motiti, and others, Chiefs. Pitched tent in the pa; every appearance of bad

weather coming on. After breakfasting, I visited a poor sick Native, whom I well knew, gave him some Medicine and talked with him, but he is so dreadfully superstitious & ignorant, as not to care much about anything I could say. While with the sick, Capt. Lewington, (formerly Master of the Mission Schooner, now residing about ½ a mile distant,)¹³² came to see me; invited me most cordially to remain at his house, but I considered it better to be in the pa, among the Natives, that I might be enabled to embrace every opportunity during the time I remained. Dined with Capt. L. at his house; Mrs. L. being very unwell. Returned to the pa, sat and conversed with Tahau, Motiti and Toru. Held evening prayers at tent door, about 30 present, preached from Mark I. 15. Some present who had declared for Pikopo, who, when I was last at this place, refused my books; I spared not to expose the errors of that Apostate Church. Pikopo's party have always been in the habit of holding their separate service, morning and evening, but this evening they did not do so. Remained reading Testament and conversing with Natives till near 10, p.m. —

5th. Rainy night & morning. Held Service at Tent door, about 20 [62] present, read Daniel III. and preached from same; Natives very attentive. Catechized children. Purchased a fine "John Dory" from the children who had captured it on the shallow banks in the ebbing tide; the first I have seen in N. Zealand. Conversed with Natives; read them the Bishop of Australia's address, and the Book of Jonah; old chiefs present. Dined at Capt. L's. Returned to pa. Held Service, 20 present, testified to them from Luke VIII. 18. Evening, assembled Natives in the house of one of their number, and spent evening conversing with them. Very bad cold, and pain in Chest.

132 Captain W. J. Lewington was master of the *Columbine*.

6th. Rainy morning; They rang their bell before I got up, so I desired John to hold Service with them, which he did, with Tahau and Motiti, 2 old Chiefs of the Place, who are exceedingly superstitious; they won't work on the LORD's day, yet, nothing cd. induce them to come to Morning or Evening prayer; spent great part of the morning with those 2 old creatures. Dined at Capt. L's. (a fine young man, named Atherton, a settler residing at Tutukaha, dined with us; the first news I heard, on my return to the Bay of Islands, a fortnight after, was, that of his death; drowned by the upsetting of a boat!) Returned to the village; held Service, reading [79] Daniel VI. discoursing from same. Held Prayer Meeting in Paro's house, upwards of 20 present, read Luke XIV., discoursed on parable of Supper. Distributed several books. Much pleased in overhearing Toru, formerly a Native priest and opponent of the Gospel, teaching the Natives the Catechisms, after I had retired to my tent. LORD, bless thy word. *Amen.*

LORD's day. 7th. Held Service this morning, about 25 present, old Chiefs would not attend; preached from Acts XVII. 30, 31, sun burning hot. Service over, arranged for School, which I left in charge of John & Joseph, 2 of my lads; proceeded to Capt. L's house, held English Service, 8 persons present, preached from 2 Cor v. 10; 4 of the 8 were Roman Catholics in Capt. L's employ; hope I was enabled to preach to them faithfully the truth as it is in Jesus. Returned the pa, conversed with old Chiefs till near 5, p.m.; held Evening Service; preached from Eph v. 6-8. Evening, assembled Natives in Paro's house; read Luke III; and questioned them on the same. Took down 15 names of persons, who professed to be desirous of becoming Christians; this is a beginning. LORD, despise not the day of small things! Quench not this flax hardly yet smoking!! I had prolonged my stay at this place, in order, first, to spend a Sabbath among them, and, second to bring to nought if possible, this nest of Romanism, the only

one on the coast, between Wangaroa and Tauranga;¹³³ they dared not hold Service during my stay; in fact, they said themselves, they were afraid to do so; but their ringleader kept aloof, & would not come to the village while I was in it, although I had sent for him. Capt. L. had given the *little* party (until I came this time only 3,) a very fine Bell, by which they had plenty of tintinabulatory clatter, much to discouragement of the Pikopeans, who were numerous, yet only had a hoe for a bell. Finally arranged to leave tomorrow morning for Wangarei; by the overland route.

8th. Early this morning, John held prayers. We proceeded, in [80] the large Canoe of Pou's, to Parakaraka, about 8 miles distant, at the head of the Ngunguru river; several Natives going with us. On landing, Waipero, the ringleader of the R.C. party, was pointed out to me, sitting under a tree. Lifting my heart unto GOD, I went up to him, sat down by his side, and entered into conversation. After some time his Books (if Books they might be called) which he had received from the R.C. Bishop, were produced, – one, a little miserably printed production of 4 pages, containing not much instruction; among other things in it was a prayer to the Virgin, and directions how to cross themselves, from the forehead to the stomach, and from the left shoulder to the right, in the Name of the Father, Son, & Holy Ghost! – another, a little manuscript of 4 small pages, contained a kind of Litanical Invocation, in which the name of Jesus was supplicated *once*, that of GOD the Father, *twice*, and that of the V. Mary 19 times! The latter under most peculiar titles, such as “ark of gold, – house of Ivory, – Rose – Star” – &c, &c, – I read them out, so that my Natives (who had never seen any of his books,) might hear them, they were loud in their derision, and the poor fellow, I verily believe, was soundly ashamed. He agreed to abandon them, at the same time observing, that he

133 Presumably Tauranga Bay to the north.

would return them to the R.C. bishop – I much wished to get hold of them, or, that he would burn them, but seeing he was averse to anything save the returning them, I forebore to press him on the subject. I gave him several of our Books.

Conversing with him and others for more than 2 Hours.

Waipero pressed me to come again when he would assemble together all of that “sect”, that I might see them; I promised to do so if I possibly could. Kiharoa, the principal Chief of Ngunguru, came to see me, received a “hongī” from the Old man – he gave us food and welcomed us heartily, but said, “I must be content to leave him to remain after that of his fathers; that my word and Book were both good, but he, an old man, must [81] be excused”. Ah! such is man. – And such should I now be but for thy Grace, O blessed LORD! Left this place, proceeded to Wareora, found that this little village was deserted; its inhabitants (Kaikou & party left by me at Owae,) having their residence by the sea-side. This wandering habit of the N. Zealander is much to be deplored, as it is very detrimental to his spiritual, moral, and worldly welfare. This is often a reason, why they do not build better houses for themselves, and why they do not build themselves a Chapel, &c, &c. I looked into the pretty little Chapel, where I once preached, and sighed! I fear, in my lonely wanderings, I am often too sentimental. – Proceeded on; at sunset brought up in the wilderness, by the side of a small stream. Held prayers, and early to rest.

9th. Rose, breakfasted, held prayers, and proceeded. Ascending a steep and barren hill, found a lovely little Orchis – *Microtis*, n. sp. At 11, a.m., we arrived at Stephen’s village, Pihoi, and were heartily welcomed by Stephen and wife who had been expecting us. Sat and conversed with Karekare, Kahunui, and others. A white man, living in the neighbourhood, came to me, and wished me to Baptize his little child; on my telling him I could not, unless it was in extreme sickness he argued with me for some time, to induce

me to do what he wished; as a matter of course, he did not succeed.¹³⁴ Evening, held Service in the Chapel, not many present, the Natives being scattered about in their various plantations, addressed them from Rom. X. 9. spent evening in conversation with Natives. Iwitahi, returned in the night, and fired off his piece several times, on account of one of his wives who had run away from him.

10th. Early this mornng. I held Service, and addressed Natives from, Heb. II. 1–3. Received a visit from a Scotch settler named Karruth,¹³⁵ I had seen him before in my former visits, and engaged to hold an English Service at his House on Sunday next. Breakfasted, and started, in a Canoe, for Pakaraka, about 10 miles down the river, and not far [82] from the N. Head of the Bay. We reached this place at 2, p.m., passing the venerable old Chief, Tutahi, at work alone in his plantation, whom we hailed, and who soon came after us in his little canoe. At this place I found old Haro, who, also, was glad to see me. Sat and conversed with the people. Tauwitu arrived from fishing, talked with him; still the same kind of man; will not accept the proffers of the Gospel! I hope, yet, to see a difference in him. Saw Haro's son, a fine healthy youth of about 8 years of age, yet dreadfully distorted through the eating of the fruit of the karaka; his arms were stretched to the utmost behind his hack, 1 leg down, straight, the other hooked up as much as possible, he had been so for 2 or 3 years, without the least power over any of his limbs, not so much as to turn himself when laying down, all through the eating of this horrid fruit. Yet the Fruit is used as an article of Food by the Natives; it being only in its raw state that it has this dreadful effect – and then only the kernel. I often, in travelling

134 Colenso did not believe in infant baptism, reserving that rite for those who had attained the requisite knowledge. See *eColenso* September 2012.

135 Scotsman William Carruth was the first European settler to take up permanent residence in Whangarei in 1839.

eat the fruit, of course rejecting the kernel: it is of the size of a Spanish olive, and of a bright orange colour when ripe. Their general remedy for a person who has eaten the kernel, in its unprepared state, is, to dig a hole deep, and place him in it by force, & there bury him, his legs and arms being placed straight, up to his chin; after 2 days, the maddening effect passes off, and the prisoner is released. This boy was neglected; he having eaten the kernel *after* they had been baked (but not as yet steeped in water,) the parents and others supposed that its effects would be mild. Poor child! what a prospect before him! 30 or 40 years in an utterly helpless state, dependent on the kindness of New Zealanders!! yet he seemed happy, and would laugh heartily at seeing the other children play.¹³⁶ Held Evening Service, about 25 present, spoke from John VI. 27 – Afterwards, sat & conversed with Natives. Distributed Books, not forgetting old Haro: mixed & gave out medicine. Most of the children [83] are suffering from Hooping Cough, some very much so; several of the women of the Place in consumption,¹³⁷ which caused them to be more than usually thoughtful. One case was most melancholy to behold; a poor woman in the last stage of consumption, with a child of about 5 or 6 months old dreadfully afflicted with the Cough, half-clad, teased also by sandflies, which incessantly swarmed on its little body & legs; Oh! how pitiably this poor child would cry, and when the fit of coughing came it was almost suffocated, and it coughed and cried until its excrements ran from it; the poor mother with difficulty raised herself occasionally to attend to this miserable infant! I enquired after the husband and slaves – “They had work to do”, was the reply; “if the potatoes are not

136 The kernels contain the neurotoxic alkaloid karakin, toxic to birds, bees and mammals, but destroyed when heated for an hour at 100°C. It first causes nausea, diarrhoea and restlessness. then quickly, severe neurological symptoms, including pacing, limb rigidity, crying, seizures and then unconsciousness.

137 Tuberculosis.

got out of the ground ere the rains come they will be spoiled,” &c, – Oh! the miseries of human life. I gave the poor woman some medicine and some advice; the words she listened to very attentively. I was pleased with an incident, related by Stephen, concerning Tutahi: one of his wives eloped with a Native from the Thames; his relations took a canoe and pursued them. They went after them in their small canoe all the way to the Thames; and eventually found them. They got the Natives of that place to aid them, and brought the woman back (enceinte¹³⁸) to Tutahi. He, hearing she was come, went out, and addressing her said, – “Thou knowest well our law, and according to our custom you could not escape being killed; but, listen, I have taken the Book for my rule; by that my arm is held. I shall not kill thee. Sit thou there (apart) and live, and cease sinning. Had I been as I was I should kill, but now I shall not. Sit, & cease sinning.

11th. Early this morning I held Service; preached from Rom. II. 7–10, Service over I ascended the high hill behind the village, & gained in so doing a plant (out of flower) apparently a species of aster. Returned, breakfasted; exhorted them again; struck Tent, [84] and leaving the village, amid the hearty wishes-for-good of the inhabitants, we paddled our canoe to another habitation about 5 miles distant, called Tamatarau. Here were, Amooteriri, Wakaoriki, and other chiefs of note, busy in sharpening a canoe; sat down with them on the grass and conversed for some time on the things of GOD. Amooteriri still holds out against the Gospel; I have little doubt but that in a little while he will cease to do so; his companion, Wakaoriki, was a priest until of late; he is an *old* man, & it is pleasing to hear him repeat Hymns and prayers from memory. I always look on *such* persons, when turned to receive the truth, especially in their *old* days, as the *peculiar* triumphs of the Cross! an *old* man, whose *word* was law, and

138 pregnant.

an *old priest* too, whose authority was unbounded, to see such sitting quietly receiving instruction like a child, is a beautiful sight. This old man is one of my best friends in the district. His daughter was ill, admn. a little medicine with prayer. Having refreshed ourselves, and desired them to come to Pihoi for the LORD's day, where I should hold Service, we left. Passed on: landed at Matakoho, a Sandstone Island; procured some shells & Botanical Specimens, & Oysters; waited for tide, & paddled to Pihoi. Held Service, preached from Luke X. 42. After Service, finding that Iwitahi would not come to see me, and wishing to "fish" this man, I went to see him, but did not stay long in his house. Sat & conversed with the people in Tent door till late. –

12th. Early this morning held service, preached from Rev. XIV. 6, 7. – After Service, I heard that several Natives had arrived from Mahakitahi, (a village where Kawanui, a chief of note, resides,) and hearing from them, that Kawanui had said, If I went to see him he would turn, I concluded to go. So, about 10, a.m., we left in their canoe, (a very old and leaky thing,) in which were stowed 16 souls, dog and baggage. The wind kept rising, blowing too off the land, until we were [85] through its violence, in no small danger; we were obliged to paddle for land. Gained a specimen of *Pittosporum*, n. sp. Wind moderating we continued our voyage, and landed at Wakahau, (a little place where I once parted with Mr. Busby when here together.) While employed in getting things on shore, &c, Koukou, a Son of old Wakaariki, ran to me from the village, and, in much excitement, informed me that he had been that morning fired at by Isaac, (a native in the neighbourhood who, since my last visit, had been baptized at the Waimate by Rev. R. Taylor,¹³⁹) who being discovered

139 Richard Taylor 1805–1873 came with the Church Missionary Society to the Bay of Islands in 1839. He took part in the Treaty discussions at Waitangi in February 1840, and attended Treaty signings at Hokianga and Kaitiāia. In 1843 he was transferred to Whanganui.

with a wife of Pou, another chief, had fled to the “bush” taking his arms with him; Koukou went after him, unarmed, to endeavour to bring him back, when Isaac, to keep him off, fired on him on which he retreated as fast as he could. While talking with Koukou, Pou came up; I desired them to desist going after him, and to go to Pihoi tomorrow, as I should be there. Leaving them we proceeded on to Puriritahi, (a fishing village of Kawanui’s where he & his Party at present were,) on arriving thither I was heartily welcomed by this fierce, formidable looking chief, whose black curly beard, and Samson-like bust, would have presented a fine study for an artist. Sat and conversed with the Chief and his wife; he professed himself willing now to receive the Gospel; having as he said, dreamed about me, yet still with many fears as to the consequences, from the power of Wiro!¹⁴⁰ It is a very common thing to hear a native, especially if an enquiring one, say, of his dreaming about me; and I believe that in so saying they invariably speak the truth. Be that as it may, I always use it to my purpose. Held Service at my Tent door, Kawanui, wife and party attended; preached from Titus II. 11–13. Spent Evening in conversing with him, his wife and children. Gave away several Books. Kawanui’s son, had lately been baptized at the Waimate; his name was down in my Book as an Enquirer. Much pleased with a lad of this place, (whose [86] name also I had down in my book from a former visit.) May the LORD command His blessing on His most Holy Word!

13th. Early this morning I held Service; read John III. & discoursed from the last verse; Kawanui, wife, & party present. Service over I sat for a short time with Kawanui, exhorting him to be bold & receive the Gospel. Abraham (his son,) wished me to speak a word of exhortation to Tahere (the lad already alluded to,) and their wives apart; going aside with them (5 in number) to their house, I spoke to each, and prayed

140 Whiro, the lord of darkness and the embodiment of all evil and death.

with them. They seemed very serious. Oh! that I could see them oftener. Started, amid their best wishes, Tahere proceeding with me to Pihoi, and Kawanui accompanying me to the top of the hill. Arriving at the village where Pou resided, we found only women; Pou & Houkou being gone after the miserable Isaac. I remained here a few minutes, exhorting the women to seek the LORD of whom they had heard. Coming to Otaika river (or rather inlet,) we were obliged to make a bridge by means of some fallen trees, Korari,¹⁴¹ &c, which took us some time; just as we crossed, a Canoe came for us, sent by Tiakiriri, the chief of Taika. Getting into the canoe we paddled down the river to where he was; conversed with him, found him as usual, affable & hospitable (giving us food, &c.) but not yet willing to receive the Gospel. Three Chiefs only, *now*, in all this district who hold out namely, this man, Te Amooteriri, and Tauwitu, I yet hope to see the day when these shall be on our side.

Proceeding on our journey, (conversing with Tahere on spl. things by the way,) about 4, p.m., we arrived at Pihoi. Found several natives from different little villages assembled for tomorrow's Services; glad to see them. LORD, prepare *me & them!* Stephen held Evening Service; attended myself and was pleased to hear him read so well; and so seriously. He chose, too I Cor. 1. At Prayer Meeting, afterwards, read Acts [87] VIII., and expounded to them the Baptism of the Eunuch. Returned to my tent, and spent the Evening in reading the Word of GOD to, & conversing with, Natives.

LORD's day; 14th. This morning I held Service in the Chapel, about 40 Natives present, preached to them from Mark x. 46–52, the whole party very attentive. Iwitahi, condescended to come to Service! Arranging the School for Stephen, John, & Joseph, I proceeded to the house of Carruth, the Scotch Settler, (accordg. to promise,) to hold English Service there;

141 the light balsa-like stems of flax.

was really astonished to see upwards of 20 whites assembled, among them 3 females, & some interesting children, had not the slightest idea of 6 whites living in the whole District! They were all respectably dressed, and were very attentive; I preached to them from John XI. 25–27. Service over, they pressed me to remain to dinner, which I did; endeavoured to embrace every opportunity of speaking a word for Jesus: – the first English Service held in these parts. Spoke to them on the necessity of their doing somewhat themselves towards sanctifying the Sabbath; they acquiesced, & said, they had talked the matter over already. Returned to Pihoi; assembled enquiring Natives, 25 in number, catechized & examined them on Script. Doctrines & Truths, found them sadly defective; arising, in great measure, from the want of being Questioned. Heard of the awful & horrid end of Isaac! Houkou, Pou, Tautoro (a Candidate for Baptism and great talker, &c.) and others, it should appear, went after Isaac, armed, – they succeeded in taking him, he, however, got away from them, they captured him again, & he again got away, (up to this time they say they only intended to flog him at home in the village when tried,) they again pursued him, when one of the pursuers coming up with him naked, exhausted, & unarmed, hacked him in pieces with his hatchet! and left him there, in that desolate wild, to be devoured by hawks & dogs!! I felt sick at the recital – a murder done as it were, before my immediate sight, – and hardly knew what to do. LORD, have mercy upon me! and incline my heart to keep thy Laws! [88] Wretched man! it appears from those who well knew him, that he was an adulterer when he went to receive Baptism, & so he died! Held Evening Service, preached from Eph. IV. 11–15, congr. very attentive. Afterwards assembled Christian (i.e. Baptized) Natives, 6 in number, and exhorted them to watchful jealousy over themselves; endeavoured to improve the dreadful end of Isaac. Returning to my tent, I spent some time in conversing with Stephen & Tahere, and retired to rest.

15th. Early this morning I held Service in the Chapel, and preached from 1 Thess. Service over, wrote a letter to Tautoro, exhorting him to repentance, and desiring him to desist from teaching, preaching, &c, until he brought forth fruits answerable to newness of life. Wrote a letter to Waipero, at Ngunguru. Struck tent, and proceeded inland to Kopuuingaho, (the old Chief, Taramoera, having walked over on Saturday last to escort me thither). Reached his village about 5, p.m. Got a new fern (*Trichomanes*, sp.,) in the wood by the way. One swamp was about 2 miles in length; mud and rush its whole length! Very tedious marching that, my Father. But few persons at this little isolated village; all, however, seemed to be of one mind towards the Gospel. Toenga, the poor scrophulous lad, was glad to see me; talked with him apart: poor lad, *rich*, I trust, in faith, necessitated never to go out of the village! Yet he is their Minister. The old Chief wished him to be Baptized, & were I in orders I should readily have complied with his request. Held Service; & conversed with people.

16th. Held Service; great opposition from my baggage-bearers against my going back to Ngunguru, as we had been there, and from this village to theirs (Owae,) was only a 2-days' journey, whereas by way of Ngunguru, it was a 4-days one, and over a very difficult road. I was very much perplexed in mind myself how to proceed; what they said was very true, moreover, I was nearly without either food or clothes, with a bad cold, and the season for the equinoctial gales approaching; and the boys [89] tired; making the matter a subject of prayer I decided on returning by the inland route, so wrote a Note to Waipero, informing him of my change of road, and the reasons for so doing, &c, &c, – found that we could not proceed today, as the little canoes were gone up the river. Gained some new plants from the woods, &c. Evening held Service; conversed with natives; gave some instructions to Toenga, &c.

17th. Held Service this morning; left in 2 little canoes, the old chief going with us to bring them back. Got plenty of Koroi, (the fruit of the Kahikatea pine, *Dacrydium laxifolium*, Lindl.,) which is pretty good eating when deprived of its eye, or seed. It is a curious little fruit being a crimson fleshy receptacle with a naked seed on the top. The river, (on which we embarked about ½ past 11, a.m.,) was about 30 to 40 yards wide, very slow and deep. The old chief states its depth, in some places, to be from 40 to 60 fathom! It is, doubtless very deep, but not anything near that spoken of by Taramoeroa. So slow was the current in general, that I scarcely knew whether it moved at all by merely looking at it. This river runs on to Kaipara; but has plenty of obstructions, at no great distance from Tara's village, where it again gets shallow. The immediate banks were densely clothed with *Coprosma* & *Plagianthus*, behind which were continuous groves of Kahikatea; on which were quantities of pigeons, busily engaged in getting the berried fruit. In our aquatic excursion we caught a fine eel, and saw a n. sp. of Duck, which is confined to this river. Landed, at a bend of the river, and, getting some berries of the Rohutu, (a new & undescribed sp. of Myrtle,) we took our leave of our hospitable host, & commenced shaping our course through the dense forests which covered the ground on the banks of this river. Leaving them, and passing over barren rushy hills & swamps, (where we chased a pig & caught 2 of its young [90] ones, one of which we killed for food, the other we set at liberty,) we brought up at evening in a sequestered valley called Waipapa, where I passed a night 5 years ago! What a place, season, & opportunity, for bringing to mind the reminiscences of the past! oh! the long suffering, the ever-enduring the unsearchable mercies of GOD!! Held prayers with lads.

18th. Held prayers, breakfasted, and proceeded on our journey. Splendid woodland scenery this day. Discovered a new species (genus?) of Pine; one, too, which I had long been

in quest of. At Tapapa, where we arrived about noon, we gained some peaches; this village was once inhabited by the present inhabitants of Owae. At 6, p.m., we arrived at Owae, found the people at prayer in their Chapel; Service over they came out and were very glad indeed to see us. The party whom I had dismissed to Paihia, in my journey onwards, to receive Baptism, were just returned from thence; so that between the two arrivals the little village was cheerfully alive, and bustling. One of the young men, (at my desire,) had been baptized Thomas Vyvyan, after my ever-to-be-remembered Cornish Pastor; another had been named W.C. after myself.¹⁴² Spent evening conversing with Natives; LORD, enable them to Stand!

19th. This morning, after having some conversation with Natives, I prepared to start for Paihia. Left this scene of my first labours (as I always do) with regret, natives accompanying me part of the way. Walking leisurely, we arrived at Paparaamu by 4, p.m. Found the Chiefs absent, and with them the principal part of the people of the village. Sat and conversed with young men. Harore, son of Kauwata, chief of Wangaruru, arriving, conversed with him.¹⁴³ Held Evening Service, about 14 present, preached to them from Luke XXI. 34–36.

20th. Early this morning I held Service in Chapel; addressed Natives, exhorting them to *heed* the overtures of Salvation. Breakfasted on a [91] little Rice which I happened to find in my box. Proceeded on for Waikare, weather assuming a very threatening appearance. About 11, a. m., passed through Tutaimatai, gave few natives present a word or two in passing. Making great haste, we reached Waikare about 1, p.m. Matai,

142 ie, Wiremu Koreneho = William Colenso.

143 WC: This fine young man, of whom I had entertained great hopes, died, rather suddenly, shortly after my return. They buried him, and his book along with him!

a fine young Chief, had been taken ill and died, since I passed through this place 3 weeks ago. Entered the pa, and conversed with Chiefs, conversed till Evening. Gale coming on; got safely housed in Mr. Baker's cottage.

21st, LORD's day. At 9, a.m., held Native Service in Chapel, about 40 persons present, to whom I preached from Rev. XIV. 6; Natives very attentive. At 11, a.m., held English Service in Mr. Baker's House, few present in consequence of the weather, expounded Psalm XXXII.

22nd. Confined to Waikare from bad weather. Evening held Service in Chapel, preaching from John IV. 1. Greatly blessed.

23rd. Weather clearing; came in safety to Paihia. Blessed be GOD for all his Mercies so abundantly vouchsafed in this Journey!

[117] From a perusal of the foregoing hastily-written pages, It is more than probable that you, my dear Parents, may be very desirous to know why it is that I have met with so many peculiar (a mother's affection may say disastrous) incidents in Travelling? This question may, I think, be satisfactorily answered. Hitherto I have been necessitated to travel as opportunity for leaving home has offered. – For instance, I see that by assiduity in the Printing Office, I may get the work in such a train as to be able, at the end of three weeks, to leave for a short journey. Preparation is made; the time arrives; and it may prove wet or disagreeable weather. In this case I must either choose to go or entirely lose the visit. – Not so my brethren, who, if bad weather comes, can wait till it is fine, and then commence their journey. – Again, whenever I have gone out, it has invariably been for a limited period; so that I have often to march at “double quick”, in order to accomplish my intention, and be back to the Station within the given time; that the press be not kept waiting. Further, *my home* is with

the Children of the wild – I travel from *love* of it. I might almost say, it has been a matter of supererogation on my part, but whether so or not, certainly a matter of choice. Don't however fear for me. Circumstances, hitherto averse, will, I hope soon alter for the better – so that I may look forward to *more* travelling and more time to do it in. You know my intention in this respect – More I'll not here say.¹⁴⁴

ADieu.

1841: 17 September–12 October

Memoranda of a Journey to the different Villages on the Eastern Coast of New Zealand, performed by W. Colenso, in September & October, 1841.^{145, 146}

Friday, Sept. 17. – Understanding that a R.C. Priest had lately been visiting the villages on the E. Coast near Wangarei Bay, and finding that the Natives had not received a visit from us since I was there in March last, I made arrangements for going to see them, and, this evening, left Paihia Station in Mr. Baker's boat for *Waikare* on my way thither. At *Waikare* I had hoped to meet some Natives who had promised to go with me, to carry my Tent, clothing, Books for Distribution, &c, but was most disappointed in not finding them there: passed night at Mr. Baker's cottage.

144 Colenso was alluding to his intended departure from the press in order to undertake training under Selwyn at Waimate to be a Deacon.

145 ATL qMS-0487, Volume 1 of the CMS journals; originals at the Hocken. ATL MS-Papers-11062 has a bush journal for 17 September to 12 October 1841; a photocopy is at 88-103-1/10.

146 Joseph Dalton Hooker was in the Bay of Islands 18 August–23 November 1841. Colenso did accompany him on a number of trips around the Bay, but was absent for this period and left on 22 November for Hawke's Bay. For Hooker's account of his time in New Zealand, see *eColenso Supplement* to March 2018 issue.

Saturday 18th. – Natives not arriving I determined to proceed on with my one lad, *Kahukoka*, as I wished to spend the morrow at one of the larger villages. About noon we arrived at *Wangaruru*; here were only 2 old women, one the aged mother of *Houkio*, (the Chief who died here about 16 months ago,) to whom I addressed a few words of exhortation: passed on for *Paparaaumu*, which village we reached about 5 p.m., and were well received by the Chief and his party. At 6, held Service in their Chapel, addressing them from Mark. XVI. 15, 16. Natives very attentive. Service over and Supper-time past, they invited me to hold another meeting in one of their Houses, to which I assented, – we had no Candle, but managed to read by the light of a smoky fire in the middle of the hut, – discoursed from Mark I. 15, concluding with prayer.

LORD'S-day, 19th. Passed the night on the Chapel floor – where I slept soundly notwithstanding the hardness of the bed and there being no door to the House. At an early hour this morning I met the enquiring Natives according to appointment in their little Chapel; conversed with each individual & closed with prayer. At 9, a.m., held Morn'g. Serv., good attendance, near 100 present, several coming from a village at a distance, Chapel well filled, preached from John III. 15. Service over, held School, about 50 males attended, 7 of whom could read and formed a *first* Class. Male School over, rang bell (i.e. beat a hoe!) for Female School, which I was obliged to leave to the Natives, as I wished to visit a village distant about a mile, to see some old Chiefs of considerable influence in these parts, who, it was reported were about to become followers of "*Pikopo*." Arriving at the village, I sat down & entered into conversation with the old men, found one to be an old priest with whom I had no small dispute about 5 years since at *Wangaruru*, he then warmly defending the Native Superstitions which he has, at least, lived to see passing away. They all expressed themselves willing to listen & to receive instruction, but wanted Books, &c., I conversed with them for

some time, exhorting them to seek the LORD. Returned to Paparaaumu, where I sat, with my own lad and some others, reading several Psalms together, explaining & commenting. Evening, I held Service, preaching from John x. 1, &c. Service over & Supper ended, several natives assembled together in the Chapel, where, by the light of a little oil, which we were fortunate enough to possess, burnt in the bottom of a broken bottle, we conversed together until past 9. Found them all, as might be expected, lamentably ignorant on Scriptural subjects.

Monday, 20th. – Early this morning, before the villagers had rose from their slumbers, I and my lad started onwards for *Owae*; as it was from this latter place that I was to obtain bearers for my baggage, and as, also, I should necessarily have to wait at *Owae* until they returned from *Waikare* with the same. It was biting cold before the Sun rose, but he soon appeared gloriously! Oh! When will the Sun of Righteousness indeed arise on this benighted people! About 9, a.m., travelling quickly, we arrived at *Owae*, where we found the Natives assembled together & very glad to see us. John, Joseph and Hawaiiwai soon left, in a Canoe, for *Waikare* to get the things. Breakfasted; conversed with the people; visited Mary the wife of Elijah, who was ill, and was not a little gratified in finding her in such a frame of mind, read to, conversed & prayed. No place like among the sick for acquiring knowledge how to estimate worldly things! Evening, held Service in the Chapel and addressed the Natives, not many however present, the majority being scattered in their different plantations, where, at this season, they are busily engaged planting potatoes, and *kumara*. Evening sat & conversed with Natives in my House, on the lives of Abraham & David. –

Tuesday, 21st. Morning Service, spoke briefly to the Natives being but few present – and I cannot preach to naked walls.

Breakfast over, held School with children, found that *seven* could read *well* in the Psalter, and could write also. We read the Psalms for the Morning Service of this day. Some of the little ones were not more than 5 years of age – “out of the mouths of babes, &c &c”! School over, visited Mary, conversed & prayed. Visited, also, Kawa, an unbaptized but enquiring woman, (mother of William Colenso, a baptized young chief,) who is ill, conversed with her for some time. Afternoon, held School with Children, they read the Psalms for the Evening Service of the day, and rehearsed Catechism. John & party returned this evening from *Waikare*; this enables me to proceed tomorrow. – Held Evening Service, preached from Rom. VIII. 6, 7. Afterwards conversed with Natives in my house on the History of Elijah. –

Wednesday, 22nd. – Left this morning in a Canoe, on our way towards *Ngunguru* and landed near the Southernmost head of *Wangaruru* Bay; where the Natives to whom the Canoe belonged had their plantations. Leaving them we proceeded: the day was very fine, and the curious little *Orchideæ* now in blossom completely ornamented the wilderness. About 1, p.m., our dogs chased a fine wild pig which we secured & cleaned, this, however, delayed us for 2 hours, and proved, eventually no small hindrance to us in our journey. In consequence of this delay we did not make *Wananake* (our proposed sleeping place) by night, but bought up at *Tahora*, an old deserted village where numbers were slain; the bones of whom (among which a very fine skull) lay bleaching on the arid sands around us. Whilst the lads were fixing the tent & cooking, I climbed to the top of the “stronghold”, which in former days ere musketry was introduced, must have been a pretty sure defence – from the summit a fine & extensive view of the Coast N. & S. is to be obtained. To me it was a melancholy season – not a habitation nor sign of a human being within ken, nor a living soul, as far as we knew, but ourselves! The solitude of the spot was only broken by the

melancholy wail of the lonely sandpiper, or the dashing of the wave against the base of the cliff on which the ancient fortress was *cut*. I could not resist kneeling & praying in this place. x x x .

Returned to Tent, found that Joseph had gone to the rocks to fish, and caught 11 very fine ones in a few minutes. Their manner of preparing a pig for cooking, is, to a European (or rather, perhaps to an Englishman,) most disagreeable: they cut off the skin, fat, & flesh from the animal in one piece, leaving the skeleton, the whole of which they bake; by so managing, they say, they can easily share it up when cooked, which they could not satisfactorily do, when cut up into joints, as our custom is. – Held prayers, & retired to rest.

Thursday, 23rd. – Early this morning we started, without Breakfast or prayers, as it was necessary we should cross the inlet at *Wananake* before the tide should flow. Arriving thither and wading across this wide & muddy creek, we breakfasted and held Prayers. Proceeding onwards we observed a quantity of broken Ship Timber lying on the different beaches, the wreck of a small vessel stranded a short while back off the N. Head of *Wananake*. The Tide making made our walk very uncomfortable, as, in many places, the sea laved the bases of the cliffs, to climb which was by no means pleasant nor easy, and not a little perilous. The wild pigs in these parts were so numerous that our dogs killed three this day, from which it was impossible to restrain them; and, although we were already heavily laden through yesterday's supply, so that we left the fish taken at *Tahora* behind us, yet it was not without speaking sharply that I succeeded in getting the Natives to leave the largest of the three pigs. In consequence of the hindrances, from the Tide flowing, and the Pork, we only made *Matapouri* by sunset; here we pitched in a pleasant sandy plain, held Prayers, supped, conversed together, & retired.

Friday, 24th. Breakfasted; held Prayers, & proceeded: about noon we arrived at *Tutukaka*, a pretty little harbor with an island in the centre; an hour's journey hence brought us to *Tongake*, the principal village in the *Ngunguru* District; here we found *Kiharoa*, the old chief, and one or two others with him. The old man welcomed us heartily, but I soon saw that he was the same Superstitious Native I had before proved him to be. Sat down and conversed with him, endeavoured to prevail upon him to receive the offer of the Gospel, but he declared that he would die as his ancestors, a true New Zealander! Capt. Lewington, (who was for many years master of the Mission vessel,) hearing I was arrived, came to see me. Conversed again with *Kiharoa* but could not induce him to attend to the things of GOD. *Tepeke* arriving gave me a hearty welcome. They have built a very good rush Chapel, since I was last here. Rang the bell for Service, but, in consequence of the whole party being absent planting Potatoes, there were only 3 of the village present; *Kiharoa* remaining outside. Evening, conversed with *Tepeke* in my tent, and was sorry to find that Romanism was as strong as before among some of the party. Poor souls! They know not what they do! The R.C. Priest when here, a short while ago, saw them employed about their Chapel; he praised them for their works, saying. "A good thing is, for some to believe with the Missionaries, and for some to believe with the Pikopo's." On shewing the few present the folly of such a speech, they were greatly amused.

Saturday, 25th. Spent the day in the village conversing with such Natives as I could get to listen to me. Evening held Service, addressed them, and afterwards held a Prayer Meeting. In the course of the night several more natives returned to the village from their different plantations to see me.

26th. LORD'S-day. This morning I held Service, preached from Acts X. 42, 43, only about 20 present including my own

natives! Whilst discoursing a small party came into the Chapel, these had put into *Tutukaka* yesterday in their little vessel, on their way from *Maketu* to the *Bay of Islands*; they were glad to see me here. Service over, I went to Capt. L's. to hold English Service, according to appointment; called on his white Sawyers to solicit their attendance but, alas! these cared not for such things – some were ashooting, &c, &c. At the dwelling of one of them, whose wife was a New Zealander, and who kept her little children, though in such a place, in a creditable and tidy manner, I was informed, by the poor woman herself, that she much wished to go to Native Service, but that her husband, who was a Romanist, would not allow her to do so; he, too, was in the cruel habit of beating and otherwise ill-using of her. She was originally from *Hokianga*, and, as she said, if she had remained with her heathen people she should now be a believer; I was much affected by the poor woman's statement, and gave her what I considered suitable advice for a person in such a *strait*. With another white (Christian!) Sawyer were *two* younger women who he had brought away from *Rarotonga*, both of whom could read, and had their own books, and were brought up in one of the Mission Families there. Returned to Capt. L's, held English Service, seven present, discoursed from Luke XVIII. 35 &c. Dined at Capt. L's. Returned to village, discoursed with enquiring Natives; held Evening Service, preaching from Acts XIV. 21, 22. Afterwards assembled natives together and conversed with them. –

Monday, 27th. This morning we left *Tongake*, for *Wangarei* by the outer route; about noon we brought up at *Patāua* for Breakfast, with a most voracious appetite; we were obliged to travel thus far before stop, on account of the Tide and the want of Fresh water. Proceeding hence, towards Evening we arrived at *Pakaraka*, the village where the old Chief, *Tutahi*, now resides; here we found only 3 or 4 women, the people being scattered in their plantations. The old Chief, who was

out in his canoe returned about 7 o'Clock; he was very glad to see me, and was not backward in expressing his joy. Had the misfortune to slip my watch down on the rocks at this place, which fall effectually silenced him. Held prayers in my tent, read John I. commenting on same. – Found that the poor woman and her baby, whose sad cases I noticed in my last visit to this village, both died (as might have been expected) shortly after my departure.

Tuesday, 28th. – Held Morning Service, very few present; breakfast over, we crossed the Bay (*Wangarei*,) in the old Chief's canoe, himself & son, a nice little boy, accompanying us. We landed at a place called *Pohue*, where we found *Kawanui* and his party. Here I was glad to see *Kawanui*'s son, Abraham, with Peter, Felix and some others; conversed with all, separately, and was much pleased with Abraham: May the LORD bless him & make him useful! Evening, held Service, preached from Acts XVIII. 30, – afterwards, assembled Natives with whom I had before conversed, and who were candidates for Baptism, catechized, and examined them, found them, generally, very deficient in Scriptural knowledge, both in Doctrine & History: distributed some Books among them.

Wednesday, 29th. – Held Morning Service, preached from Matt. XIII. parable of Sower. Again conversed with Natives, and, after much thought and prayer for direction, I selected *Tahere* and *Te Ngo*, two young men, to proceed forthwith to *Paihia*, to receive Baptism, giving them a Letter to that effect to Revd. Henry Williams; distributed some more Books among the people. Left them, and recrossed the Bay to the opposite shore in the old Chief's Canoe, landing at a tongue of land about 5 miles farther up the same. Here I once more bade *adieu* to the venerable old Chief. Proceeded on at a slow pace over rocks very sharp and rough. About 1, p.m., we arrived at *Tamatarau*, a village where Stephen now resided;

found that himself and party were absent fishing, pitched tent; about 4 p.m., Stephen returned, and was very glad to see me. Held Evening Service, preaching to about 25 souls. A few arrived from the *Ngatitu* Tribe to meet me. Conversed with Natives, and with Stephen and Rebecca his wife; hope that Stephen is *growing* in Grace. *Koukou* came to see me, but I refused to shake hands with him on account of that matter of *Kirihau*, (Isaac who was so inhumanly slain here about six months ago,) – remained conversing with Natives until late.

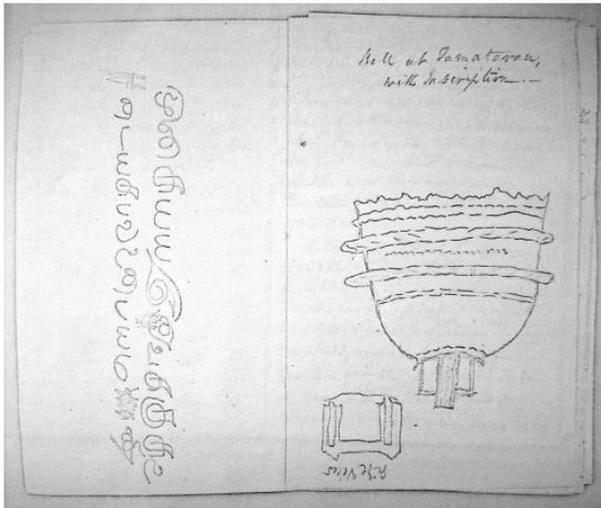
Thursday, 30th. – Held Morning Service, read Acts VIII, and discoursed on the Baptism of the eunuch to about 20 souls. After Service, the principal Chief *Amooteriri*, (who hitherto has invariably refused to listen to the overtures of the Gospel,) came to see me dressed well in his best European clothing; was pleased to see him, and took him into the tent, we sat and conversed for some time, he said, that he had been considering and thinking on his way of life, and the conclusion that he had come to was that he must throw it aside and take to the Word – though he could not do it *directly* – as he wished to consider well what he was about to do, &c, &c, I was much pleased with his conversation, and, after a little entreaty, prevailed on him to accept of a Testament. Conversed also with *Tautoro*, once an enquiring Native, and one who had promised fair to outstrip others in the race, but I had been obliged to desire him to cease going about preaching, &c. – I trust, however, he is now coming to himself, again. *Reti*, the Native Chief who hacked *Isaac Kirihau* in pieces, I would not see. Conversed with Stephen and enquiring Natives, hope to be able to select one or two for Baptism. About noon we left in a Canoe for *Pihoi*, a village about six miles distant at the head of the river; this place we reached about 5 p.m., having had to draw our canoe several times over the shoals which abound in this Bay, it being low water. In paddling up the river we caught a fine *Wai*, (a species of skate,) by spearing it – these fish abound on those

flats in the Summer Season. Arriving at *Pihoi*, we proceeded on to another village, called *Te Kauika*, in consequence of the former being deserted by the Natives, they having foolishly sold the ground on which it stands to a white man living in the neighbourhood, by which their large Chapel is also left. Stephen having kindly given me permission, I sent my lad and got a Fowl caught, one of its only remaining inhabitants. Arriving at *Te Kauika*, was heartily welcomed by *Kahunui* and his little party. Held Evening Service, discoursing to Natives, on the Parable of the Sower. Afterwards conversed with them. –

Friday, October 1st. – Held Morning Service, reading Matt. v., and expounding a portion of the same. Conversed with *Kahunui* and party. Breakfast over, visited the woods immediately behind, and procured fine specimens of my new *Beech* – and, also, of a very large *Fungus*. Returned to village, distributed some Books, struck Tent and proceeded to the plantation where the Chief *Iwitahi* and his party were at work, which was nearby. Conversed with him, and was pleased with what he *said*. (“Is any thing too hard for the LORD?”). Leaving *Iwitahi* & his party, we proceeded, to the river’s side to our canoe; conversed with 2 Scotchmen, brothers, who live hard by – launched our old canoe and commenced paddling down the river against wind and tide; we had a long, toilsome, and uncomfortable passage to *Tamatarau*, for our canoe was broken & patched, and leaky; we reached the village however in safety about 8 p.m.; it was very dark and we could scarcely see where we were, found the Natives all asleep. Got a little supper, held Prayers, and retired to rest very weary. It commenced raining very heavily soon after our arrival.¹⁴⁷ –

147 Colenso’s drawing of the Tamil Bell appears in the bush journal between the entries for 1 & 2 October. Though years later he wrote he had found it in 1836, this is his only contemporaneous clue as to when he did find it. For a fuller account see *eColenso* February 2015.

Saturday, 2nd. – It rained much all night, and morning brought us but little prospect of leaving our present uncomfortable quarters for this day, held prayers in Tent; conversed with Natives, Stephen and others, and recounted the History of Elijah. Assembled enquiring Natives, found them in general very ignorant. Selected *Ruia*, *Iwitahi*'s son, a fine young and married man to go to Paihia to receive Baptism. *Ruia* has long been a Candidate for Baptism: prayed with and for him apart.



"Bell at Tamatarau with Inscription," 71841
 [Alexander Turnbull Library MS-Copy-Micro-0485-5.
 Original at 86-104] See also eColonio, March 2015.



The Tamil Bell

About 2 p.m., weather clearing a little, struck Tent and proceeded, according to appointment, to *Parua*, a village about 2½ miles distant, where I had previously arranged to pass the Sabbath. We soon got thither, and were very hospitably received by Solomon¹⁴⁸ and his mother Mary, and his father-in-law David, who presented me with a pig and were very assiduous in making me as comfortable as possible. Held Service in their nice little Chapel, preached from James I. 21, 22. Afterwards held Prayer Meeting with Natives; whilst doing so *Tutahi*, the old Chief of *Pakaraka*, his two little children, and the wife of *Toru*, the late priest, arrived in their Canoe, in order to attend Service tomorrow, at which I was not a little gratified, as they had some distance to come, the weather was unfavourable, and they did not reach the village till some time after dark.

LORD'S-day, 3rd. – On rising this morning I found that *Te Haro* (the old priest who had first embraced Xy. when *tapu* at the *Waiiti* on a former visit of mine,) had also arrived in the night from *Pakaraka*, after all the people of the village had retired to rest; this was another highly pleasing incident. – At 9, a.m., I held Service in the Chapel, about 35 were present, preached from Mark X. 46–52. Whilst engaged in addressing them Stephen and his party arrived from *Tamatarau*, they had promised me they would do so, but were delayed in consequence of the illness of Rebecca, Stephen's wife, who, however, would not be left behind. Service over we held School, *Males*, 1st class, readers in the Testament, 10; 2nd class, many of whom could rehearse the Catechism, &c. 17; *Females*, 15; three of the women could also read; catechized, and questioned them. Rested a short while, assembled Baptized Natives, 11 in number, read part of Acts XX. and some portions from Ep. to Philippians, and earnestly exhorted them to exercise secret prayer, and so, continually, casting

148 The chief Kaikou Horomoana, initially of Waiariki, later Parua.

themselves on Jesus, to draw all supplies from Him; pointing out a few of Satan's Devices. GOD greatly blessed our meeting, a sense of His gracious presence was, I trust, realized by all. I felt much ashamed of my own insufficiency and utter unworthiness to speak of the unsearchable riches of Xy., yet I could but rejoice, give thanks, and take courage, at seeing the little Church which GOD had graciously permitted and enabled *me* (!) to gather from the wilderness; for I might in a peculiar manner call them my children. LORD despise not the day of *small* things! – Confirm the weak – enlighten *all* with thy heavenly grace! Stephen spoke in reply, expressive of his determination to become more and more the LORD's, and Solomon, also, delivered himself, much to the same purpose. Concluded with Singing & Prayer. Evening Service, preached from Eph. IV. 30, much blessed in speaking to the people; about 50 Natives present. Distributed Medicines for some sick. Supper over, assembled again in the Chapel, conversing with, & questioning of Natives. Blessed be GOD for his Grace! much led this day to consider Mark IV. 33, and to rededicate myself to the LORD's Service.

Monday, 4th. Morning prayers were read by John, whilst I was engaged in writing Notes to the different Chiefs, whom I had not seen in this visit, they being at some distance; and notes to Revd. H. Williams to go by Natives going to Paihia to receive Baptism. Conversed with Natives once more, and selected one young man named *Kope*, to go to Paihia for Baptism; prayed apart with him. Distributed a few Books, struck Tent & proceeded inland by way of *Tamatarau*, to which place we went by water in a Canoe, leaving *Parua* amidst the regrets of this nice little party. Took leave of Stephen and his party; shook hands with *Houkou*, who seems to feel the awkwardness of the situation in which he had placed himself. Paddled to *Wai Karaka*, where, we finally left the Natives who accompanied us so far on our way. In crossing a stream in the wood, I fell forwards and dislocated a finger of my left

hand, but was enabled to set it again immediately; soon arrived at *Awaroa*, a little village where several whites reside, saw Peter G. and his native wife,¹⁴⁹ both unwell, gave them a little Medicine and Counsel. Passed through *Wareora*, in our way forwards, looked into the little Chapel, where I once read and preached the Word of GOD, now a residence for wild pigs, in consequence of the Natives having deserted the village; such a sight to me, is quite affecting and always has a melancholy effect. Brought up for the night on the banks of a little stream, named *Kahuwera*, held Prayers and retired to rest. Finger very painful.

Tuesday, 5th. – Breakfasted & held prayers and started forwards; soon arrived at *Parakaraka*, at the head of *Ngunguru* River; here we waited for a Canoe; whilst waiting I gained a few Botanical Specimens. Canoe arriving we paddled down the river; about noon we arrived at a little village where a Chief named *Rongo* lived, this person I much wished to see he being one of the principal followers of *Pikopo* in these parts. (A few weeks previous I had happened to see him at *Paihia* Station, and offered him a Book which he would not accept, but begged very hard for a crucifix which he saw hanging in my office, and which, with some medals, I had succeeded in obtaining from the deluded listeners to Romanism.) Landing here, I caused him to be fetched from his plantation nearby; he came attended by his wife and a few of his people. We entered into conversation and conversed together for some time; he declared himself to be attached as strongly as ever to the Native Superstitions, that he should practise them till death, and that he merely consented to say as *Pikopo* wished him in order to obtain a Cloak and a Cap, &c, declaring his belief to be, that all *Pikopo* said and taught was *false!* I endeavoured to shew him the madness of his

149 Peter and James Greenhill took up land on the *Awaroa* River, a short distance down harbour from *Whangarei*.

determination – spoke plainly of a Judgment to come, &c, &c, but all to no purpose; he said, If *Takahanga* (his elder relation) would consent to put away *Pikopo*'s words, &c, that he would do so too. Finding that I gained nothing, I left him, wishing him better, and praying the LORD in mercy to open his eyes. Hence I walked to an adjoining village, where I understood *Takahanga* to be; found him and his party at work in their plantation. He received me very coldly & continued working with his back towards me. Several natives gathered around us, I waited patiently for him to come to his right mind, lifting up my heart for strength; after some little time he reluctantly consented to attend to my repeated request and to leave his work to come and talk; we walked to the little village hard by sat down and commenced conversation, we conversed for a long while, all the natives listening attentively, on the errors of Rome, &c, he persisted in saying, that he would never quit what he had taken up, although he had no Books, and knew not what it was, and when he died, he said, he believed he should go to the same place as his ancestors were gone to, &c, &c. I argued, as I thought, very plainly against such folly, but it was of little use. I clearly saw that both himself and his party were conscious of the truth of what I said, but, alas! they knew not *their need* of it. I shewed him what the Scriptures said, and urged him to search for himself the Word of GOD, wishing him well, we parted. Among other things he declared his opinion to be, that in a few years greater hatred would exist between the followers of Rome and the followers of the Missionaries, than ever existed between their fathers – and that they would accordingly fight desperately. In leaving this place our Canoe was very nearly upset, through which I got some of my things wet; arriving at *Tengake*, I pitched my Tent; – evening, Natives returned from labour, and seemed very glad to see me; among them was one young man named *Te Waipero*, who had been pointed out to me as the “Minister” of the R.C. Party, and whom I

particularly wished to see, I shook hands with him in common with the others, and, as it was near dark, had the bell rang for prayers – read Mark XIII; and discoursed to the few present (about 20) on the principal errors spoken of in that chapr., referring to parallel & illustrative passages of Scripture. *Te Waipero* came not to service, but quietly sat at a short distance from the Chapel, within hearing and alone. *Our* Service over, he arose, went to his own quarter and “beat his bell” for *their* Service, a thing I little expected; wrapping myself in my cloak, I went to the place, and sat down, presently about 7 or 8 persons assembled, who all huddled together into the little verandah of the hut belonging to *Waipero*. It was dark and I could not see distinctly, nor did I wish to appear too curious lest I might disconcert them in their performance. On their coming together *Te Waipero* said, “Let us be strong to night to say our Catechisms.” When kneeling down he commenced with an invocation thrice repeated, uttered as quickly as he could possibly enunciate, so rapidly indeed that I could not catch a single sentence; after which, the LORD’s Prayer, the Roman Creed, addressed to the Virgin, and prayers to Peter, Paul, Benedict, Dominic, and again the Virgin, a prayer to GOD the Father, with sundry crossings, beatings of the bare breast, prayers for the Pope, the Holy Roman Church, their Bishop & priests, again the LORD’s Prayer, and prayers to the Virgin for protection, all chanted in a loud and peculiar tone, every now & again assisted by his hearers. At the close of the same he addressed his cong. in a few words, urging them to adhere to the only true Church of Rome, who though now gazed at and teased and scorned would soon become great among them, even as she had ever done in all nations, &c. &c. I believe he knelt before a crucifix, – at the conclusion he offered in secret some prayers devoutly crossing himself. The whole lasted somewhat more than half an hour. I was much surprised to hear a N. Zealander act his part so perfectly; and was not a little grieved in spirit that the poor lad should have

been so deluded. His Service over, I asked permission to speak a few words, which he granted; we conversed together for nearly 2 hours, during which I trust I was enabled to shew him the truth as it is in *Jesus*; poor fellow, he knew no more than what the Romish priest had told him, which was little enough. He freely acknowledged that he did not believe his “way” to be that which was of GOD, but that he, at all events, should not be worse off than *many* others!! Blessed be the LORD! he enabled me to speak plainly, truly and calmly to him, and to shew him from His holy Word his error, but, although he acknowledged the Word of GOD to be against him, he refused to cast away his miserable substitute, declaring he would hold by it till death! on rising to take my leave, he asked me to shake hands with him, I replied, “If you were a mere hearer of Rome, or, if you taught their errors in Ignorance, I would do so, (as I did on first seeing you this evening,) but since you have acknowledged that what you teach is false, and have declared that you will still continue to do so, deluding the people who listen to you, I cannot shake hands with you.” On which he shewed the Native; got very angry, spoke rashly, &c, &c. – Wishing him better, I left him. Returning to the Natives, (who were well-nigh tired waiting for me,) and assembling them in the Chapel, I addressed them on the need of unity, love and prayer, & the blessedness of being enabled to shew forth the fruits of Faith, &c, &c; – we conversed together until a late hour, concluding with singing & prayer.

Wednesday, 6th. Early this morning I held Service, read 1 Thess. IV. addressing Natives from 5th verse, they paid great attention. Capt. Lewington came to see me off, and kindly brought me a little mutton, & bread, and a few eggs. Conversed with Natives, and, again urging them to hold the Faith in the Unity of the Spirit, about 11 a.m., I left them. *Kiharoa*, the old and principal Chief, said, “Return to us – Rome’s teaching is all false – when you return hither I shall

perhaps believe & pray, &c,” – I was pleased with the old man’s manner more than his words: *Motiti*, another Chief, spoke much to same effect. Passing through *Tutukaka* I met with a *black* man, who resides there, with whom I had some conversation, he said that the Bible was his comfort in his solitude, and that whenever he felt himself, depressed, or in trouble, he always took his Book and read a Chapter; his manner shewed him to be speaking of truth. He wished for some Tracts which I promised to send him. A *white* man, was also living here, but he seemed to know nothing of these things. Passed on, and brought up for the night at *Matapouri*, our old halting place. Joseph went to fish and soon returned with 10 fine fish; so we had a plentiful supper. Whilst getting supper ready I heard some young pigs squeaking, sent John to see what was the matter, supposing my dog to have seized one; he soon returned bringing 3 young ones. Held prayers, readg. Coloss. III, & expound. part of same to lads. –

Thursday 7th. Rose early and started without breakfast or prayers, on account of the Tide; after about 3 hours walk & exertion, we stopped at *Pitokuku* where we breakfasted, &c; here Scott’s party resided for a few days after their being wrecked on *Hikurewa*, a reef off *Wananake* Head.¹⁵⁰ Showery weather; processed some fine Botanical Specimens by the way to day; among them new sp. of *Corokia* beautifully in flower. Arriving at *Wananake* we were obliged to wait for the tide to ebb, ere we could cross the inlet. After waiting for about an hour we waded across, water so high as the waist. – At Sunset brought us to *Tahora*, here we caught 2 more young pigs; but let them go again. Held prayers, discoursed with Lads, related History of *Gideon*.

150 The 51 tons schooner *Elizabeth* sailed from the Bay of Islands bound for Auckland and on 17 April 1841 was wrecked on what is now called Elizabeth Reef, near Whananaki.

Friday, 8th. Rose early, breakfasted & held prayers. Started, tide favorable, Cliffs by no means easy of ascent or descent. At noon we arrived at *Mimiwangota*, where some of the *Owae* Natives were at work in their potatoe plantations. Dined, on potatoes – proceeded, about 4 p.m., arrived at *Owae*, natives glad to see me. Evening held Service, read John XII & preached from v. 35.

Saturday 9th. – Sunday being so near I considered it by far best to remain here to hold Service with the Natives, as I had not seen the whole of the party in this visit, and it was by no means probable that I should see them again for some months at least. Conversed with *Mora*, the principal Chief on his 3 wives, he coming to me and commencing the subject; his arguments were strong, &, doubtless, to him invincible.¹⁵¹ Heard Children read the Psalms for morning & prayed with them. Sat & prepared Lessons and Texts, &c, for tomorrow. Conversed with Natives. Held Evening Service, and Prayer Meeting, addressing the Natives from James I. 12.

10th. LORD’S-day. – Commenced with a disappointment in temporals. My Steward lad had yesterday prepared a little pig by roasting for food, but from want of a proper place to secure it in, I found it this morning to be past eating, through the swarms within it caused by the *viviparous* flesh-fly of this country – which is a complete pest.¹⁵² My mutton, too, (raw) was carried off in the night by a dog! – Held Morning Service, good attendance, preached from 1 Thess. v. 19, greatly blessed, Natives by no means so attentive as I could have wished, about 70 present. Service over, conversed with *Ngere*

151 Twenty years later Colenso would write that had polygamy and divorce not been condemned and prohibited by the clergy, Maori would have been more numerous and better off (“On the Maori races of New Zealand,” 1868. See *eColenso* December 2013).

152 Flesh flies are ovoviviparous, opportunistically depositing hatched or hatching maggots instead of eggs on carrion, dung, decaying material, or open wounds of mammals, hence their common name.

the Chief. Held Schools: Male School, 1st Class, readers, 6; 2nd Class, 14; Female School, Women 28; Childrens', Readers, 8, 2nd Class, 7; total, present at school, 63; Schools over, assembled Baptized Natives and conversed with them, read Phil. III and part of IV., and prayed together. Evening Service, read Luke XVI. & preached from Ps. VIII, 11–13, which Texts I chose on account of the death of *Ware*, a Chief of the *Ngatiwai* Tribe, who had died at *Paparaaumu* the week after I left in passing forwards. Supper over we assembled again in Chapel, when I again exhorted them to stand *fast* – some of them spoke, and to purpose. –

Monday 11th. – Left this morning about 9; about noon we arrived at *Ohawini* where we found the Chief *Tatua* & party at work in their plantation; gave *Tatua* a word of exhortation in passing. A little further on we fell in with *Wakaparu* and his party in their plantations, gave them, also, a word in passing. A little farther and we fell in with another party of old Chiefs, who were enjoying themselves under the refreshing shade of a fine *Metrosideros*. Sat and conversed with them a short while. Leaving them I had a most disagreeable walk to *Punaruks* through mud & swamps, being obliged to avoid the common track on account of the flowing tide. About 4 p.m., we arrived at *Tutaimatai*, faint & weary, wanting food. Here we found *Pi*, the old *Waikare* Chief; rested ourselves awhile & boiled some sweet potatoes. Resuming our journey, we gained the top of the *Ranga* (a high ridge of hills) by sunset, from whence we had a view of the Bay of Islands. Overtaken by night we travelled at a snails' pace through the dense forests, carrying firebrands in our hands. About ½ past 8 p.m., we arrived at Mr. Baker's cottage in safety; much to his astonishment. Praised be the Name of the LORD! Amen and Amen. –

Tuesday 12th. Returned to *Paihia*, in Mr Baker's Boat. –

W. Colenso

1842: 2nd visit to E. Cape and Coast and the unknown interior

In Novr. '41 having through close application finished the printing of the big Prayer Book I obtained a holiday and so determined to revisit the E. Coast. I left the B. of Islands on the 19th. in a little vessel bound for Poverty Bay but instead of gaining the place I again landed at Wharekahika (Hick's Bay) where I had first landed some 5 years before. From this place I travelled by the coast line and over the beaches to Povy. Bay where the Rev. W. Williams was now located as a resident missionary. After spending a few pleasant days with him and his family I left on my return to the Bay of Islands by an unknown inland course, by way of the Lake Waikare, Ruatahuna, Rotorua, Tauranga (E. Coast), Waikato, Matamata, the W.R. to its mouth (W. Coast), Manukau, Otahuhu, Kaipara, Waipu (E. Coast), Whangarei, Whangaruru and Bay of Islands, arriving at Paihia on the 22nd. Feby. '42 (a most romantic and interesting journey, on foot as indeed all journeys were) accompanied with no small amount of peril and hardship.¹⁵³

1842: 2–22 February

This is the journal on which Colenso based his long and celebrated paper for the London Journal of Botany. He had landed from the Mission schooner Columbine at Hicks Bay on 22 November 1841, explored the East Coast and walked back via Waikaremoana, Bay of Plenty and the Waikato to Otahuhu and the Fairburns' mission.

153 Excerpt from Colenso's 1883 *Autobiography*.

Notes of a Journey &c &c¹⁵⁴

At *Otahuhu* I found Mrs. F.¹⁵⁵ who gave me a most hospitable & cordial reception. Mr. F. was not at home, but he tog. with his sons soon arrived;

Feby. 3. Walked over to Te Waipuna. Mr. Hamlin's place,¹⁵⁶ about 2m dist: – found Mr. & Mrs. H. & family there all well, & prepg. to return to *Orua* – Evg. retd. to *Otahuhu* Mr & Mrs. H. & family leavg. also for the waterside to return by boat.

4th. Very early this morning we left in a small Canoe on our way to *Kaipara*, witht. howr. a guide, and witht. knowing the way; we paddled down the Bay about 4 miles, not without risk of upsetting from the smallness of our frail bark, when we landed & proceeded by the shores thro' the mud for about 3 miles, to a place called *Te Wau*;¹⁵⁷ (wh. we were infd. was the place where we shod. find the commencement of the road to *Kaipara*) passing Mr. H. & his party who were forced to land from the strong & contrary wind. At *Te Wau* we breakfasted all possessing good appetites, and, after some search and more anxiety (for no one lived in the neighbourd. from whom we might obtain any informn. concerning our proper road,) we proceeded at a venture in a path wh. took a course to the N. – this, we travelled on until sunset, when we brought up close to a rushy bog – the whole of the country we travelled over this

154 ATL 80-038-01 is the bound manuscript (from which this account is transcribed); ATL MS-0582, a typescript.

155 William Thomas Fairburn 1795–1859 was a carpenter and catechist for the Church Missionary Society; he came with Marsden, Henry Williams and Richard Davis and their families in 1819. Colenso married his daughter Elizabeth.

156 James Hamlin 1803–1865 arrived in New Zealand in 1826 with William Williams. He was a lay teacher for the CMS in Waimate and Kerikeri, ordained a deacon in September 1844 (Selwyn denied him priest orders because he didn't know enough Greek). He was sent to Wairoa in Poverty Bay.

157 The old canoe portage between the Manakau and Waitemata harbours starts near Te Whau point (Clem Earp, *eColenso* August 2018).

day was very barren – not a tree, nor large shrub to be seen – save on the mounts, at a great distance. – Feet still very painful from recent walk over the sand.¹⁵⁸ –

Feb. 5 – Rose early – rain coming on, delayed us a short while – proceeded, country still very barren with. an Inhabitant – about noon passed sev. forests of Kauri (*D. austr.*) this pine is not fd. S. (I only saw 2 or 3 in all the forests on the bks of the W(aikato). river, wh. were the first my natives had ever seen) – some person & persons who had very recently passed over this road had set fire to the fern in sev. places, by wh. the K. forests, had taken fire & were now burning; the qy. & value of the wood thus wantonly dest. by the N.Z'rs. must be cons., – in some places whole forests have been consumed not a single plant remaining! about 3 we arrd. on the banks of the K. river, wh. completely stopped our further progress. No canoe; no village within sight; & the Sea before us, in innumerable creeks & inlets, the shores of wh. being flat were composed of mud, precluding all attempts at walkg. by the sides thereof. Here we again dined on a few roasted potatoes, & returned to the top of the hill¹⁵⁹ from wh. we had just descended, there to bring up for the night & next day, being Sunday, – whilst my boys were getting up my tent I went out, tho' in much pain, to reconnoitre but ret'd. after havg. gone some dist. with. success.¹⁶⁰

Feb. 6. LORD'S day – From over fatigue none of us awoke till long after the sun was up; – held mornng. prayers. – Abt. 11 myself & lad went to follow a road we had seen the day before thinkg. it might possibly lead to some Natives, after a

158 WC: *Dracophyllum* – 2–5 feet high; lower part of shrub branched – New shrub – berries (in *shape*) like Kohutuhutu 6–8 feet high; at *Te Wau* – shrub, irregular growth, few branches –

159 The hill has been identified as Paehoka (B. Byrne, *The Unknown Kaipara*, 2002).

160 WC: Sp. of *Metrosideros* from the wood – n. sp.₂ – Tree about 15 ft.

walk of abt. 2 miles we arrd. at a village & plantations, but witht. an Inhabt. – perambulated it all over & shouted again & again but no ansr. On a piece of timber (appy. once a leaf of a table) was marked out as if for Draughts & shells wh. had been used for men were laying on it; on turning it over I found written in Charcoal on the other side “kia roaka te nohoanga o te kupu o te K. i roto i a koutou, i te Matauranga katoa;”¹⁶¹ – was much struck with the same. – Wrote a slip of paper on a stick to inform Natives of my having been there & my wantg. a Canoe, & our residence wh. I stuck up & returned to our quarters, in hopes of its being seen by them on their return: Read 5 chaps of St. John’s Gosp. with Lads. Held Evg. service & retd. to bed but not to rest, for the mosq. were most intolerably annoying, insomuch that I was obliged to rise about midnight & redress myself. –

Feby 7. Quite perplexed to know what I had better do in the straight I was now in; after much consideration I determd. to remain where I now was for 2 days at farthest, in hopes by keeping a good look out, making fires &c, that some natives wod. be seen who wod. put us across the Harbour, or serve as a guide to some village, where we might obtain a Canoe: boys making fires all day on the hills – No one however appeared.

Feby 8. After a most wretched night from the innumerable & evertearing mosquitoes who drove me from my tent & again & again from my refuges in the “bush” – day broke, & found me cold, sleepy & full of anxiety – enabled in course of þe day to commit myself entirely to the LORD: this mornng. in reconnoitring the Country with my glass, I thought I saw the roof of a white-man’s house at some distance – Two of my lads offg. to go thither with a Note, notwithsdg. the diffs. of the way, (for 3 m. thro swamp, mud & jungle,) I wrote one & sent them – sending 2 others to the village wh. I had visited

161 “may the word of the K. abide in you, in all Knowledge”

on the Sunday. Evening came on – sunset & no lads returned. I took my glass for the *last* time to see if I could see any thing coming or not & to my great joy saw a boat making for the landg. place. An hour after my 2 lads, whom I had sent to the house seen in the mornng., retd. leavg. the boat with 2 w. men whom they had found at the house whither I had sent them.¹⁶² 'Twas dark but we struck Tent & packed up & proceeded to the landg. place, abt. 2 m. dist. Here the 2 Europeans were waiting my arrival, they were 2 seafaring men who had but lately come to this place to reside, & they willingly agreed to put me across the Harbour: we pulled to their residence: a dist. (by water) of 7 miles, from the sinuous windings of the river. Arriving there about 10 p.m. – here the wife of one, of the elder of the two, had prepared a hot supper, wh. was most acceptable & to wh. I was heartily welcomed. Supper ended; I held prayers with the Europeans – they insisting on my occupying their bed: to wh. after many refusals, I was obliged to consent, they leaving the Ho. to enable me to do so.

Feb'y 9 – Arose this morning at a very early hour, after a wretched night of torment from mosquitoes, & fleas, my kind hosts did not get up till nr. 10 a.m.! probably from the lateness of the hour in wh. they retired, – so that we lost the morning's tide.¹⁶³ Here these whites lived on pork, potatoes & fish; having neither bread, flour, tea, coffee, sugar nor rice: – and for their pork & fish they had to exert themselves in hunting & fishing to procure a supply. They proposed going by the evening's tide. Evening arriving & the wind dying away they stated their dislike to cross the harbour & heads in the dark, to wh. I, of course, assented, we agreeing to start with mornings tide. Their boat was old & rotten & had more than 20 patches on her, & leaked so fast as to require one person to be

162 Byrne (2002) identifies these people as James Honey, his Maori wife Ann and Honey's business partner George Rix.

163 WC: Found today on enquiring that my Lads had left my Umbrella at landing place last night.

continually baling her out. Did I not believe in the LORD's continual protection I shod. not have liked to have undertaken a voyage of 240 miles (such being the distance as stated by the European) in such a crazy¹⁶⁴ vessel. Evening held prayers with both natives & Europeans. Two native women arrived this evening, from one named Martha I obtained the Informn. of a road existing across the country to Wangarei, commencing at a small creek named "*Ikaranganui*," which ran E. from near K. Heads. I had for some time been engaged in making enquiries relative to a road to Wangarei wh. I supposed to be somewhere in this neighbourhood, from a conviction that such must exist, from the geographical situation of the waters of K. on the W. & W. on the E. coast with regard to each other. Detd. if possible to go by this road.

Feby 10 – Early this mornng. I, (who had lain down in my clothes out of doors in the fern,) got up, & aroused the Europeans – about 9 we started, Mrs. Norman going with us & steering with an oar (!); about 2 we reached *Omokoiti*, a village about 5 miles from the inner S. Hd. of Kaipara harbour; distant from Kaukopakopa (the place we had left) about 35 miles: here I went on shore to make enquiries & to obtain if possible a guide: the people of the village ran down to receive me, & from them I gained some little informn. relative to the place I was in search of, but no guide cod. be got: nor wod. one of them (tho professg. Xy., and having nothing to do,) come into the boat & go with us to shew us the lg. place & road without I wod. promise to give him a much larger payt. than I was at all willg. to do; After having shewn them the inconsistency of such conduct wh. they recd. with a laugh I left them much disgusted with their conduct. Rowing on we gained the inner S. Hd. & prepd. to cross the mouth the harbour, a very dangs. place, about 7 miles across: Committg. myself to GOD we started. The wind was fresh in from þe sea

164 crazy = (of a boat) full of cracks or flaws, unsound.

& Breakers were everywhere around us, and twice we were in no little danger, but thro' GOD's mercy & blessg. we gained the oppose. shore in safety about Sunset, where we ran our boat into a Lagoon, close to the inner N. Head of the Harbour; & pitched our Tents among the sandhills for the night. My natives behaved themselves very well when amidst the breakers, altho' I was obliged to be continually exciting & animating them with my voice. Supped on 2 fine Mullet wh. Martha had given me & wh. were very nice. Face not a little smarting from expos. to the sun; the day having been extremely hot. My lads left my umbrella & nice hatchet behind, so that I shall have no small diffy. in gettg. up my Tent all the way back. Held prayers this Evng. with whites & natives in English & native. – The Heads of Kaipara, & the adjacent country for several miles both N. & S. are high hills of sand, utterly destitute of verdure & presentg. a most desolate appearance: the shoals both within & without the Heads are extensive & numerous, over wh. the sea breaks continually; often terrifically. Here it was that the *Sophia Pate* was lately lost;¹⁶⁵ when all her passgrs. perished: – a more melancholy lookg. spot cod. scarcely be conceived, not even by the most creative imagination. –

Feby. 11 – Early this mornng. we recrossed the Harbr. to the E. shore, a dist. of about 10 miles, where we hoped to find *Otamatea*, the village to which we had been repeatedly directed, by the chief's wife Martha; although we had learned from the people of *Omokoiti* that *W. Stephenson*, the baptd. native Teacher (to whom I had been referred by M. for information) was absent.¹⁶⁶ We rowed however up the creek or river & sought for some time witht. finding any habitn. At last, having advanced about 2 miles, we saw a house on the R.

165 The 165 ton brig *Sophia Pate* was wrecked on 31 August 1841 (6 months earlier) on a sandbar at the entrance to Kaipara Harbour with the loss of 21 Irish Wesleyan settlers.

166 Wiremu Tipene or William Stephenson was a Wesleyan catechist.

Bk. We pulled towards it, landed & looked about us and shouted, but in vain for no person appd. – The House wh. was open was very clean & tidy; on a shelf were plates, cups & saucers, seeds in bags, &c. beneath a Teakettle, fryg. pan, &c &c. Within, a Mattress, bolster & pillow, rolled neatly togr., a glazed & cold. print reprg. the crucifn. of Xt. hung agt the wall, beneath wh. was a fowlg. piece; in a corner on a shelf was a hair brush, a hatbox contg. a hat, & a N.Z. N. Test. & other things, on anor. shelf were paper & pens, beneath wh. were 3 large & locked chests a good cane bottom chair & a table completed the Furn. of the place; – out of doors, in the garden were Rasp. & Peach Trees and Maize, Melons, Gourds, onions &c &c in abundance – an out house contd. a fishg. net; and in a new house on the hill at abt. 200 yds. distance, was wheat in bags & in the straw, oil in calabashes, pit saws & carpg. tools. In front of the house stakes had been driven to form an embankment agt. the sea, wh. came up very near it, behind wh. embankment were shells & gravel; while behind the house, a way had been cut down the face of the hill to conduct a small stream of water into the little garden. We were much pleased with the app. of neatness that every where prevailed, & had already formed a high opinion of the owner, whom we supposed to be some respt. European, & I had given an Intimn. to the Europs. with me that it wod. be well if they copied from so good an example; on returng. howr. to the Verandah of the House, (& there sittg. in the shade consdg. what step I had better take,) & perceiving & perusing a slate wh. hung on the outsides of the doorway, I found it to be a letter from a Baptd. Native to his Teacher, purporting that he had come to that house to look for him, but fd. him absent, & desiring him not to believe the reports wh. were in circulation agt. his char., &c, addressed to *W. Stephenson*, on wh. I again looked inside, more minutely than at first, & found the Test to bear his name, & the papers to contain many evidences that they belongd. to him – so that the neat little dwellg. &

grounds we had been led so much to admire in reality belonged to a native! – without doubt the highest step in civilization I had yet seen among the N.Zrs. during more than 7 years residence among them! leavg. this place we pulled up the river about 3 miles further but not seeing any sign of habitn. we returned to the “neat little house”, to prepare some dinner & to consult what step I had better take: the whites freely offd. to proceed with me up the *Wairoa*, about 19 miles further; to wh. I agreed. We dined & pulled down the river; on rounding the headland at the entrance, we saw a Canoe & natives at a little distance; we made towards them, & found that they were a party of Natives from Hokianga, some of whom knew me; they sd. they knew the road across, wh. I had been in quest of, & I soon engd. one of the party to go up the river with us to point out the same for a Test. – They also gave us some fish & potatoes wh. proved very seasonable. Altho the day was now far advanced, we again returned to the river we had so lately left & pulled up the same, the tide aiding us, until dark, a distance of about 12 miles; when we landed, pitched our Tents, held prayers in Native & Eng. & retired to rest.

Feby. 12 – Rose early, breakfasted, held prayers in Native & Eng. & proceeded up the river with the flowg. tide. We pulled about 6 miles when the Native (who had come with us as a guide at least to the commt. of the road,) sd. that that was the place where we were to leave the boat & commence our journey – on wh. I reqd. him to shew us the road, but he refd. to leave the boat – and, in spite of all our remonstrances to the contrary, persisted in his refusal, – saying that all we had to do, was just to go over the hill before us & we shod. come in to the Road – wh. moreover was a good one. I was induced last Evng. to suspect that he knew but little of the way, in wh. belief I was now strengthd. After some further expostulation with him, I got him to consent to go to shew the path, altho’ I had no faith whatr. in him. I took the precaution to send 2

natives with him, one to remain there & the other to return to inform me that the road had been pointed out: – In about ½ hour one returned, sayg. – that it was all right, and that he was gone over the hill with Abm.¹⁶⁷ the more fully to put him in the way; ½ hour after the Native also retd. sayg. that he had left Abm. in the proper path; – we left the boat with our baggage, & commenced our journey.¹⁶⁸ – After nearly 2 hours spent in dense jungle of fern &c. we overtook Apm from whom, to my utter astonishment & regret, I learnt that he had not yet seen any road! & the other lad (who had returned) now sd. he saw them both going on togethr. over the hill & therefore he suppd. all was right!! – I plainly saw the diffy we were in; & lost no time in taking bearings by my p. c., which forty. I happened to have with me. All this day, in the burning sun did we slowly work our way thro the tangled fern brakes, & close growing Tee shrubs & briars, hardly gaining a mile in an hour, notwithstdg. the most unremitted exertion on our part, – I knew, howr. that the Island was narrow here, & that there was no other alternative but to make the best of our way across the same: unfortunately we were all entire strangers to this part of the land. – We persevered & toiled onwards until after sunset, when providentially we came to some water in a little valley to wh. I had for some time been directg. my course. Here we brought up for the night, all weary, & not in very cheerful spirits. Apm. – “kua poke o ringaringa i te toto tangata”¹⁶⁹ “Me iriiri ahau apopo a te Pikopo”.¹⁷⁰ “E wakama koia ahau i a koe?”¹⁷¹ – takg. off his Trowsers & flingg. it aside; – opening his *kete* & takg. out his Blanket, dressing himself in it & throwg. down his Test. & P.Bk. – set off,

167 Abm., Apm., Apmha., A. = Abraham (Aparimha).

168 WC: Pd whites 30/- & articles – 2 pr. scizzars, 2 combs, 1 Raszor, 2 knives, medicines, (abt. 10/-) Thread, needles, Paper, pencil.

169 Your hands are stained with human blood.

170 I have to be baptized by the Bishop tomorrow.

171 Will I wake you up?

declg. he wod. find his way alone. Held prayers & retd. to rest. –

Feby. 13. Ld's day. A Dreary place indeed to spend a Sabbath in, but yet I hope this day to have recd. a blessing. Morning, held prayers with Lads, & read exhortn. in Comm. Service; – aftn. – held a reading class with them – Evg. prayers &c – retd. early to start betimes tomorrow mornng. –

Feby. 14. Early ps mornng. bef. sunrise we started on our journey – the Fern was not so difficult to pass through as that of Saturday; the country being very barren; 2 hours travellg. gave us a glimpse of the sea, & an Isld. wh. we knew to be *Taranga*; shortly aftds. we saw *Mangawai* creek before us, for which we made with all possible speed, as we had agreed if possible to Bkft. on the Sea shore. I was the first to gain the creek & found that the tide was flowg. fast, no time was to be lost, so rushing thro' the water, wh. was to my waist, & wading to the opp. shore, I made my way as I best cod. thro' the deep mud & phalanxes of reeds wh. formed the banks of the water; Before me, to the right, were barren sandhills, by the bases of wh. the water of the Creek, I had just crossed found their way from the sea; whilst to the left was a forest of stunted trees. I pursued my way by the sandhills for near an hour; when to my extreme disappointt I found that I had chosen a course directly opposite to that I ought to have done, as the sea entered in a serpentine direction about 2 miles to the left, nor cod. I perceive any way by wh. I might possibly go on by the seashore, so I had to retrace my steps back thro the heavy & deep sand to the banks of the Creek. Arrg. there I took the oppos. direction and after an hour's active exertion found myself on the sea beach; here I gave GOD thanks for his mercy towards me. I now sought my lads, but cod. not meet with the least trace or sign of them: – still, I cod. but suppose that they had passed on. – By this time I was very hungry & not a little weary; – so summong. my strength I proceeded on,

as I supposed, after the Lads, hoping at every turn in the way to fall in with them. I called loudly & reiteratedly but recd. no ansr.; nothing broke the death-like silence that prevailed save the long roll of the billow as it dashed itself on the gravelly strand. Findg. no way by wh. I cod. get round the Hd. Land at the N. entrance of *Mangawai*, & obsg. a path lying over a very high hill wh. appd. to tend towards the direction in wh. I wished to proceed, I folld. it, gained the summit of the hill & again repeatedly shouted, but in vain! I was now wet, hungry, & weary in a desolate place, witht. a companion, with my clothes (wh. had been for some time giving way piece by piece) torn to rags from my morning's exertions. I felt much depressed in spirit, – & quite inclined to weep, but thro' GOD's grace was enabled to pray. – I sat, & consd. what I had better do; & came to the resol. to descend as quickly as possible to the outer sea shore; but how this was to be done appeared by no means easy; for the path wh. I had folld. seemed to be one wh. led inland & after all, was perhaps, only used by wild pigs: no time was to be lost so I concluded to force my way thro the very thick forest which intervened bet. the hill on wh. I now was & the Sea: – this from its denseness took me nearly an hour in accomplishg. – at last I once more gained the shore, almost exhausted.¹⁷² I ran to the waters edge, looked eagerly up & down the beach but not a human footmark cod. be seen, this added not a little to my perplexity. I determined on retg. by the shore (the tide having now recd.) to *Mangawai*, wh. I did, but obtained no trace whatr. of my Lads. I now concluded that they, finding the water in *Mangawai* too high for wading, must have gone on for *Wangarei* by some path wh. they had found within the inner banks of the Creek, and, that the best course for me to adopt in my present exigency was to make the best of my way

172 WC: *Kahikatoa*, with hairy calyx & berry; sandhills 5–12 ft. *Chara* in watercourse. *Coprosma* – see its berry; is it not like the one I once obtained from bks of stream nr. *Pakaraka*?

thither after them, that being the nearest inhabited district, wh. place I hoped to reach in 2 days. I once more retraced my steps – by the way of the beach; and, after travellg. about 2 miles, had the satisf. of seeing a native emerge from the thicket to the shore, whom, on approachg. I found to be Apma. He too had been seeking the other Natives but could not find them; he soon procured fire by friction with 2 sticks, & lighting his pipe returned at my reqt. to Mangawai to see whether he cod. find the Lads. During his absence I procured some shell-fish from the Rocks, & roasting them, endeavored to make a Bkfast. Apm. retd. in about an hour but cod. not find the Lads nor perceive any traces of them anywhere. – The day being pretty well advanced, we lost no time in getting on in our journey. The shore was very bold & rocky; & the rocks, piled in immense crags one on another were no small obstacle to our progress. We climbed some precipitous cliffs at the risk of our limbs – but on coming to *Paepaeotu*, (or Bm. tail) the S. outer Hd. of *Wangarei* Bay we found it so precipitous that we could not pass it. Apm. with the extra aid of his toes managed to get round the precipice abt. half way up its face, I, howr., dared not follow his ex. & was conseq. constrained to retrace my steps for a short distance & to climb the densely wooded cliffs, which I accomp. under no small share of weariness & nervous agitation: – I think I never before ascended such a dangerous place; huge & detached stones, (only held supported by the fibrous roots of the shrubs & trees wh. grew above & by them, & which in climbing you were obliged to lay hold of although þe. doing so was attended with imminent danger to yrself:) & uprooted & dead trees every where presented an Obstacle to yr. progress. – Blessed be GOD! I was continually enabled to look up in ejaculatory prayer for aid, wh. was graciously imparted. On gaining the top I had to work my way down the forest on the inner side of the hill, and by the valley to the sea; a task but little inferior to the one I had just accomplished. I gained the rocks again, &

found that A. had proceeded onwards. I folld. as fast as I cod., & soon I had the pleasure seeing A (who had supposed from my non-appearance that I had fallen from the cliff,) coming to meet me. Night was now closing around us, when, from the rising tide & extreme boldness of the shores, we were again compelled to leave the shore & force a passage through the woods above us; intending to bring up for the night at the first water we shod. come to – we thus continued our tortuous & laborious course thro' the woods until we cod. no longer see the trees around about us, when we were obliged to halt, sans water, sans food, sans shelter, sans fire; rain, too, beginning to fall! We were parched from drought & Apm. sought for a little water but in vain; he found, however 2 young *Nikau* (A.S.) Trees, which he cut down & brought in, on one of wh. I supped, & found its moist & crisp young Leaves very refreshing. Rolling myself up in my tent, I soon fell asleep; and thro GOD's mercy slept tolerably sound during the night undisturbed by mosquitoes. – Thus closed one of the most eventful days of my whole life. –

Feb. 15. Rose early sometime bef. Sunrise & recommenced our march, wh., as yesterday, lay over craggy rocks, &c. – 2 hours' walkg. brot. us to *Waipu*, a sandy beach, where we obtd. some brackish water & some berries of the *Karaka* Tree (*Coryn. laev.*) At this place we had hoped to have found some Natives, but there were none here, nor could trace of any be discerned. Here we rested a short time during wh. I wrote a paper & fixed the same to a stake wh. we stuck into the sand, in order that, if my lads were still behind, they might know we were passed on, & that they might hasten on after us. Proceedg. onwards about 3 miles to the further end of this beach, we found that our progress was stopped from the depth of water in the river until the tide wh. was now flowg. shod. have ebbed suffy. to admit of our doing so. Here then we sat for several hours, trial indeed to our patience, for not a drop of water was to be obtained! About 3 p.m., we, placing our

clothes, &c, on a log of wood, swam across this inlet, & safely gained the opp. side. Descendg. to the beach, we thought we saw our natives at some distance behind; water howr. was now what we most needed, & hopg. we shod. find that essl. article in the neighbd of the *Ruakaka* a headland about 12 miles from us (for all bet. us & that point was dry & barren sand hills,) we made the best of our way thither & reached it abt. sunset. After some search I found water in a bog, filled howr. with living insects, wh. thirsty as we were, we were obliged to strain thro' our hdkfs. ere we cod. touch it. An hour aftds. my lads arrived in safety wh. greatly rejoiced us all. The account they gave was, that they had come down to the *Mangawai* creek, & findg. the water too high to be fordable, & the tide still flowg. & nothing to be had to eat, they very comfortably composed themselves to sleep, & as I suppose, soundly overslept themselves. Poor fellows! They were in great concern about me; & came on at Double quick after they fell in with my note wh. assured them that I had passed on. – Although they had our provision with them, they did not make use of any – saying that as we tho' in want were obliged to be without food, they would not eat, but fare alike with us. – They obtained however some shellfish, palm tops, karaka berries, &c. – We all made a *heartly* & joyful meal this Eveg; – & I trust all gave GOD heartfelt thanks for his great mercies vouchsafed unto us. –

Feby. 16. Early this morning we started forwards – for *Te Ruakaka*, a small village where the chief Pou resided; after travelling about 5 miles we arrd. thither & were very hospy. recd. by him; here we breakfasted & held Prayers; gave Pou a Test. & to the others of his little party sevl. small Books; Hearing that Japhet, a young Native, (who, on my last visit to Wangarei I sent to Paihia to be baptd.) was lying dangerously ill at Puriritahi, I detd. on going thither to see him, Pou & his son accomp. me; arrg. thither we found that he had been taken that morning inland to anor. village. The canoes being

gone we could not proceed any further until we had sent & procured a Canoe to take us across the Bay. Pou & Apm. went up the river in a tiny little canoe to endr. to procure a larger one, we waiting their return on the banks of the creek. At evening they retd. & we lost no time in paddling off; our canoe was but a small one, & the breeze was fresh, so that every wave threatened to sink us; by keeping one person continually baling we managed to keep the water under, arrivg. at *Tamatarau* a village on the opp. side of the Bay abt. 9 o'clock: here we were hosply received by Stephen & his party – whom found at prayers. At this place nearly all the neighbg. chiefs were assembled, in conseq. of the illness of *Te Amooteriri*, the principal chief of this district. Conversd briefly with Natives, held prayers & retired to rest. After I had retd. S. came to ask whether I wou. not hold Service in the mornng. that the chiefs & others may hear; to wh. of course I readily assented. –

Feb'y 17. Early this mornng. I held Service, few howr. of the Chiefs attended. I preached from 1 Pet. I verses 24, 25; Service over I sent on my Natives to *Parua*, a village abt. 3 m. distant, intendg. to breakfast at that place. Visited *Te Amo*, found him lying in a wooden trough in warm water which his wife was engaged in pouring over him; sevl. Chiefs of note from the neighbouring villages were sitting around. He complained of much pain in his back & joints, which, he declared, was caused by enchantment – he having been bewitched by the *Wakatohea* Tribe! All his friends joined with him in this assertion. I endeavored to dissipate the foolish, and, with the N.Zr., too often fatal notion of his having been bewitched, & exhorted him to seek the Ld. Jesus Xt. – Poor fellow! he was as ignorant as he could possibly be of truth as it is in Jesus. Oh! that the light may speedily spring up for these poor souls who are truly sitting in the valley of the S. of death! Leavg. them I proceeded on to *Parua*, a young native going thither with me to obtain some Medicine for *Te*

Amo. At that place I found Solomon, and others ill; he suffg. from gravel.¹⁷³ Admd. medicine & I trust, consolation. Breakfasted & proceeded to *Kaiwa* Bay wh. we crossed in a Canoe at an exceedg. quick rate, sailing before the wind. Landg. at the opp. side we hastened forwards towards Ngunguru, wh. river we reached about 8 p.m., but found no means of crossing it, the Natives having all gone inland to their plantations. We walked up & down on the river banks shouting with all our might, in hopes that some one residing on the opposite shore might possibly hear us – after hearg. us some time Capt. L. very kindly came down, & strippg. off his clothes (tho subject to asthma & the night cold,) fetched his boat wh. was moored off his place & came across to fetch us; he recd. us very hospitably & cordially. Held prayers & retd. to rest. –

18. I had intended to start at an early hour this morning on my way to *Owae*, in hopes of getting thither by tomorrow evening so as to spend the Sabbath at that place; but Capt. L. dissuaded me from doing so, as his boat was going that way tomorrow mornng. & would take us all thither in a few hours. – So I consented to remain. –

19. Rose very early – and started; wind light, boys howr. exerted themselves in rowing & we reached the S. Hd. of Wangaruru Bay by 11 a.m. Here we landed, as the Boat was to proceed on to the Head of Wangaruru river: natives of *Owae*, who were here engaged at work in their plantations, recd. us very hospitably. Informed of the fall of *Philemon*, a baptd. N., thro' an adulterous connexion with the wife of *Samuel*: – the people of the village assd., delibd. together, & tore down & burnt the house in wh. he had resided, & took away sevl. garments from both wh. they also burnt: *Saml.* wished *P.* to be killed as a payt. – & still mutters Revenge –

173 kidney stones.

Heard also of the horrid deaths of Tukarangatia & Waikato, 2 chiefs at Waikare, in conseq. of the explosn. of a Cask of powder. – Oh! LORD grant that thy judgment may indeed be heeded. – With *Tu*. a principal chief I had often talked to very seriously, but he invariably mocked at all I ever sd. concerning Jesus Christ. About 2 we again started in a Canoe for Owae, which place we reached in an hour. Held Evening service in Chapel; few present, exhorted them from 1 Cor. III. 11–15. LORD help!

20 LORD'S day. At Owae: – mornng. Held Service about 50 present: preached from Luke XIII 1–5. A white man arrg. here this mornng. on his way to Ngunguru, informed me of the murder of Riro by John at Pakaraka on Wednsy. last! both natives I knew well, they having resided at Paihia Station for many years. Much depressed: led to seek the LORD – Oh! Gracious Saviour lift up the light of thy Count: – Superintended. School – few present – Infant school, heard childn., 8 in no., read Psalms for the day & Catd. them – Evg. Service – preached from 1 Tim. 6. 6.–11. blessed with utterance – did not howr. please the people –

21st. Started in canoe for Wangaruru – reached head of river about noon – remd. to boil a few potatoes – heavy rain – all way to Waikare reached W. abt. 6 drippg. wet. hospy. recd. by Bror. Baker.

22. Left for Paihia in my Boat & arrd. there in safety – praised & blessed be our GOD for all his Mercies!! Amen.



“View from Paihia Rae (Rocky point or headland), New Zealand,” 1843. Engraved by Josiah Wood Whimper from a drawing by William Colenso. [Alexander Turnbull Library PUBL-0031-49. <http://natlib.govt.nz/records/23081969>]. Whimper (or Whympser) 1813–1903 was a painter, watercolourist and wood engraver of landscapes with or without figures. He exhibited in London after 1844, so this was an early work. [<https://books.google.co.nz/books?id=2sUHA AAAQAAJ>] It was republished in *The Colonial Intelligencer or Aborigines' Friend*, August 1847. It appears to be based on Colenso's “Anchorage, Bay of Islands, from Nihonui” 3 August 1838.

View from “Paihia rae”¹⁷⁴

The word “rae,” in the New Zealand Language, means, rocky point, or headland. This is a sketch of a part of the inner harbour, Bay of islands; taken by W.C. from the rock at the end of the beach at Paihia Mission Station, when recovering from his severe illness, in 1838. The Trees, which grow so gracefully pendant on the rocks and cliffs, are a species of *Metrosideros*, (*M. tomentosa*) in December the shores of the Bay are gorgeously decorated with the very great profusion of

174 When Colenso sent the manuscript account of his November 1841 to February 1842 journey to the Church Missionary Society, he appended four sketches, with explanations, and a footnote on the moa. The explanations, but not the sketches, are among the Church Missionary Society papers [Alexander Turnbull Library Micro-ms-coll-04-34 p.562] and describe the view from “Paihia rae”; Tapatahi; Waikare Lake; and Owae. The Pahia rae (Nihonui point) sketch has survived, as well as a rather freely interpreted lithograph cut by Whimper and published in the *Church Missionary Paper* No CIX, Lady Day, 1843.

their scarlet blossoms. These trees attain a great size, but in growth are very irregular, often reminding me of an old gnarled English oak. They are only found in the immediate vicinity of the sea, often with the tide laving their roots. I observed them, however, in similar rocky situations on the immediate shores of Waikare lake, nearly in the middle of the Island! Their Timber is close-grained, and of a pretty pink colour, but too heavy for the purposes of general Furniture. It is much used here in Ship and Boat building. The Native name for the tree, is *Pohutukawa*. – Turning the extreme point to the right is the river *Kawakawa*; whilst beyond the point to the left is the river *Waikare*. The houses just appearing behind the ship at anchor is Russell where the Governor resided. I generally got into my boat at these rocks every Sunday morning, when fine, in order to go up the river to the *Kawakawa*, or some of the other villages, to hold service with the Natives.

Owae¹⁷⁵

This little sketch of a small village situate the S.W. corner of Wangaruru Bay on the E. Coast, is, to me, from the Association of ideas connected therewith, very interesting. I was privileged to be the first to carry the Gospel thither, in Feby. 1836, which the people then received at my hands. At that time I remained with them a few days, and assisted them in building a chapel. Since that period, they have slowly, but gradually, improved in knowledge. Several have been baptized, and others are now Candidates for that ordinance. The children in the Infant School, can all read in the Testament and Psalms; and 'tis very pleasing to hear them lisp the sacred promises of GOD. I have often visited this village,

175 CMS papers. See sketch on page **. I cannot locate a published version of the drawing.

for I love the people, whom, I, in a peculiar measure, look on as my own; they, too, have an affection for me; here I am always sure to be welcome (which is not the case in every professing English Christian's house in this land.) I have now a little cottage built there, by the people of the place, for me, where I hope to spend some happy hours. This people are among the few who have listened to my interested and earnest request of not to sell their lands, and now they see the benefit of their so doing. It is a very quiet and secluded spot: the chapel is in the midst of the village, and has glazed windows, being the only native-built chapel in New Zealand which has such a luxury. The population of the village, is about 80 persons; many others, however, reside on the shores of the Bay, at a few miles distance.

1842: Arrival of the Bishop of N.Z.

In the following month (June) the Bp. of N.Z., Dr. Selwyn, arrived in N.Z. The ship in which he came from Sydney anchored first in the Thames, and the Bp. therefore visited Mr. Fairburn's Station which was close by, and there saw his daughter conducting a M. Girls' School (the first of the kind he had ever seen). He soon came on to the Bay and landed at Paihia (it so happened that I alone was at home that day) and I had to receive him. Now I had very recently written and printed ("out of hours" and at my own expense as to paper etc.) a tract (No. 3) against the Errors of the Church of Rome, containing also the public admission in St. Paul's Cathedral by the Bp. of London of 3 of their priests into the Ch. of E. and this tract had just been circulated. I had also written two before this in Maori on the same subject, but I was not allowed by the Committee of Missionaries in N.Z. to print them at our mission press, so one, the first was printed in Sydney, and some time after the second was printed at

Hobarton (Tasmania) of course at my own expense. On the very next day after the Bps. arrival all the missionaries that could be gathered together met at Paihia in a body to welcome him, and this took place in the Rev. H.W.s parlour. The Rev. R. Burrows had come across from Kororareka, his station, and after the official address of welcome and the Bp's written reply were over, Mr. B. put bluntly, "the R.C. priests don't like your new tract at all; they say the conversion is all lies, and they have been up at my house demanding the authority for it etc." (I should state that the headquarters of the R.C. Mission was there at K, and that Mr. B., then a late arrival, being more closely residing to and annoyed by them, and not knowing much of the Maori language, had been the foremost to approve of my tract which he had also distributed). We saw that the Bp. was paying great attention. I soon gave in few words my "authority" which was indisputable. Then the Bp. took it up and spoke pretty much against all such writings, and finding that my revd. brethren evaded it, came down rather heavily upon me as a "layman". Of course this was also scored against me.

Soon after this the Bp. went S. to visit his great Diocese and he was some months absent. On his return he made some harsh remarks to me about the press etc.—all which I had considered to be wholly independent of him and outside his jurisdiction. By and bye, however, he told me that as soon as he had got things a little in order at Waimate (having such a very large suite who had come out with him) he should get me to reside with him at Waimate for 4–5 months prior to ordination.

The C.M.S. having particularly mentioned me to him for that purpose (this was in accordance with their letters to me) Mr. Telford, the new Mission printer, had also recently arrived from England and I was preparing to hand over the printing office etc, to him. Early in 1843 having obtained leave I visited Mr. F. and his family at Otahuhu and remained

there a few days, and the conclusion we (Miss Fairburn and myself) arrived at was that our marriage for the present should be postponed to take place after my Ordination, say in about a year.

On returning to Paihia I wrote to the Bp. saying I had returned and was waiting his pleasure to remove to W. I soon got a reply from the Bp., an angry one, at my arrangement with Miss F., of which he had heard, and almost ordering me to return immediately and be married, and then both go to him, for he had seen Miss F. teaching Maori children and he greatly wanted her assistance for his new Maori Girls' Boarding School etc. at Te Waimate. I greatly disliked the Bp's. letter both in tenor and in tone, but at this juncture I could do little but obey, Mr. T. having now the sole charge of the P.O. and the Bp. having got all the miss. both cler. and lay one by one in a most curious way completely to submit to him in matters secular as well as clerical, was complete master of the situation.

I went with a heavy foreboding heart again to the Thames by some early vessel, and from Auckland to Otahuhu, Mr. F's house, where all seemed surprised to see me. I soon told my simple story. The necessary arrangements having been soon made and the day fixed I walked back to Auckland to see the Ch. of E. minister there, Mr. Churton and he came out on the day appointed, 12 days after, to marry us.

Now, however, a most strange, sudden and sad event took place, known, at present, to no living soul but myself; and did I not believe it highly necessary that you should know it I would not now write it. That night, the one before the marriage (never, never to be forgotten by me) was one of the most awful, most dreadful nights, of my whole life—and I have seen and experienced not a few. Indeed I think, and have ever thought, that it was by far the worst I have ever known. That night I never went to bed. I only paced up and down my

small bedroom in a most deplorable state of mind and it began in this way. Mr. F. we had long known, was unfortunately too much given to drink. I, however, on my former short visits had seen nothing of it. On the afternoon-evening of this day he got intoxicated and his poor wife and daughter did all they could to keep him quiet etc. but he would neither be quiet nor stay in his bedroom, and in the long struggling etc. that ensued he said several evil things, in which all of them were more or less concerned, and my name was not unfrequently used by them all, especially by the females, but only by them as a reason why he should become quiet lest I should hear etc. etc. The house, a very large wooden one, was wholly unfinished within—the rooms were not yet all partitioned off, so that I could not help hearing too much: it nearly drove me mad. I packed up my few things in my valise; I opened the little window of my bedroom, a “lean-to”; I determined to leave them that night and go and hide among the fern and scoria until morning, and it took some hours ere I got the better of that determination for, I saw, that if I did so I must leave the mission at once and for ever,

The next day Mr. Churton arrived very late (after-noon,) and we were married, he, however, only hurriedly reading a small portion of the Marriage Service (he had walked out through the scoria, no roads then, with his little son). This was April 27/43, a heavy day and time for me. And here I must further remark that nothing was more clear and plain to me at that time than this—that we 2 had no love for each other; still I hoped, aye, I fully firmly believed that mutual affection would surely follow, for all I wanted was a suitable partner, particularly in mission work—this was ever uppermost and this I had plainly told Miss F. in my first letter, and to this day in which I write this (August 23/83), more than 40 years since that eventful night and time, I am undecided as to whether I acted rightly or not. Was it the voice of a warning spirit from God (whom I loved and served) or was it

from the enemy? I cannot tell. God only knows. Long since then, however, and particularly of late years, peculiar circumstances have arisen both at Home in England and here in New Zealand, in which and while at the very Communion Table rails one of the two about to be married has suddenly refused and left the Church. One case I recollect was that of a minister. Perhaps I ought to have done so—but I dare not decide—I cannot.

Two little incidents happened at that time which I have thought more of since than I did then; in themselves they were both trivial, though strange, and are scarcely worth recording: (1) On my walking in to Auckland to see Mr. Churton, when only a short distance from Otahuhu I saw a fine hawk soaring above me. I admired it and soon it descended to the ground not far from me; I walked on towards it and to my great surprise it did not rise but suffered me to capture it with my hand, when I took it back alive to Otahuhu: (2) on the day of the marriage after Mr. C. had left on his return I went down to the men's house where my two Maori domestics (who had come from Paihia with me) were staying, just to see how they were enjoying themselves over their little feast, to my great surprise I found them both bitterly crying apart. Neither had they eaten any of the good provisions. They refused to tell me the cause of their sorrow and would not be comforted by me.

At this time, just after the marriage, 2 deeds of land were offered me by Mr. Fairburn, who had plenty, (1) one of land on the Tamaki which was to be his daughter's marriage portion, and that of her children (if any); and (2) one of some land near Otahuhu for myself: this latter I positively declined as I had never held any land in N.Z. and had on a former occasion refused my old friend Mr. Jas. Busby (late B. Resident) on his leaving N.Z., who had striven hard to induce me to accept from him a small section of land at Waitangi in

the Bay of Islands, knowing that I possessed none, although my doing so, I fear, greatly displeased him.

We immediately went to Auckland and thence to the Bay of Islands. There we received a good welcome at Waitangi from Mrs. Busby (who was then alone, her husband having gone to England) whither we first went according to arrangement, but on our reaching the M. Station (Paihia) we had but a very cold reception there from the resident missionaries. A few of my Maori friends who had arrived from the Kawakawa River to greet us served to cheer me a little.

Shortly after we went to the Waimate to reside with the Bishop, and now our troubles began. Mrs. C. as the only mistress had to attend to the Girls' (Maori) Boarding School. They were a great no. newly brought in from the Maori pas around and they had to submit to harsh unsuitable rules: and the work she had to perform (and to please the Bp. and his large party—among them being several newly arrived English ladies with their own peculiar and unsuitable notions)—that work was unceasing and heavy—Sunday and week-day—day and night. Then I too had my share, a heavy portion, in studies, in languages, including Maori translation for the Bp's press, and from my being constituted Professor of Maori by the Bp., when all the newly arrived hands (m. and f.) attended my classes, and (above all) in the Divinity Classes with both the Bp. and his eccentric H. Ch. Chaplain, Mr. Cotton. Many were the words, not a few were the scenes, between us, and it soon appeared to me that instead of my being there for "a few months" it was doubtful if I should emerge at all as an Ordained Missionary. My thoughts and opinions were not theirs, and Mrs. Colenso was wanted, more and more every day, for on her leaving the school (on which the Bp's heart was set) there was no one to supply her place. And so things went on till Septr. when the Bp. ordained three of his own young men (particular friends of his Chaplain) and

I was left. During the whole of this period my wife and I never had a single holiday—or day to ourselves. Had she not been strong and well used to the Maoris and fitted for her work she must have sunk under it. However to please me a bit, as I supposed, the Bp. gave me a travelling commission again to visit the E. Coast Maoris, and thence to return by a zig zag circuitous course crossing and recrossing the island from sea to sea, that he might know more fully the nos. and the villages of the Maoris.

The Mitchell Library in Sydney holds the journals of Selwyn's chaplain, the rather effete and snobbish William Charles Cotton MA 1813–1879. In one is a sketch of a gowned and beardless William Colenso, teaching Māori boys, presumably at Waimate, drawn by “W.B.”—William Bambridge, of whom Wikipedia tells us, “William Samuel Bambridge (1820–1879) was a school-teacher who accompanied Selwyn and Cotton in the Te Waimate mission, before returning to England where he became photographer to Queen Victoria.”

Cotton was one of Colenso's tutors; he wrote (of Colenso) “I inflicted a dose of antibumptious medicine on one of my adult pupils – ‘It is not more application, but more humility which you want.’”

Colenso had earlier stated his views on academics in the mission field,¹⁷⁶

A man may be able to compose a most excellent Discourse, he may write an elegant and classical Latin Essay, yea, he may pass his Greek Examination with ease and applause, and, yet, be very unfit for a Practical Missionary; and make, after all, but a very sorry figure in the field.

176 Colenso to CMS 24 January 1840.

And now, stung, perhaps, by Cotton's rebuke, Colenso wrote again to the CMS secretaries (on 2 October 1843),

Let it be the Society's particular aim to fill up and strengthen her Mission *here* with *evangelical* preachers *from England*. I will not, I dare not, make any comparisons, which are at all times invidious, but we know, alas! too well, what is meant in England by being "*educated* for the Ministry";—where the Holy office is selected and entered upon in much the same spirit as the professions of Law, Medicine, or Arms. Further, I would venture to say, my dear Sir, Hesitate about receiving sons, or sons-in-law, or relatives, or friends of Missionaries to the Heathen. If such *must* be put into the Priest's Office in New Zealand, there are other Societies than the C.M.S., and other situations than those of Missionaries. A clever moral man, or a good classic, *may* (?) fill the situation of a Chaplain, who is utterly unfit for that of a Missionary to the Heathen;—such *must* be *converted* men; such *must know* something more powerful than Baptismal Regeneration.... And, still keeping from comparison, I would further venture to say,—that *converted* men of the lower or middle classes will, in *general*, make more useful and more acceptable Missionaries than men from the higher ranks. They are better fitted to go among men of low estate, and are better able to put up with many things, which, too often, astonish and shock the finer feelings of persons educated in a higher rank of life

Cotton was further incensed when Colenso asked to borrow his "surplice for Mrs. C. to cut one by" – perhaps the garment he is wearing in the Bambridge sketch (below).



William Colenso, Selwyn's "Professor of Māori", teaching at Waimate.
Pen sketch by William Bambridge in William Charles Cotton diaries,
Mitchell Library, Sydney.

1843–1844: 3rd. visit to E. Cape, E. Coast and unknown interior

I left Waimate on my S. visit again landing (or upset and swimming to shore) near to the E. Cape, thence on to Pov. Bay and thence south to Castlepoint, from which place I began to travel Northwards striking directly inland from Wairoa in H. Bay and crossing and re-crossing the Island 2–3 times I emerged at the Bay of Islands. It was a long and arduous journey, shipwreck and heavy trials in an unknown country—where no E. had been before me, and sometimes where neither Maoris nor Maori food were. However I returned to Waimate in Feby. '44 about 3 weeks after Fanny was born, and found her mother still very unwell.

1844: 5–15 February

Memoranda of Voyage and Journey to the Southern Parts of the Northern Island of New Zealand: – October/43 – Feby./44.¹⁷⁷

On 3 October 1843 Colenso sailed in the mission schooner Columbine from the Bay of Islands, calling at Auckland, Great Barrier Island and Tauranga, capsizing and swimming ashore at Hicks Bay (where he met Rev. George Kissling) on the 19th and walking to Turanga (Gisborne), where Archdeacon William Williams was now stationed and where he arrived on the 31st. They sailed south the next day aboard the Columbine, scrambling ashore at Deliverance Cove, Castlepoint, and walking north to Hawke's Bay. They reached Te Awapuni east of modern Napier and on 11 December

177 ATL qMS-0490, "Journeys" of the CMS journals, a copy of the original in the Hocken Library.

Williams and Colenso marked out Colenso's future mission station, negotiated the deeds with the local chiefs, and gave instructions for a house to be built. Colenso left with five young Māori on 12 December and walked back to Waimate via Mohaka, Wairoa river, Waikaremoana, Ruataniwha, Ruatoki, Tauranga, Ngaruawahia to Otahuhu....

February 5th. Left Otahuhu this morning in a Canoe, intending to land at Te Wāu in Manukau Bay, where the path leading to Kaipara commences. The wind, however, was high, and water rough, so, after encountering no little danger, and shipping several seas, (which we baled out as we best could,) we were right glad to land on the scoria near Onehunga, a small village on the N. side of the Bay, about 5 miles from Otahuhu. After some little time spent on the beach, finding the wind to increase, we sought about and fortunately found some natives who engaged to put us into the road leading to Te Wāu for a dollar.¹⁷⁸ Heavy rain overtook us about 4 p.m. while engaged in seeking the path, and we all got a complete drenching long before we arrived at Te Wāu – where we eventually passed the night.

6th. A night of pouring rain was succeeded by a morning of the same. The weather however clearing about 11 a.m., we determined on starting, travelled all day and brought up for the night by the side of a small stream in the barren plains between the Thames and Kaipara. Saw a brace of that now rare bird the N. Zealand Quail, in my way hither today.

7th. Early this morning we resumed our journey towards Kaipara, and reached the landing-place on the furthest S. Bank, by 10 a.m. Here we found a boat with 3 whites, who engaged to put us across the harbour and up the Wairoa river. We had, however, to await their pleasure, for they went into

¹⁷⁸ Colenso discussed early currency in his *Fifty years ago in New Zealand* (see Appendix B).

the woods to seek wild pigs, and did not return until after Sunset when their boat was aground, and we had to wait until near midnight ere she would again float, in addition to which we were without food and the rain, too, every now and then pouring down, from which we had no shelter.

8th. At 2 a.m., we arrived at Kaukopakopa, the miserable residence of those Europeans; and had to remain all day for them to rest and salt their pork.

9th. A dirty-looking lowering day: managed, however, to start, about 2 p.m., the wind being squally, tide against us, and our old, patched boat deeply laden, (12 persons, a dog, and baggage,) we landed at 5 p.m. on the w. bank of the Kaipara. Here we erected a hut, to shelter us from the rain. Held prayers, Native & English, and waited patiently the flowing of the tide. Started again an hour before midnight.

10th. Continuing our boating we crossed the heads about daybreak, and landing on the N. shore breakfasted. Hence we proceeded up the Wairoa river with the flowing tide, continuing our Course until 3 p.m., when we landed to dine; started again at 5, but, the wind dying away and the tide ebbing, we anchored in the river at 8 p.m.: – we could not land on account of the mud. About midnight we again resumed our course.

11th. *Dies Dom.* Continuing our boating, (which we were *obliged* to do) we landed at 6 a.m., at Te W̄arau (the residence of a Mr. Walton).¹⁷⁹ There we waited the ebbing and flowing of the tide, during which I held Service in Mr. W's. new house), (which he had kindly prepared for the occasion,) in

179 In 1839 Te Tiraau sold about 60,000 acres in north Wairoa to Henry Walton, who married his niece Kohura. See Phyllis E. Cowtrey, The Walton Brothers of Kaipara and Maungatapere, *Auckland-Waikato historical journal* 55, September 1989, pp.19–22. Tw Wharau was just north of modern Dargaville.

English and Native; 14 of the former and 6 of the latter present. Dined at Mr. Walton's, and, at 2 p.m., the tide flowing, we proceeded up the river. At 5 we were opposite to Mr. Buller's Station, (W.M.)¹⁸⁰ which I passed by, intending not to land, not wishing to disturb the tranquillity of their Sabbath, but Mr. B. and his natives, hearing of me, ran after me and obliged me to do so. Held Service at the Station, at Mr. Buller's request, expounding a portion of 2nd. Less.

12th. Left Mr. B's. most hospitable mansion, and gained the landing place at the top of the Wairua river by nightfall, where we passed the night.

13th. Starting early we soon saw the high land around Wāngarei Bay, which was familiar to me, and which assured me I was nearing home. We stopped to cook by the way, and arrived at Waioore (a small village) by 3 p.m. Finding however that the Chief and his party were not there, I determined on proceeding, travelled on to Te Ngauatehangahanga, where we found 3 Europeans, who had just brought up on their way to the Bay of Islands. Here, with them, we passed the night, read prayers in English and Native.

14. Started at ½ past 5; at 1 p.m. reached Waiomio, where we dined; sat awhile and conversed with the aged Chief Wini, who gave us plenty of food. At 3 we left and arrived at Te Kawakawa by 5, where, obtaining a Canoe, we paddled for the Bay of Islands, and arrived at Paihia by 8.

15th. Returned to the Waimate, and found all well. – Praised be GOD for all His Mercies. Amen and Amen.

W. Colenso.

180 James Buller 1812–1884 arrived at the Mungungu Wesleyan Mission in the Hokianga in 1836. His own Wesleyan Mission was Aotahi on the Wairoa River at Tangiteroria. He was father of ornithologist Walter Lawry Buller.

1844

While at the W. during this year until we finally left the place in the following Septr. my wife and I occupied separate rooms and beds—our duties being as heavy as ever, or indeed worse.

In Septr. I was ordained and the next day we gladly left Te Waimate. Up to the very Sunday morning of my ordination, and even on my way to the Church, I was subjected to fresh and unthought of trials from the Bp. Two, in particular, occurring as they did at the very last moment, I will just mention. (1) During the last morning previous to the ordination day I had extra work allotted me as Essays on several theological and ecclesiastical subjects, including the whole of the XXXIX Arts. (which again brought up unpleasantly the H. Ch. dogma of Baptismal Regen.). The last week in particular was to be made a time of extra devotion. Well, all that over, I was summoned to visit the Bp. in his study on the Saturday evening after evening prayer (vi o'clock). I went, and then I was closeted with him (and at times Archd. W. Williams who was now at Te Waimate on a visit from Pov. Bay and acting also as examining chaplain for the Bp.) and the main thing in dispute between us was that I was always to obey him, the Bp., as to residence, even if against the direction of the C.M.S., at the same time he not guaranteeing any salary. Now I had long known that this was the particular point that the C.M.S. would not concede to the Bp and so I would not, could not, agree to promise to do as he wished. After some hours' talk (I was with him 5 h. on this occasion) the Bp. told me plainly that if I would not consent he would not ordain me; and then my old and best Missionary friend, Archd. W.W., said that he thought I ought to give way, and on his word I did so. It was past xi when I left the Bp. (2)

The next morning in going to the Ch., the bell tolling for service (I had to pass by the Bps. house) the Rev. Mr. Dudley, one of his chaplains, was standing in the Bps. study doorway waiting for me. On my passing he beckoned to me and I went up to him. He then showed me a paper on the desk written by the Bp. which I was requested to sign. It was that I bound myself not to have or to keep more than 5 head of cattle at a time. Remonstrance was of no avail and so I had to sign that paper.

I had been previously set apart for H. Bay by the Bp., who had said that the Ch. had no other suitable person to send to this new unknown and wild place (ordered to this place, Ahuriri, in my letters of Orders and we landed here safely in Decr. '44.)

*In December the Colenso family finally left the Bay of Islands for Hawke's Bay aboard the Nimrod. His journeys in the central and southern North Island are related in Mr Colenso's *Wairarapa: twelve journeys: 1843–1852*. Fraser Books, Masterton, 2018.*

Appendix A: Place names

This list is extensively modified from the work of the late Bruce Hamlin, reproduced in Colenso's Collections 2009. Extracts from his foreword follow.

“ This task has been made immensely simpler by the work of Bagnall & Petersen and I have availed myself freely of their work. I have also had the advantage of having available a copy of Arrowsmith's 1850 map on which Colenso's two Waikaremoana journeys are marked. Another valuable source has been Buchanan's work and several puzzling places have been successfully located from these works. ”

Clem Earp clarified the current sites of many of Colenso's Northland placenames in a series of papers published in eColenso in 2018–2019, as referenced below.

Akura

Modern Oakura.

Aniwaniwa

the Rainbow falls at Kerikeri.

I. Aniwaniwa

The island known today as Mototohe north of Whananaki (see Clem Earp in *eColenso* January 2019).

Aotahi

Te Aotahi was close to the Wesleyan Mission Station at Tangiteroria on the Wairoa river. See Clem Earp, “Aotahi and the clash of missions” *eColenso* May 2018. The Roman Catholic missions were nearby.

Aotea

Great Barrier Island.

Arai

Te Arai, the 16m high feature south of the Bluff, Ninety Mile Beach.

Arawata lake

One of the Lake Half – Swan Lake group near Ninety Mile Beach.

Awaroa

Awaroa creek, Whangarei harbour.

Barrier Island

see Aotea

Cape Maria van Diemen; Cape M. V. D.

The western headland of the North Cape complex. Colenso was no nearer than 4–5 miles from the Cape proper.

Cape Reinga

One of the promontories of the North Cape complex.

Dipo

see Ripo

East Coast

Colenso's early references to "E. Coast" usually indicated the east coast of Northland, later referring to the coast between Hawke's Bay and Cook Strait.

Great Barrier Island

see Aotea.

Haruru

At the head of the tidal flats on the Waitangi river, Bay of Islands.

Haukawakawa river

Whangarei district; six miles northwest from Whangarei;

Haukawakawa Bay Not located precisely. No stream is now so named.

Haumi

The Haumi river flows into Veronica Channel south of Paihia, Bay of Islands.

Herekino

The northernmost of the harbours on Northland's west coast.

Hikurewa

The rocks off Whananaki, now Elizabeth reef, Huriwaka.

Hinukuku

"One of the nearest villages" of the Waiomio valley, Bay of Islands but not now traceable.

Hobson's Harbour, Aotea

Great Barrier Island. Hobson's harbour no longer appears, but is probably an earlier unofficial name for Port Fitzroy.

Horahora

The Horahora river enters the sea at Ngunguru Bay, a short distance south of the mouth of the Ngunguru river.

Hororoa

"about 3½ miles up the (Kawakawa) river." Not now known.

Horotutu, Bay of Islands

"... the next beach along from Paihia towards the Waitangi River."

Houhora Harbour

A tidal inlet at the southern end of Great Exhibition Bay on the east coast of the Northland Peninsula. Mt Camel forms the eastern headland.

Te Hua

The last wide beach before Sheltered Bay, going north (see Clem Earp in *eColenso* January 2019).

Te Kahakaha

Colenso gives the position as 3 miles NNE of Toreatai. Arrowsmith's 1850 map shows it west of the northern end of the Maungapohatu ridge and upstream of the Waikare crossing. This suggests that it was not far from modern Pinaki.

Kahuwera stream

Not located. The main streams between Whareora and the Ngunguru river are the Taheke and Waitangi.

Kaikohi

Modern Kaikohe.

Kaipara (harbour)

On the west coast north of Auckland.

Kaipatiki

A small village about two miles distant from Paihia. Kaipatiki creek drains into the south arm of Waitangi inlet.

Kaitaia

(Mission Station) Modern Kaitaia.

Kaituna

A bay at the end of Mimiwhangata peninsula (Clem Earp in *eColenso* January 2019).

Kaiwa, Wangarei

Not located.

Te Karaka

A point to the north of Whananaki estuary.

Te Karaka

Possibly Waikaraka (q.v.).

Kauakaua

Kawakawa.

Te Kauika; Kawaka

Up river from Pihoi, Whangarei, but not located. Clem Earp discusses the site in *eColenso* February 2018.

Kaukopakopa

Kaukapakapa, at the southern end of Kaipara harbour.

Kaurinui

Kaurinui creek flows into the Bay of Islands near the south head land of Waikare inlet.

Te Kawakawa, Bay of Islands

Modern Kawakawa, on the river of the same name, which rises near Kaikohe and flows into the southern end of the Bay of Islands.

Colenso made visits at two-weekly intervals for nearly the whole of his residence in the Bay.

Kereru (“Kerera”) lake

Lake Tauanui, about eight miles SSE of Kaikohe. So identified by Bagnall & Petersen and Colenso’s route leaves no doubt of the correctness of this conclusion.

Kerikeri

The locality on Kerikeri inlet, Bay of Islands.

Kerikeri waterfall, Bay of Islands

Kerikeri Falls, on the river to the north of Kerikeri.

Kiddekidde

Kerikeri.

Kohumaru

On a stream of the same name, a tributary of the Oruaiti river which flows into Mangonui harbour.

Kopau River

“the upper part of the Kawakawa.” Possibly the Pokapu Stream, a southern tributary of the Kawakawa catchment.

Kororareka

Modern Russell, Bay of Islands. Colenso visited about monthly during most of his residence in the Bay.

Kotere; Kotore

“Distant about 4 Miles” from Kawakawa but not located.

Mangare, Wangarei

A Mangere Stream joins the Wairua river near Kokopu west of Whangarei: Colenso’s village was probably on this stream.

Mangatété

Probably Mangatoetoe, near Kaiaka.

Mangati Beach

Now called Mangaiti, a public camping reserve (see Clem Earp in *eColenso* January 2019).

Mangaiwai

Mangawhai harbour or estuary is about three miles south of Bream Tail.

Mangawero

“a small village about four miles from Mr Stack’s Rangitukia.” Bagnall & Petersen show it on the Waiapu river upstream of Rangitukia and Pukemaire, but Arrowsmith’s 1850 map shows it WNW of Rangitukia.

Mangungu

The Wesleyan mission station on the Hokianga river, about 25 miles from the heads; on the south bank of the Waihou river near the confluence with the Mangamuka river.

Maramanui

Clem Earp places this inside the bend on the Wairua immediately south of where Pipiwai road crosses (*eColenso* September 2018).

Maruwaea

Possibly Sheltered Bay (see Clem Earp in *eColenso* January 2019).

Mata

“Mr Monro’s residence on the N. bank of the (Hokianga) River.” Te Mata Point near Pupuwai creek, Hokianga harbour. Drury (1853, p.870) mentions “an Englishman’s house (Munro)” at the point.

Matapouri

Matapouri is about one mile south of Sandy Bay.

Matauri

On Matauri Bay, opposite the Cavalli Islands.

Matauwi

Matauwhi Bay is immediately to the south of Kororareka Bay; the town of Russell extends southwards to the beach. Bagnall & Petersen’s map (p38) spells it “Matahi”.

Maukopakopa

Kaukopakopa, southern Kaipara harbour.

Maungahoutou

Houto, a hill between Whangarei and Dargaville.

Maunga nui

Te Wakatehaua Island, Ninety Mile Beach.

Maungatapere

A hill rather than a village in Colenso’s day.

Maunga Turoto

A village within easy riding distance of the Waimate Mission Station. Not located but not to be confused with modern Maungaturoto which is much further south.

Maunu

“a deserted village near Te Waiiti, Wangarei.” Maunu is a suburb about 4km west of the Whangarei CBD, but Clem Earp writes, “What Colenso knew as Maunu was located at the base of Maunga Maunu, a vegetated scoria cone 395m high, a little over 8km west of the CBD.” (*eColenso* June 2018).

Mawe

Hone Heke’s pa Puketutu near Lake Omapere was referred to as Te Mawhe.

Mimiha

Helena Bay.

Mimiwangota

Mimiwhangata is on a prominent peninsula forming the southern headland of Whangaruru Bay.

Mokau Beach

Between Paparaumu & Owae. Mokau Bay is in Whangaruru Bay between Oakura and Helena bays.

Mokorau

Mokarau Stream is on the shore of Ahipara Bay at the southern end of Ninety Mile Beach.

Motatau

A hill NW of Purua peak.

Mount Camel

Above Perpendicular Point on the northern entrance to Houhora harbour.

Mowae

A village, now lost, in the vicinity of the Waimate Mission Station.

Ngaere

Te Ngaere, opposite the Cavalli Islands.

Ngaromaki

The Bluff, on Ninety Mile Beach.

Ngaruaiti

“2½ miles from Waikino (Bay of Islands).” Not further located.

Te Ngau a te Hanehane; Te Ngautehangehange

Not located unless it is the Waiotenoanga Stream, a tributary of the Waiomio.

Ngauwaka

Colenso places this “about a mile” NNE from Toreatai, i.e. west of Maungapohatu.

Ngunguru

On the coast north of Whangarei harbour.

Nihonui, Bay of Islands

The rocky point between Pahia and Waitangi. “Paihia rae”.

Nukupure

A village on the coast between Hokianga and Whangape.

Ohawini

Whangaruru South. Ohawini Bay is at the western head of Whangaruru harbour.

Okirikaione

A part of Sandy bay north of Kaone point (see Clem Earp in *eColenso* January 2019).

Onewaka

“on the boldly-curved bank of the river Kopau (the upper part of the Kawakawa).” Not located.

Opaho

“a village about 4½ miles from the Kawakawa ... on the brow of a very high hill.” Not located.

Orauta

“about six miles distant” (from Kawakawa). The present Orauta Mission School is on the south side of the Otiria Stream at Tuhipa.

Oropa

“distant about 4 miles” (from Kawakawa). Not located.

Oruneke

“part of Oruru.” The Oruru river flows north into Doubtless Bay. Oruneke has not been located.

Otaika

“A village in Wangarei Bay.” About four miles south of Whangarei. See also Taika. Clem Earp deduces that Otaika in Colenso’s day was probably north of the current Otaika village (see *eColenso* June 2018).

Otakahia

Woolley’s Bay.

Otamatea inlet, Kaipara harbour

The Otamatea river enters the harbour almost directly opposite the harbour entrance.

Otuihu

“Otuihu was situated on the upper harbour on a bluff on the south headland of Waikare Inlet” (Bagnall & Petersen, p.64n). The pā of Pōmare I and Pōmare II, situated near Opua, possibly at the junction of the Kawakawa river and the Waikare inlet. It was rebuilt and fortified by Pōmare II, but razed by the British in 1845.

Oue

Colenso gives this as 1½ hours, about 5 miles, from Kawakawa, but it has not been further located.

Owae

Bagnall & Petersen (p. 38) place this on Helena Bay, and Colenso’s sketches appear to represent Ngawai (Teal) Bay. Clem Earp agrees but notes the spelling should be Owai (*eColenso* July 2018).

Pahi

Colenso shows Pahi east of Kawakawa.

Paihia, Bay of Islands

Colenso lived there from 31 December 1834 until 12 June 1843 when he moved to Waimate.

Pakaraka

On the main highway between Kawakawa and Ohaeawai. Colenso described it as “(Mr Edward Williams’) farm about 13 miles inland” from Paihia.

Pakaraka

Clem Earp writes that there were several Pakaraka in the Whangārei district alone, one Colenso said was at the head of the Ngunguru River

(but not otherwise located), but the main one, “10 miles from Whangarei” was in Parua Bay (*eColenso* April 2018).

Paparaumu; Paparaaumu

Bagnall & Petersen (p. 38) show this north of Owae, in the approximate position of modern Mokau on the Whangaruru harbour. Clem Earp states it was located somewhere in Ohawini Bay (*eColenso* July 2018). The name does not appear on modern maps.

Parakaraka

This is probably a misspelling of Pakaraka, and is probably the one at the head of the Ngunguru.

Paremata Hill

A high, conical hill between Whangaruru & Waikare. Paremata, 1280 feet alt., is inland from Helena Bay, Whangaruru harbour.

Paroa Bay; Paro Bay

On the south shore of the main channel of the Bay of Islands, and east of Russell.

Parua

On Parua Bay, a deep bay on the north shore of Whangarei harbour.

Pataua

“Pataua Creek, near Wangarei, E. Coast.” At the southern end of Ngunguru Bay.

Penaruku

See Punaruku.

Pihoe; Pihoi

Bagnall & Petersen (p. 38) show this at the southwest corner of modern Whangarei. Clem Earp places the pa on an elevated spot where the Presbyterian church stands, at the corner of Bank and Hunt streets.

Pitokuku

Pitokuku Point is at the southern end of the sand spit which forms the south head of Whananaki inlet.

Pohue, W̄angarei

Just a māra or garden on the shore of Whangarei harbour, location now probably lost (Clem Earp, *pers. com.* 2021).

Porokanae

A little village near Haruru, presumably on the Waitangi river, Bay of Islands.

Porua

see Purua.

Pua

On the Kawakawa river, downstream (?) from Otuihu. Presumably the modern Opuā.

Te Puke; Tepuke

Now a trig station and lookout point in the Waitangi (State Forest) National Reserve, Bay of Islands.

Pukeokui, Wāngarei

Not located but southwest of Whangarei, 1½ hours from the Wairua river, so perhaps near Waitotama.

Puketawa

“village about 7 miles distant, inland” (from Paihia). Not, therefore, today’s Puketawa.

Puketere

“A small hill....” Hukatere, about a third of the way north on Ninety Mile Beach. The spelling “Puketere” appears on the Geological Sketch Map of the Northern District of... Auckland, 1866.

Puketona

Bagnall & Petersen (p. 38) show it at the junction of the Waiaruhe and Waitangi rivers, Bay of Islands.

Tepukuotokotahu

“the next village” (after Hinukuku of the Waiomio valley).

Te Puna; Tepuna

“... was situated to the north of the Kerikeri Inlet, close to the site of the old mission station at Rangihoua.” (Bagnall & Petersen, p.144n).

Punaruku; Penaruku

On the road past Whangaruru harbour. Clem Earp places the village site as “the scattered habitations in the valley of the Punaruku stream” (*eColenso* July 2018).

Punakitere River

Punakitere river flows northeast before turning east at Ngapuhi south of Kaikohe.

Pungakoikoi

Presumably Kahokawa Beach at the northern end of Ninety Mile Beach.

Purua

A hill near the west bank of the Wairua, northwest from Whangarei.

Te Ranga; The Ranga

The high point, 315m, on the ridge between Waikare and Whangaruru.

Rangaunu River

Rangaunu harbour, the large, mangrove-filled tidal inlet north of Kaitaia.

Rangitoto

A village very near “Mokorau” on the shore of Ahipara Bay at the southern end of Ninety Mile Beach.

Raparapahoe

“Ninety Mile Beach, south of Arai, 3½–4 hours’ march from Arai.”

Ratoreka

Later referred to as “Cook’s place” it being the residence of “a man named Cook, formerly in the employ of the mission.” One of the villages near the mission station at Paihia, Bay of Islands.

Ratu

“about ½ a mile distant” (from Pihoi, Whangarei). Clem Earp writes, “Today it comprises much of the light industrial and commercial area of the city (south of Walton st to the western hills).” See *eColenso* February 2018.

Rauporua; Rauporoa

“a village about 2 miles distant” (from Kawakawa, Bay of Islands).
Not located.

Reinga,

The Cape.

Rengarenga

A headland in Sandy Bay, probably a little north of Sheltered Bay.

Rimariki Island

The biggest island off Mimiwhangata peninsula . (Clem Earp in *eColenso* January 2019).

Ripo

Probably below the confluence of the Wairoa, Wairua and Mangakahia rivers.

Te Ruakaka, Whangarei Bay

On Bream Bay, about five miles south of Marsden Point.

Te Ruatahi

An island close inshore.

Tahora

Hamlin suggests Tauwhara Bay on the coast north of Whananaki inlet but Clem Earp locates Tahora as the northern part of the beach now known as Otamure (see Clem Earp in *eColenso* January 2019).

Taiamai; Taeamai

About halfway between Waimate and Ohaeawai. “The European township which has appropriated the name (Ohaeawai) should properly be known as Toiamai” (Cowan, p68).

Taika

Otaika is about four miles south of Whangarei.

Taikumikumi

This was on the Kawakawa river, Bay of Islands, between Opaohu and Kawakawa, about half a mile from the latter, and may have been Colenso’s customary landing place for his regular missionary visits to Kawakawa and Waiomio.

Takapaukura

Near Lake Omapere and Waimate, but not located.

Takou

Takou Bay, north of the Bay of Islands.

Tamatarau

Tamatarau, on the north shore of Whangarei harbour east of Onerahi Peninsula. It was here that Colenso found the “Tamil Bell”.

Tangiteroria

On the Wairoa river, on the Dargaville–Whangarei Road and the site of Buller’s Wesleyan Mission.

Tapere

“About 8 miles from the (Paihia) Station.” On the way to Waikare, but not located.

Tarawera

“A well-fenced *pa*.” On the upper reaches of the Kawakawa river but not located.

Tauaki

Arrowsmith’s 1850 map shows Tauaki on the west bank of the Waikare river, and north of the Maungapohatu ridge. The Waikare crossing used by Colenso seems to have been near, if not at, Neketuri, which places Tauaki slightly downstream from the crossing. It is not, apparently, the Tauaki slightly north of Pinaki.

Tawenua (Hikurangi)

This corresponds either to Tauanui (351m) or Tautoro No. 2 (464m) to the west of the upper Punakitere river, and SSE of Kaikohe.

Tawhitirahi

The biggest of the Poor Knights islands.

Temateatai

Tamateatai Point is a prominent peninsula on the west side of Whangaruru harbour forming the northern side of Punaruku Estuary.

Thames

The area around the Hauraki Gulf – ie, including Auckland.

Tirohanga

Tirohanga Stream is a southern tributary of the Kawakawa river.

Titirangi

“Walked to the Waimate (from Paihia), by way of Titirangi, 15 miles.”
Not located.

Tohoranui

Tahoranui river drains into Taronui Bay at the south end of Takou Bay.

Toki Village

On Wairua river, Whangarei. Three hours upstream from Aotahi and possibly in the vicinity of modern Titoki, although this is now on the Mangakahia river branch of the Wairoa catchment.

Tongake

“The principal village of the Ngunguru District.” Bagnall & Petersen (p. 38) show it on the north head of Ngunguru river, but this would scarcely seem an hour’s journey from Tutukaka as described by Colenso.

Totara

Totara North is on the west shore of Whangaroa harbour.

Totoreka

One of the Four Islets.

Tourangatira

On the Kawakawa river but not located.

Tuarau Village

On Wangaroa river. Not located. It was presumably on the northern Whangaruru harbour.

Tupapakakurau

Tupapakurua on the Whananaki Block Map, the site of a pa (see Clem Earp in *eColenso* January 2019).

Tutaimatai

Near the north end of Whangaruru harbour, on the road to Russell.

Tutukaka harbour

About half a mile north of Ngunguru river.

Tuwatapipi Stream

Not located but described as between Waikare and Whangaruru inlet.

Umuroa

This was on the way from Paihia to Paroa Bay, and is possibly to be equated with Oneroa Bay, Bay of Islands.

Uriti

Uriti Bay is on the east side of Pomare Bay, southeast of Russell.

Wae

Owae (q.v.)

Wahapu

Te Wahapu Bay opens on to Veronica Channel northwest of Okiato, Bay of Islands.

Waiariki

Clem Earp suggests Waiariki was in the same general area as Ratu (q.v.). See *eColenso* June 2018.

Waiaruhe

The Waiaruhe river flows north to join the Waitangi at Puketona, Bay of Islands.

Waiaua

Waiaua Bay is at the northwest end of Takou Bay, north of the Bay of Islands.

Waiho River

The Waihou river, Northland, a main branch of the Hokianga.

Te Waiiti; Te Waiti

“4 miles from Pihoi.” The Te Wai-iti Stream joins Limeburners creek close to Highway 1, south of Whangarei. Clem Earp suggests the village was near “Blue Goose” on Highway 1 (*eColenso* June 2018).

Waikaraka; Te Karaka (?)

On Whangarei harbour, about 1½ miles from Tamaterau, and at the eastern base of Onerahi peninsula

Waikino

Waikino creek joins Waikare inlet east of the confluence with the Kawakawa river, Bay of Islands.

Waimate

Waimate North, on the Waimate river, west of the Bay of Islands and 3½ miles north of Ohaeawai. This was the first inland European settlement in New Zealand and Bishop Selwyn’s headquarters.

Wainui

On a small bay of the same name east of Whangaroa harbour, Northland.

Waiomio; Whaiomio

“A valley containing several villages” (of which only Hinekuru and Tapukuotokoahu are named by Colenso). In the first few instances he treats Waiomio as a village name. The Waiomio valley is almost due south of Kawakawa. From 1836, this district was Colenso’s main missionary responsibility.

Waioreore

This is described as a small village on the route between the Wairua and Kawakawa rivers. Clem Earp notes that the Waioreore river was modern Moengawahine stream and suggests the village may have been at modern Purua or a little further north (*eColenso* September 2018).

Te Wai-o-tererea

Presumably Te Rewa stream; Te Rearea pa near its mouth (Clem Earp in *eColenso* January 2019).

Waipahirere

A camping spot 2½ hours’ march south of Hukatere on Ninety Mile Beach, Northland.

Waipapa Stream

A stream named Waipapa joins the Waionepe river south of Maungatapere near Whangarei.

Waipuakakahu

“Half-way between Whangarei & Bay of Islands.” The Waipuakakaho Stream joins the Waiotu river at Waiotu, 17 miles north of Whangarei.

Wairoa River, Kaipara

Enters the northern arm of Kaipara harbour.

Wairua River

The eastern branch of the Wairoa river, Northland.

Wairua

Clem Earp notes that Colenso's map shows a specific locality and suggests it was immediately downstream from where the Wairua divides into the Whakapara and Waiotu branches, "in the crook of a large bend in this river" – or 4km further north, near Waiotu (*eColenso* September 2018).

Waitangi, Bay of Islands

The famous Treaty site opposite Russell. Colenso records numerous visits between 1835 and 1840.

Te Wāiti

See Te Wāiti.

Wakahau

Not located but "about 6 miles" from Otaika, Whangarei.

Wananaki; Wananake Range; Wananake Bay

Whananaki, on the north head of Whananaki inlet, Northland.

Wangai

The Whangae river enters the Kawakawa river near the mouth on the west side. The locality of Whangae is inland considerably to the west, beyond the watershed of the river. Colenso was presumably referring to the river or to a village near its mouth.

Wangape

Wangape on the harbour of the same name between Herekino and Hokianga harbours, to the south of the Ninety Mile Beach.

Wangarei

Modern Whangarei, but, as in other instances, it is not clear whether Colenso refers to a settlement or a district. Clem Earp writes that the name was used for the general area (not then a settlement or village), or the harbour, or even as the Māori name for Bream Bay (*eColenso* February 2018).

Wangaroa Harbour

Wangaroa harbour, the deep inlet between Doubtless Bay and Bay of Islands.

Wangaroa River, Wangaruru District

No longer so named. Clem Earp writes that this name appears to have been supplanted by the modern Ngaiotonga (whose cemetery is still named Whangaroa). *eColenso* July 2018.

Wangaruru

On the west side of Whangaruru harbour, south of the Bay of Islands.

Wangaruru Bay

Whangaruru harbour, south of Bay of Islands. The upper reaches of the harbour, known as Whangaruru inlet, are referred to by Colenso as the Wangaroa river.

Wararunui, Wararuiti

Apparently the two beaches south of Whananaki.

Wareora

Whareora, east of Whangarei.

Warengarahū

“A romantically situated hamlet on the side of a hill” (between Opaoho and Kawakawa, but not located).

Te Wau

Te Whau point, the western headland of Blockhouse Bay.

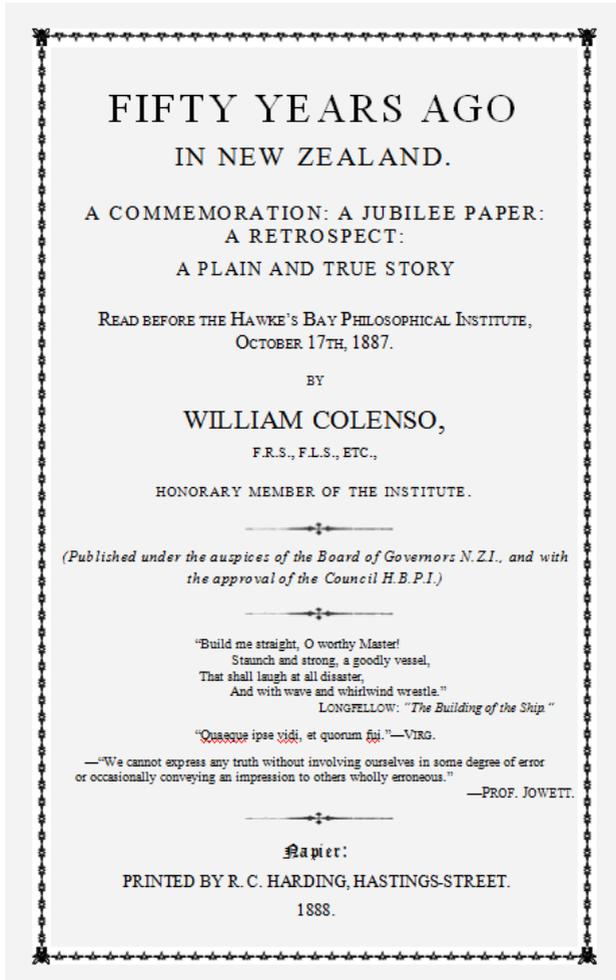
Te Werahi River

This river reaches Sandy Bay between Cape Reinga and Cape Maria van Diemen.

Whauwhauroa

Probably, from Colenso’s description, the inlet between Paihia and Haruru.

Appendix B: Fifty years ago in New Zealand.¹⁸¹



181 In 1887, the 50th year of Queen Victoria's reign, Colenso celebrated by writing a memoir of his own activities 50 years earlier.

FIFTY YEARS AGO IN NEW ZEALAND.

A Jubilee Paper.

§ 1. PRELIMINARY.

THIS present year of grace—1887, has been, is, and will be long-known as, the marked “Jubilee” year; probably more so than any Jubilee that has ever preceded it since time began! This arises, mainly, from the fact of its ubiquity, or universal dissemination and observance, more or less throughout the whole globe. We here in New Zealand, the most distant of all the Colonies of the British Empire, situated at the very antipodes,—we have done our best in joining with thankfulness and acclaim in the carrying-out of the Jubilee of Her Majesty our most gracious Queen Victoria.

And in doing so the question has more than once arisen in my mind, whether we (or more strictly speaking, I) have not also a Jubilee to observe, to commemorate? Indeed, all of us who have passed the fiftieth Birthday have such a private Jubilee; which is stronger still when those who can do so (as in the case of Her Majesty), can look back over the long vista of fifty years of active life; and this is still further strengthened, when, in so looking back, we can specify some peculiar useful public work undertaken and completed for the benefit of the people fifty years ago;—especially when such was begun and carried on and finished under singular trials and hardships and difficulties.

As I have reasons for believing, that I am the only one present who has dwelt more than fifty years in this country, I trust I shall be permitted to say at the commencement, (and, in so doing, to meet and cut short all anticipation and conjecture,)—that I do not intend to speak specially of that—my arrival in this land,—in this paper. The Jubilee, or fifty years commemoration of that time, expired nearly three years ago, and was then duly though privately observed by me; as well as a few others since,—special goals or landmarks of [4]

some important epochs in my life now nearly drawing to its close; a select few of the more important of them I may briefly mention: viz.—

In the year 1835, the printing of the *first* book in New Zealand.

In the same year, the printing of the first *English* book.

In the same year (Dec. 25), meeting with the celebrated *Darwin* in the Bay of Islands, and spending a happy long day with him.

In 1836, the commencement of the printing the New Testament in *Maori*.

Having so far cleared the way, I may now state that my present Jubilee paper is intended to commemorate more particularly the completion of the printing of the New Testament in the Maori tongue at Paihia in the Bay of Islands in the year 1837—fifty years ago! an event that caused a great sensation at the time, both in New Zealand and at Home, (although now, in part, forgotten,) and one that was productive of incalculable good to the Maori race: together with the introduction of the Printing-Press into this country; and also, the gradual formation of its present written Maori language;—with many peculiar and little-known circumstances pertaining to those prehistoric times, and incidental thereto.

And as I have had necessarily a prominent part (active or passive) in almost every successional item or subject that I have to bring before you, I trust, in my endeavouring to fairly and faithfully narrate the same, I shall not be deemed egotistical.

§ 2. INTRODUCTORY.

In the year 1833, the Church Missionary Society, having determined to send out a Printing Press and types and all necessary *materiel* to their mission in New Zealand, were seeking a Missionary Printer to be in charge. In the end of that

year, I, then residing in London, was introduced to the Secretaries of that Society at their Mission house, and engaged to go out to New Zealand with the Press as a Missionary.

For various reasons matters were not soon ready; and it was June, 1834, before we left London for Sydney, New South Wales, *en route* for New Zealand. During the long interval, (after my return from the Country in the Spring,) I was frequently at the large printing [5] establishment of Messrs. Watts and Son, near Temple Bar, about the necessary requirements, (their types, &c, being all cast at their own foundry within the same building,) but all directions, orders, &c, respecting the same, were given by the Under-Secretaries of the Mission-House to that firm without any reference to me. Well do I remember the answers that were returned to my repeated applications for an Imposing-stone, and for page-record, (not to mention other things,)— “What! ‘Coals to Newcastle’!! In that country where the New Zealand Flax grows everywhere wild, and the Natives are all adepts at making such beautiful lines and cords! and where the handsome Greenstone abounds!!!”—I briefly mention this here, as its sure results followed.—After a long passage of seventeen weeks our ship arrived at Sydney.

Here I make a short digression. What a difference! between the Sydney of that period and of to-day!! Then there was no steamer on her waters, and but few ships! then there were only three clergymen of the Church-of-England residing in all Australia;—two of them (the Reverends Messrs Cowper and Hill) in Sydney, and the Rev. S. Marsden at Paramatta. In order to get through their fixed Sunday (or weekly) duties, those Sydney Ministers were obliged to commence them on Saturday afternoons. During my stay in Sydney I assisted them as well as I could.

As no vessel could be found willing to leave for New Zealand, owing to their fear of the Maoris, we were obliged to

remain eight or nine weeks at Sydney. At last, after much entreaty, a small schooner of 67 tons was got ready, and we sailed on the 10th December for the Bay of Islands. After a long and eventful voyage of twenty days, (suffering much from want of water, as well as from a complication of *peculiar* miseries!) we landed at Paihia Mission Station in the Bay of Islands, at 9 p.m. on the 30th December; and in the following few days got the Press, type, &c, safely on shore.

§ 3. THE PRESS IN NEW ZEALAND.

1835. Jan. 3. On this day we got the Press and heavy boxes of type securely landed; the lighter packages, including Bookbinders' standing- and cutting-presses, and tools, having previously been taken on shore. It was a very difficult matter to land the [6] printing-press safely, from the bulk and weight of the iron "*staple*" (it being a large Stanhope Press), and the vessel out at anchor in the harbour, with no wharf nor good landing-place, merely the natural sandy beach open to the ocean; the passenger-boats of the Mission Station being far too light, and the Maori canoes too small and crank,¹⁸² at last we managed it, by lashing two canoes together and so making a deck or platform on them, and working early in the morning before the sea-breeze began. The boxes of type would have been opened on board, but as the little vessel, owing to her novelty, was continually crowded by Maoris, (all of whom were very wild and rough, and some of them not very friendly,) it was thought the parcels of type might be seized for making musket-balls, then in very great demand. It was a matter of very great rejoicing to us when all our precious stores were safely on shore and without loss.

Speaking practically, however, our rejoicing was of short duration; for on unpacking the goods and stores I found many necessary articles to be absolutely wanting! For the

182 crank = liable to heel over.

information of Printers I will just set down a few of them; though I almost fear my relation will scarcely be believed. There was no wooden furniture of any kind, nor quoins, (cast-metal furniture, so common now, not being then in use,) no galleys, no cases, no leads of any size, no brass rule, no composing-sticks, (save a private one of my own that I had bought two years before in London, a most fortunate circumstance!) no inking-table, no potash, no lye-brushes, no mallet and shooter, no roller-irons and stock, though there was a massy cast-iron roller mould, and (as I have already intimated) no imposing-stone nor page-cord; and, worst of all, actually *no printing paper!!* Moreover, in those days, as things then were, none of these missing articles could be obtained from England in a less time than eighteen months! while they might possibly be got from Sydney in six or eight months.—

Such was the state of things at the setting-up of the Press in New Zealand! At first, and for some considerable time, we hazarded the hope that the deficient printing stores, especially the large bales of paper, might have been left in the Agent's warehouses at Sydney, where the Press and types and Binding-tools had been long stored; but time revealed that such was not the case. Fortunately I found a handy Joiner in the Bay, who soon made me two or three pairs of [7] type-cases for the printing office after a plan of my own. For as the Maori language contained only 13 letters (half the number in the English alphabet), I contrived my cases so, as to have both Roman and Italic characters in the *one* pair of cases; not distributing the remaining 13 letters (consonants) used in the compositing of English, such not being wanted.¹⁸³ My Joiner

183 WC: I may here observe, in a note, that such an arrangement proved to be a very good one while my compositing was confined to the Maori language only; but when I had any English copy to compose it was altogether the reverse! then I had to pick out the discarded English consonants as required from their lots put up in paper parcels. Fortunately this occurred but rarely; except at the time of the Treaty of

also made me a few galleys, and a small inking-table, and some furniture and quoins,—these last, however, were wretched things (partly owing to the want of proper and seasoned wood,) and gave me an enormous amount of labour, vexation and trouble!

§ 4. THE LOCATION OF THE PRESS.

The sudden arrival of the Printing-press in New Zealand, took the resident Missionaries at the Paihia Station by surprise. It is true they had asked for it from the Society, and the Society had promised to supply their wants, but no time was, or could have been fixed, and communication between them was very rare and irregular—about once a year. And during our long sojourn in Sydney we had no means of communicating with New Zealand. Paihia is a small flat on the sea-side, about half a mile long, having a sandy beach in front, a bold rocky headland at each end, and a steep hill at the back; in calm weather there is good landing from boats on the beach, but not so at other times. At this date there were three Missionaries with their wives and families living here,—the Rev. H. Williams, the Rev. W. Williams, and Mr. C. Baker; they resided in three separate and rather large houses, which with their houses for domestics, Carpenter's and Blacksmith's shops, and store-houses, and the Mission Chapel and Infants' School-house in the middle, composed the buildings of the Mission Station, making quite a little village. Fortunately it happened that a large and well-lighted room, [8] being one semi-detached wing of the house occupied by Mr. Baker, was just now empty; this room had been hitherto used as a schoolroom for the sons of the Missionaries; but it was now the holiday season, and many of the lads had gone home to

Waitangi, (1840,) when I had necessarily much printing work to do for the Government of the Colony; and having no extra cases, was obliged to place the letters required in little lots on tables, and on the floor!—(See Note A, Appendix.)

their parents, and that School for the future was to be carried on at the inland Mission Station—Te Waimate. Therefore the press was at once located in this empty room, for the time at least. And though, subsequently, there was much debate, and even decisions arrived at, by the Committee of Missionaries respecting its speedy removal;—1st, to the spacious two-story stone building at the Kerikeri Mission Station, built for a general store for the Church Mission, of which all the facing stones were brought from Sydney;¹⁸⁴ and, 2nd, to a new building to be forthwith constructed for it at Te Waimate, (of which the framework was subsequently erected, and then blown down in a gale,) yet, nevertheless, it remained in this room, for a few years, and in this room the New Testament (with several other books) was composited and printed.

And here I should also mention the reasons which swayed the Committee of Missionaries respecting the future and fixed location of the Press, these were chiefly three:—1. to be near to the Editor of the New Testament, the Rev. W. Williams, who was soon to remove to the inland station at Te Waimate;—2. to be away from the constant interruption pertaining to a Station at the Harbour;—3. to be safe from Maori inroad and pillage; (this last had reference to the types, as Maori Chiefs had passed significant remarks on inspecting them and handling the big quadrats and *Canon* size capital letters; and the Bay tribes were in a very unsettled state, talking of going to war among themselves; this state of things was the main cause for removing the Press to the large and strong stone building at the Kerikeri station).

§ 5. THE PRINTING OF THE FIRST BOOK.

As all parties both European (Missionaries) and Maori were very desirous of seeing something printed, it was arranged, (1) that the Missionaries at Paihia should supply

184 WC: See Note B, Appendix.

some writing-paper for that purpose from their small private stores: (2) that the *first* sheet from the Press should be a portion of the New Testament and printed in [9] book form: (3) that as it must necessarily be, under all the circumstances, some small book, it should be the Epistles to the Ephesians and the Philippians, which the Rev. W. Williams (afterwards, Archdeacon, and also Bishop of Waiapu, and one of the founders of this auxiliary branch of the New Zealand Institute,) had lately finished translating into Maori; so, on the 17th of February, 1835, I pulled proofs of the first book printed in New Zealand; the Printing-office being filled with spectators to witness the performance. And on the 21st of the month, twenty-five corrected copies were printed and stitched and cut round for the Missionaries; their wives kindly furnishing a few sheets of pink blotting-paper from their desks wherewith to form coloured paper covers for these tracts; which, of course had first to be pasted on to stronger paper. This little book was in post 8vo., Long-Primer type, and consisted of 16 pages in double columns. For leads I was driven to the miserable substitute of pasting paper together, and drying and cutting it up! not being able to obtain any card or cardboard. My good Joiner (always willing to assist) tried his hand at making reglet, but was obliged to give it up. And not being able to manufacture a roller, from want of the proper materials, I was obliged to do my best with a small make-shift "ball" of my own contriving. I may add, that of this little first pamphlet, 2000 copies were ultimately printed, some folio post writing-paper having been found at the large Central Mission Store at the Kerikeri Station.

**§ 6. REMOVAL OF THE EDITOR AND CHIEF TRANSLATOR
TO TE WAIMATE, A DISTANT MISSION STATION: HIS
SEPARATION FROM THE PRESS.**

Not long after the printing of the first book, in the autumn of that same year, the Rev. W. Williams, his wife and family,

removed from Paihia (where they had resided for several years) to Te Waimate Mission Station, inland. At that time there was no resident clergyman at that place, nor nearer than Paihia (a long day's journey); besides he was now stationed there by the Committee of Missionaries, to conduct the large boarding-school of the sons of the Missionaries, which was to be carried on there for the future. I mention this circumstance, as it separated (in distance) the chief [10] Translator and Editor of the New Testament from the Press, which proved to be a great disadvantage, and serious hindrance to the carrying on and early completion of the work. At first, however, it was determined to build a large printing-office at Te Waimate; and in time the framework of the same was erected there;¹⁸⁵ but as sawn timber was not easily procurable (though in the midst of *kauri* forests), the work was delayed, and eventually it came to nothing.

§ 7. OF TE WAIMATE STATION, AND THE ROAD THERETO.

Here I should briefly mention the geographical position of those two places or Mission Stations. Paihia (as I have already shown) was on the immediate sea-shore; Te Waimate was about half-way across the island, between the Bay of Islands and the head of the Hokianga river; not very many miles distant (perhaps sixteen) in a direct line from Paihia; but in those days of no roads nor bridges, and scarcely even a Maori track between the two Stations, it was considered a good day's journey (on foot of course,) from the one Station to the other; a portion of the way being circuitous by the sea-shore made the distance to be more than twenty miles. There were also two uninviting places to be crossed; the one at Whauwhauroa, a broad muddy estuary lined by mangroves, unfordable save at low-water or nearly so, and then only by stripping and slowly and cautiously finding one's way with a

185 WC: It was to be a two-story building, and not long after erection was blown down by a violent storm and never re-erected.

long pole, wading through deep tidal mud;¹⁸⁶ and the other the big river Waiaruhe, equally impassable after rains, which also, a little lower down from the ford in its course, forms the Waitangi waterfall. Indeed this, the nearer way, was so very bad, that Mr. Williams, his wife and family, and his goods, all went by the much longer and roundabout one,—across the Bay and up the long Kerikeri river in boats, and thence to Te Waimate by a track over the high open land,—which altogether might occupy three days. [11]

§ 8. OF OTHER MATTERS PRINTED IN 1835.

Having obtained a small supply of folio post writing paper from the Mission Store at Kerikeri (all there was!)—1000 copies of the Gospel of St. Luke, 67 pages, post 8vo., were printed and bound during this year. Also, some Proclamations and Circulars for the British Resident, in both English and Maori, respecting the arrival and assumption of the Baron de Thierry and his party; and of the murderous night attempt on the life of the British Resident by a Maori, which, for some time, caused great sensation.¹⁸⁷ Some hundreds of old Maori books, (of the small 4to. edition printed at Sydney in 1833,) much worn, very dirty and ragged! were also strongly bound.—

§ 9. OF AN INKING-TABLE AND IMPOSING-STONE.

I had found it a difficult matter to get on without an iron Inking-table, but the want of an Imposing-stone was a far more serious one. For the former, I had substituted a small wooden table (14 x 28 in.), the top made out of a broad plank of a hardwood tree that grew on the cliffs near by, (Pohutukawa = *Metrosideros tomentosa*;) for the latter I had

186 WC: Sometimes, but rarely, a visitor or traveller would be taken thither in a boat from Paihia at high water to the landing place on the opposite shore.

187 WC: See Note C, Appendix.

no other alternative than to use the iron “table” of the Printing-press; this was anything but pleasant, but there was no help for it! On my early rowing up the Kerikeri river, I had noticed the many black basaltic boulder-stones of various sizes, fantastically scattered and piled and even ranged in natural rows in many places; and I thought that one of them might be made to serve and do good service if it could be cut. This was eventually done by Mr. Edmonds, (a Catechist of the Church Missionary Society, residing at the Kerikeri Station, who, at Home, in England, was a stonemason by trade.) although when a fitting size block was found at last, and conveyed to the Station, it took him a long time to cut it into two parts (after having been trimmed and squared) through the stone itself being so excessively hard, and his not having any proper appliances for the purpose. And when cut and their surfaces smoothed they were found to possess several scattered vesicular cells, which had to be filled up with cement. Still, they were a useful pair of stones, and when, at last! (in March, 1837,) I got them brought [12] down in our little Mission Cutter (Te Karere) from the Kerikeri Station, and also got them mounted on frame with drawers, made at Kororareka (now Russell) by my joiner, I felt happy and thought I was rich! This is the first, perhaps the only, instance, of a pair of large Imposing-stones made out of a boulder of basalt, and therefore I relate it, I often heard the remark, that the cutting alone of those two stones cost the Church Missionary Society, on the lowest calculation, considerably more than £20; of course they were both from one block sawn asunder, and roughly squared and trimmed on their outsides, and very thick!—

§ 10. PRINTING THE FIRST ENGLISH BOOK AND PLACARD.

On May 19th, 1836, the first English book was printed at the New Zealand Mission Press; a small unpretentious book of eight pages, post 8vo., containing the first “Report of the

New Zealand Temperance Society.” Placards also in English, and the first ever printed in New Zealand, calling a Public Meeting to establish the said Society, were printed and circulated the month before.—

§ 11. THE COMMENCEMENT OF PRINTING THE NEW TESTAMENT.

(“Opus manuum nostrarum dirige.”)

We had heard of the arrival at Sydney of our long-looked for supplies of paper and printing materials from England; therefore, on the 23rd of March, 1836, (having recently received a few sheets of first “copy” from the Editor,¹⁸⁸) I commenced compositing the New Testament. It was long, however, before we received those necessary supplies from Sydney; so that I did not commence printing the Testament until the 23rd of June,—and then *alone*, without any assistant! (A MEMORABLE DAY AND TIME WITH ME!) It had been already decided by the Committee of Missionaries, that the New Testament should be of demy 8vo. size, and in Small-Pica letter, and should consist of 5000 copies: (4000 had been at first fixed on, but at the very earnest request of the Wesleyan Missionaries, 1000 additional copies for them was added thereto.) Finding I was advancing very slowly, and the work long and heavy, I engaged three steady [13] Christian Maoris, (adult and tattooed chiefs from Te Kawakawa,) Andrew, Joseph, and Hamo, to work as pressmen. But while, at first, willing to learn and to work (*in their way*), they caused me so much trouble and anxiety, and also loss, (besides their getting to dislike the work, as being wholly unsuitable to their habits, there was so much standing, and that too in one place,) that I was obliged to dismiss them and to do without them, and go on, as before, *alone!* The youthful Maoris of that day would not work at all, and could not be trusted. Indeed I had tried some sharp intelligent Maori youths (sons of neighbouring

188 WC: His kind note which came with them is so characteristic of him, that I am tempted to make an extract from it. —See Note D, Appendix.

and friendly chiefs) during the past year to roll the forms, while engaged in printing the gospel of St. Luke, and some other smaller works; but they soon got tired and left me, just as they were severally becoming useful; this was in a great measure owing to their being obliged to stand so long in one spot at their work.¹⁸⁹ As a bit of curiosity I may mention, that the wages I paid to those three men, as agreed upon between us, was 3s. each per week, and their food,—this latter mainly consisting of potatoes and other edible roots of Maori cultivating. Three were engaged, as while two (in turn) worked at Press, the third did the simple cooking, getting water, shell-fish and firewood.—

“All service ranks the same with God—
With God, whose puppets, best and worst,
Are we: there is no last or first.” —

Browning.

§ 12. OF THE PECULIAR HINDRANCES TO THE PROGRESS OF THE WORK.

Here, I think, I should briefly mention the hindrances or obstacles in the way of carrying on this important work; for unless I do so, such would not be known, nor even guessed at. These were many, and may be classed under three main heads; viz. (1) on the side of the Editor: (2) on the side of the Press and Printer: (3) Sundry.

I. *Those on the side of the Editor, were:*—(1) His own heavy and constant daily public duties, besides those appertaining to his own growing family, arising from his being the only Clergyman at that Station, and indeed in the whole North inland District, extending from Mangakahia on the South to Kaitaia the most Northern Station: [14] (2) from his being the Master and the only Teacher in the Mission Boarding-school for boys: (3) from his being the only resident Doctor and Surgeon in those parts: and (4) from his residing

189 WC: See Note E, Appendix.

so far away from the Press, with which he could only have distant, precarious and irregular communication,—scarcely on the average of once a fortnight; and then only by special messenger, and not unfrequently at some risk.—

II. *Those on the side of the Printer and the Press.*—These were also manifold, heavy and unceasing. For, in addition to those of his own separate department of the Printing-office and Binding room, (in two houses far apart,)—all of which had to be performed by him alone; there were the common daily public duties of the Mission Station, of which he had to bear his share. The rule of the station was, that out of the three resident Missionaries, comprising the Rev. H. Williams and Messrs C. Baker and W. Colenso, one was always to remain at the Station; this was absolutely necessary on account, of visitors, both Maori and settlers in the Bay, and also foreigners from ships at anchor; and my own particular duty in the Printing-office confining me at the Station during week-days, a larger share of the home or Station duties frequently devolved on me. Besides I alone had the charge of the Surgery, the attending to patients, and the making-up and issuing of Medicines; occasionally informing Rev. W. Williams of severe and peculiar cases for my guidance. My daily week-day duty commenced with early morning Maori prayers in the chapel, and adult male school in the open air in its grounds when fine, when showery in the chapel, and the keeping the roll and books of the School; that over, to return to my house and prepare and get my breakfast, and then to the Printing-office or Binding-room according to what work might be in hand. Then there was the warehousing work, (viz. the receiving of paper and other printing stores, the packing and sending off of books &c., to the different Mission Stations,) also the keeping of the accounts of the Printing-office, both for receipt and expenditure of material and money, including periodical returns both for the Committee of Missionaries in New Zealand and for the Parent Society; and

not unfrequently the tiresome jobs of bartering with the Maoris, for potatoes and other edible roots, maize, pigs, fish &c., &c, which necessarily took up a great deal of time, so much of it being *new* to me! and the Maoris [15] utterly regardless of the value or the waste of time; and also twice a week attending to the delivery of rations, and many other necessary and common things in daily use: the “rations” included the cutting-up and weighing out of pigs (pork), weighing out of potatoes, flour, rice, &c., &c., for the Mission families and the inmates of the European Girls’ Boarding-school (approaching 50 persons¹⁹⁰), also for all the Maori domestics and workmen of the Station, in number about another 50. This work, however, for some time, was mainly undertaken by Mr. Baker when at home and well, before that he removed to Waikare Station. Of course there was also the cooking to be attended to,—another heavy item with me, as it included the making of bread; (no Bakers, nor Butchers either, then in the land!) this was mostly done by me on Saturday afternoons. The having to go to-and-fro so very often daily, from my dwelling-house to the Printing-office, situate far apart, was another item causing great loss of time,—to say the least of it. Then, at night, was the learning the language, (&c, &c, mainly, if not only, to be obtained from oral intercourse with the Maoris.

Sundays, also, were my heavy days of work; on these there was no rest for me. Indeed my duties on Sundays were generally heavier than on weekdays; whether it was my turn to remain at the Station—to hold Divine Services there, or to go out to the Maori villages to do so. *If at the Station*,—then there were invariably (weather permitting) four or five Church-of-England services; four at the Mission Station, viz. two in Maori, early morning and evening, and two in English at 11 a.m. and 3 p.m., which several of the more respectable

190 WC: Both of the two senior resident Missionaries had very large families, nearly one dozen of children in each.

English settlers residing on the opposite shore of the Bay, together with the British Resident (Mr James Busby) his lady and family usually attended weather permitting, and frequently captains or officers and a few men from ships; and, also, at 2 p. m., at Kororareka (now Russell) on the opposite shore of the harbour, to which place we always went in our boats, the only mode of communication; usually the Missionary who had taken the two morning services at the Station had to cross over to Kororareka and take the two afternoon Services there, (one in English and one in Maori,) besides [16] visiting the sick Maoris, &c, and then late in the evening take the Station Maori Service on his return, (this last often performed in excessive weariness!) *If away from the Station*,—at Kawakawa, or at Waikare, (or at some of the other Maori villages on the shores of the Bay,) then in order to get there in time and with the tide, (always some hours pull or sail,) I often had to leave the Mission Station by sunrise or earlier, and return at 8 or 9 p. m., hungry and completely worn out! and that partly through travelling some miles over hilly country on foot, after landing from my boat, to get to the Maoris at their several villages: sometimes, when wind or tide or both against us, I have not been able to get back to the Station till midnight, or early morning, after pulling perhaps six or seven hours!—I ought not to omit to mention the good praiseworthy conduct of my young Maori rowers, &c, *at such times* of trial; but in order to obtain it, or to keep it up, one must ever be in a good humour! at such seasons not always an easy matter.

III. *Sundry*:—To those already mentioned must also be added certain abrupt obstacles of another kind, often of a very serious nature, which could neither be foreseen or provided for; as, for instance:—

1. The state of the weather; for if wet, (heavy rain which sometimes lasted two or three days,) especially in winter,—the young Maori messenger could not well perform the

journey on foot, whether to or from Te Waimate; besides we all knew, from sad experience, that the Maoris were careless and prone to sleep in their wet clothing, especially when tired and in a strange place, which frequently ended in consumption. And just so it was for a few days after heavy rain, as the big river Waiaruhe would then be flooded and impassable at the only landing-place, its current too, at such times being very strong: Europeans have been drowned there.¹⁹¹

2. The dislike Maoris always had to travel alone to any distance. This was a national feeling and not to be wondered at nor trifled with. At the same time they frequently paddled singly in their small canoes many miles up and down the rivers and estuaries of the Bay, when they could see around them for some distance and so be free from surprises. We generally had a pretty large number of Maoris [17] dwelling with us at the Mission Station, but most of them (sometimes all) had come thither from other and distant tribes to be taught in our schools; and these strangers could not be sent on any such journeys, over the lands &c, of other tribes, who might have been their deadly enemies in the past, or have some grudge still unavenged; neither could they have been induced to go.

3. The uncertain capriciousness of the Maoris (in those days), rarely ever to be depended on for coming at the time appointed; the one engaged as a messenger being continually liable to be called away, or to turn aside, or to loiter, and be almost sure, after he had arrived at the place to which he was sent, and delivered his packet, to want to rest for a few days, or to visit some relative or clansman in the neighbourhood, where he would while away two or three days or more; indeed, to do so, would often be the real ground of his going as a messenger.

191 WC: See Note F, Appendix.

4. The interruption occasioned by travelling or voyaging parties of Maoris coming peacefully or otherwise to the Station, and which for the time upset, or put a stop to, all regular occupation; not unfrequently causing the Missionaries and their Maori residents and domestics to be on the *qui vive!*¹⁹² Here, also, must be placed the interruptions caused by unexpected European visitors,—as by the Captains and officers of Ships of war; the last visit to the Station and New Zealand of the Rev. S. Marsden and his suite, &c, &c.¹⁹³

5. Also, in stormy weather, the hauling up of all our boats and canoes on to the high bank above the sea-beach as a place of safety; and, again, the saving of the few head of cattle belonging to the Station from being lost in the neighbouring swamps, into which they sometimes ventured in quest of food, and could not extricate themselves.

6. And lastly, during the year 1837, great and serious and long-continued hindrances arose, owing to the Ngapuhi tribes in the Bay of Islands fighting among themselves; this was their last battle—or series of battles, for it continued several months, during which many on both sides were killed and wounded.¹⁹⁴ Of course this sad unsettled hostile state of things proved to be a great hindrance to any communication by a single Maori messenger between the two Mission Stations.
[18]

§13. THE PRINTING OF THE NEW TESTAMENT—*continued.*

To return: My three Maori neophyte pressmen having left me, and of course taken back with them to their *pa* (village) and people a full and particular account of the many disagreeables inseparable from this new and wonderful art of printing there was no longer any hope of fresh Maoris in their place (nor did I wish to have any more,) so on their leaving

192 WC: See Note G, Appendix.

193 WC: See Note H.

194 WC: See Note I.

me in August, I was obliged to carry on my heavy work *alone*, and that very slowly; what served to make it worse, and to embitter it, were my many interruptions and extra burdens,—not a few of which might have been lessened if not avoided: (my feelings at that critical period I will not attempt to give).—Thus it continued till the middle of November, when I accidentally fell in with two young pressmen on board of an American whale ship, and as they were desirous of leaving their ship I engaged them; their names were Henry Mann and John Bevan; and as these men had worked as pressmen in America I record their names as my first trained helpers in the work of the printing the New Testament. Unfortunately, however, they only remained with me until near the end of January, 1837, (just nine weeks,) when they left. No doubt the isolation and quiet of the Mission Station, and the great difficulty of their getting any needful supplies, (save the common rations already mentioned,) had much to do with their leaving me; they were quiet industrious men. I may also mention, that their wages were, each 5/- per day, and they worked 5½ days a week. This latter their own choice, as they spent the Saturday afternoon attending to their own private matters; also in going across the harbour, when fine, in one of my boats, to the Storekeepers on the opposite side, about three miles distant, to purchase stores.

Here I should state, that the American whale ships (which at that period came frequently into the Bay of Islands to obtain supplies) were always manned with a very different class of men to those of our English ships. The crew of the American ships were not usually trained sailors, but young workmen of almost all trades; men who, tired of their occupation, or desirous of seeing the world, or of going on a voyage of adventure and sport, engaged on board of those ships; yet they generally worked well together there, and seemed happy;—I had several opportunities of observing them in my [19] visiting those ships, where I sometimes

partook of their free and kind hospitality. Once more, being left, I carried on *alone*; and this continued about a month; when, on 23rd February, I again met with two more American pressmen on board of one of the American whalers at anchor in the Bay, and they being willing I engaged them. Their names were James Powell and Charles Upham; the former remained with me scarcely five months, leaving in July; but the latter remained until the printing of the New Testament was completed, in December, 1837.—They were both very quiet industrious steady men; it was even a rare thing to hear them talk! Upham in particular was a very peculiar man, a thorough American, even to the chewing of tobacco! and a good quiet steady hard-working fellow; excessively quaint in his few remarks made at intervals. The wages I paid these two men were, at first, the same as to the two former pressmen, 5/- per day; but after a short time, at their own request, their pay was altered to 25 cents, or 1/- each per “token,” (10 quires = ½-ream,) besides which, as they could not be always at press-work, they were paid 12 cents, or 6d per hour for other work connected with the Printing-office and Binding-room, and Warehouse,—as, in drying, and pressing, and folding the sheets, &c.; but would never do anything in the way of distributing type, and even if a letter should be drawn out, or be broken in their working-off the forms, (which sometimes though rarely did happen,) they would not, or more properly could not well, replace it; and spoiled paper (if any) they had to pay for,—which, however, did not amount to much. Upham worked alone at Press for a period of six months, after his companion left, (always a disagreeable and slow process for *one* person,) and, of course, from that time he was paid 2/- per “token.” He was a very good and trusty pressman, and kept the “colour” well up, and his rollers, &c, in nice working order. During the whole of the time they continued with me they never once got into altercation or trouble with the Maoris.—

§ 14. COMPLETION OF PRINTING THE NEW TESTAMENT.

The printing of the New Testament, consisting of 356 pages, being at last accomplished by the middle of December, 1837,—a [20] cause of great rejoicing with me! (and also many others who were in eager expectation of receiving a copy;)—the next step was to get the books bound. By dint of steady persevering labour I was enabled to finish binding a few copies in calf on the 30th December, for distribution to the Missionaries on the approaching 1st January, 1838, as a New Year's Gift; which was heartily welcomed with many thanks and correspondingly valued by them. Now the demand for copies became great beyond expression, from all parts of New Zealand where the Missionaries were known, or to which Christianity had extended; finding it impossible for only myself—unassisted—to get them bound fast enough, (and there were plenty of other useful and needful works awaiting publication,) the Committee of Missionaries met, and I was instructed to send a quantity to Sydney, in lots of 500 at a time, to be bound there; having first arranged with a Sydney firm as to price, &c. These were all bound in cloth, but were not so strongly and carefully bound as those which I also bound in linen cloth at Paihia. And as it was well-known, that the Maoris valued more highly an article they had paid for, than one given to them, it was also decided that the book should be sold, and the price fixed for it was 4/-,—a rather large sum in those days for the Maoris to raise, (as they received but a very low price for all their articles of barter, which, as a matter of course, was very rarely ever paid in coin,) at the same time many copies were given away. The 1000 copies in sheets were soon handed over, as promised, to the Wesleyan Missionaries residing at Hokianga, who sent them to England to be bound.

§ 15. NOTICE OF SOME PLEASING OCCURRENCES, SHOWING THE HIGH VALUE SET BY THE MAORIS ON THE BOOK.

Many remarkable incidents happened at this time, showing the extreme value placed by the Christian and well-disposed Maori Chiefs on the Sacred Volume; all of them would prove highly interesting; one or two I will briefly mention. The powerful Chief of Kaitaia, (near Ahipara and the North Cape,) Panakareao, (afterwards Baptized and named Nopera = Noble,) wrote me a letter for a single copy; and in order that it should arrive the more dignified, he sent it all the way by a special messenger, (a long journey of several days through a wild and little-known dense untravelled forest,) and with [21] it he sent me *£1 in gold* for payment, strictly limiting his request to *one* copy only! It was *the first* sovereign I ever saw with a Maori, or in this Country, (indeed, silver coin also was very scarce, rarely seen or used,¹⁹⁵) and the letter and the gold were well-secured being wrapped-up in folds of cloth, and bound and worn turban-fashion night and day on his head. And as not many of the principal Maori Chiefs or their sons could then write, many of them travelled on foot and barefooted to Paihia, from very great distances, to obtain a copy; at the same time running no small risks in their doing so, owing to the unsettled unavenged old feuds which still existed. Several distinguished early foreign visitors also got single copies by asking,—as the Bishop of Australia, Admiral du Petit Thouars of the French Navy, Capts. P.P. King, and Harding of the British Navy, Commodore Wilkes of the American Exploring Expedition, &c. &c.—In line, and in spite of the utmost care, the whole edition went away so fast, that a new edition of 5000 copies, in 12mo., was speedily printed in England by the British and Foreign Bible Society.

195 WC: See Note J, Appendix.

**§ 16. FOREIGN CONGRATULATIONS ON THE SUCCESSFUL
PERFORMANCE OF THE WORK: THIS EDITION OF THE NEW
TESTAMENT THE FIRST PUBLISHED IN THE SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE.**

Among the number of kind congratulatory letters I received from many and distinct quarters abroad, on the finishing of the New Testament, I may be allowed to give an extract from a high official one written by the Clerical Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, the Rev. William Jowett,—a good man! his letter is truly *sui generis* and highly characteristic of the writer.

“Church Missionary House, London,
December 17th, 1838.

“Dear Mr. Colenso,

* * * * “I desire to turn your thoughts to the peculiarly useful (and therefore honourable) department which you *do* occupy. The sight of that New Testament in the Native language, which you have been privileged to carry through the Press, is such a sight as fills my heart with indescribable joy. Think now to what great ends it is capable of becoming instrumental. Preachers will preach from [22] it: Families will conduct family-worship by it: Conversations innumerable will be held upon it: it will help private self-examination: it will help those who conduct examinations of the professing Native Christians: it will be for private meditation and prayer: it is the Standard of Wisdom of every kind: it comes in most seasonably with a flood of light to resist the invading darkness of” (the time): “it will, moreover, help the fixing of the language; and school-books, and many other books, will grow out of it. No doubt the Spirit of God will use this sword!

“Then it may be well to consider, that *we* are *only* instrumental in this matter. *We* did not make the Book; Divine Inspiration gave it. You did not translate it; others did that. But you were at hand with the *art*—hidden for ages—by

which this great and simple work, this *unmiraculous miracle*, was produced.

“There is on every side cause to be thankful and humble. The Lord make you and me to be so, and that habitually! I have often heard persons of the highest talent say, that they would gladly be hewers of wood and drawers of water in this cause. One had better not say too much for one’s self,—but I could almost fancy that were I a Christian Nobleman, and had the choosing of a humble but most useful office in the Missionary field, it should be that of a Printer, to print the Holy Scriptures and Religious Tracts. Now this office *you* have: Bless the Lord for it, and serve Him in it!

“I remain, Yours most truly,

“Mr. Colenso.” (signed) “WILLIAM JOWETT.”

From the date of this letter may be well-inferred the length of time it took for a letter, &c, to go Home and to be, answered, (as alluded to by me in § 3.) I had sent bound copies of the New Testament by first direct ship in April, 1838.—It was known that those whale-ships always sought for whales on their way Home, and so made long voyages. It will, also, be seen, that Mr. Jowett wrote thus fully and kindly to cheer and encourage me in my work; having known from my daily journal (which we were all bound to keep and forward regularly to the Society,) how I had been situated. I have given a longer extract from his letter than I had intended, to record his Christian hope and belief of the great and manifold benefits to be derived from the printing of the New Testament in the Maori language, (in which he was also joined by all the Members of the Church Missionary Society;) as well as to show his valuable opinion of the Press and its introduction into this Country; he too being an author of several works. [23]

And here, perhaps, I may also mention, the little-known but astonishing fact, that this edition of the New Testament in

the language of New Zealand was *the first* publication of the Sacred Volume entire in the Southern Hemisphere!

—“Sail on, O Ship of Life,—
 In spite of false lights on the shore,
 Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea!
 Our hearts, our hopes are all with thee,
 Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
 Our faith triumphant o’er our fears,
 Are all with thee,—are all with thee!”

—LONGFELLOW: “*The Building of the Ship*” (slightly altered).

§ 17. OUR HOLIDAY ON THE COMPLETION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

The Committee of Missionaries very kindly granted us two (the Editor and the Printer of the New Testament) a holiday,—or relief from heavy and constant daily duties which had long been pressing on us both; it being also the time of the Christmas vacation with his School. And with the New Year, (1838,) we were directed to visit the Natives at the East Cape and Coast on to Poverty Bay, (then an almost unknown district,)—so we left the Bay of Islands on our voyage thither, on the 1st January, and returned on the 13th February following.—Our journey of several weeks among those hitherto unknown parts and people was a very interesting one, highly romantic in not a few instances;¹⁹⁶ one benefit to the Press resulting therefrom I may here briefly mention, viz.,—that out of the nine youths I brought away with me from the East Coast for instruction, two of them I succeeded in training to become fairly good and useful pressmen in the following year, 1839.

§ 18. A FEW REMARKS ON THE NEW ZEALAND LANGUAGE, AND THE CHARACTERS OR ALPHABET USED IN THIS EDITION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

When Professor Lee of Cambridge in 1820, supervised and

196 WC: See Note K, Appendix.

methodically arranged the MSS. of the New Zealand language,—that “had for the most part been previously collected by Mr. Kendall, who had for several years resided as a settler in New Zealand under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society; and who, on his return to England, took two Native Chiefs with him, Hongi and [24] Waikato;”¹⁹⁷ Professor Lee (or Mr Kendall) gave the five vowels (still retained and in common use) and twenty consonants; so making the New Zealand Alphabet to consist of 25 letters or characters,—much the same in fact as the old and common English one, with the sole exception of the letter *C*; and yet one essential sound or character was not provided for. In course of time, however, this long alphabet was found to be not required; and no less than eleven consonants were discarded, and the alphabet correspondingly simplified.¹⁹⁸

On my leaving London in 1834, for my sphere of labour in New Zealand, I applied at the Church Missionary House for a copy of Lee’s “Grammar and Vocabulary,” published by them; and I was informed that I had better not study one on my way out as it was in many places incorrect; so I came away without a copy. On arriving in New Zealand, I found the language had been lately settled by the resident Missionaries; (as, also, recently used by them in some portions of Holy Scripture, prayers, and hymns, that were printed at Sydney for the Mission in 1833;) and this orthography was further adopted in the printing of the New Testament, and other early books and papers.

Still, there were grave objections to the combination of the two English consonants *n* and *g*, to represent the nasal sound, or *ng*, (as given by Kendall and Lee,) such being complex and unwieldy, when a new and much more simple character (say half of the *n* and half of the *g*) would serve, and in writing be

197 WC: See Preface, Lee’s “Grammar and Vocabulary of the Language of New Zealand,” page 1.

198 WC: These discarded consonants were B, D, F, G, J, L, S, V, X, Y, Z.

more quickly made; this objection, however, was overruled, on its being shown, that some of the New Zealand tribes, particularly the Ngatiawa, only used the *n*, dropping the *g* sound altogether.

I was not very long in the Country before I discerned, that one more character or letter, was absolutely necessary to make the New Zealand alphabet perfect; this was early made very apparent to me while conducting the adult Maori school, as I saw from the want of it the Maoris themselves often made both ludicrous and grave mistakes in their reading in class the Sydney printed books; where the consonant *w* was made to stand and do duty both for its own simple sound of *w*, and for the more complex one of *wh*. [25]

In course of time I wrote a long letter on the subject to the Committee of Missionaries, showing the need of the wanting character being supplied, and also how it might better be formed, from several printed examples in large and small letters, as, *w*, *w'*, *wh*, *f*, and *v*. To my letter an official reply came from the Secretary, informing me, that the Committee of Missionaries did not see the necessity of any alteration or addition to the Maori alphabet.¹⁹⁹

And so the New Testament was printed according to the then established orthography.

Notwithstanding, my expressed opinion grew, and was supported by several, and among others by the Wesleyan Missionaries on the West Coast, who adopted the *wh* to represent the sound not already provided for. I had certainly preferred the more simple form of *v*, (so easily written,) which, together with *f*, had been also used by some of the Missionaries in the South Sea Islands to represent that common Polynesian sound. Subsequently, the Rev. W. Williams, and the Rev. R. Maunsell, agreed with me in this.

199 WC: See Note L, Appendix.

In 1842, the Bishop of New Zealand, Dr. Selwyn, arrived in New Zealand, accompanied by his Chaplain, Rev. W.C. Cotton and others; and in the following year (1843), a Printer having arrived at Paihia from the Society in England to take charge of the Mission Press, I went to reside with them at St. John's College, Te Waimate. They had seen the letter I had previously written to the Committee of Missionaries, and agreed with it; and as the Bishop had a very small printing-press and type of his own, at which small notices, bills, leaflets, and single pages, were frequently printed in Maori, (though not by me,) Mr. Cotton adopted the *w* with an apostrophe (thus, 'w,) to indicate the wanting character for that particular sound, and a type was struck at Home at Mr Cotton's expense, to represent it, and in course of time used there at the Bishop's press. For my part, however, I never cordially approved of it, as it was not so simple as the *v*, and not quickly written, the accent-like apostrophe might be easily broken off, and it was opposed to all established Polynesian alphabets. In subsequent years that new character was abandoned and the *wh* adopted, which has long ago become general and fixed, as we now have it. [26]

In concluding this section of my paper on the orthography of the Maori language, I would give an extract or two from Cook, and also from Forster,—the talented German *savant* who accompanied him on his second voyage to the South Seas, and who did so much under great difficulties. The marvel with me has ever been that Cook and his party on the whole managed so well as they did, which must mainly be attributed to their having the Tahitian native Tupaea with them as *quasi* interpreter. Capt. Cook says, in his genuine racy way:—

“It is the genius of the New Zealand language to put some article before a noun, as we do *the* or *a*; the articles used here were generally *he* or *ko*: it is also common here to add the word *oeia* after another word, as an iteration, especially if it is

an answer to a question; as we say, yes indeed; to be sure; really; certainly: this sometimes led our gentlemen into the formation of words of an enormous length, judging by the ear only, without being able to refer each sound to its signification. An example will make this perfectly understood:—In the Bay of Islands is a remarkable one, called by the natives *Matuaro*. One of our gentlemen having asked a native the name of it, he answered, with the particle, *Komatuaro*; the gentleman hearing the sound imperfectly, repeated his question, and the Indian repeating his answer, added *oeia*, which made the word *Komatuarooeia*; and thus it happened that in the logbook I found *Matuaro* transformed into *Cumettiwarroweia*: and the same transformation, by the same means, might happen to an English word.” [Of which he gives examples.]—*Voyages*, vol. iii, p. 476 (original 4to. edition).

Unfortunately, however, similar errors still continue here among us! notwithstanding their settled, plain, written, and printed tongue.—

I have often been struck, some 40–45 years ago with the close phonetic rendering of many Maori names of Birds, Fishes, &c, by the two Forsters (father and son), and with the large amount of patient toil they must have experienced in taking them down; albeit their orthography, at first sight, abounding in harsh double consonants, looks very barbarous, and is anything but tempting: also, with those of Lesson and other Naturalists belonging to the French Discovery Expeditions of 50–60 years ago. Of course their orthography varies much from the far simpler one adopted in rendering the Maori tongue into writing; still it is such that I could have beneficially used in my early enquiries among the Maoris, which is more than [27] can be said of many (so-called) Maori names more recently written and published too in this country! A few of those old Maori names of Birds I will give here from Forster, as a curiosity. It will be seen that he, in

many instances, adds the indefinite article (*he = a*) to the name of the Bird, and uses *g* and *gh*, hard for *k*:—²⁰⁰

English Name.	Maori Name.	Maori Name from Forster.
Sparrow-hawk.....	Karearea.....	Kari-area.
Owl.....	Ruru.....	Herooroo.
Kingfisher.....	Kotare.....	Ghotarre.
Parson-bird.....	Tuii.....	Toi.
Bell-bird.....	Kopara.....	Heghobarra.
Thrush.....	Koropio.....	Golobio.
Fantail Flycatcher...Piwakawaka ...		Diggowaghwagh: (Piouakouaka, <i>Less.</i>)
Robin.....	Toittoi.....	Ghatoittoi.
Pigeon.....	Kereru.....	Hagarreroo.
Plover.....	Tuturuwatu.....	Doodooroo-attoo
Blue Heron.....	Matuku.....	Matook: (Matoucou, <i>Less.</i>)
Paradise Duck.....	Putangitangi....	Poadughiedughie.
Duck.....	Parera.....	He-Parerra.

§ 19. OF PAY AND RATIONS, VIZ., MONEY AND FOOD.

I have in this paper said a little about pay (to Maoris and American pressmen) and rations; perhaps I had better say a little more on these subjects; as, at the present day, they must appear somewhat antiquated, and my further information may serve to amuse if not interest you.

I. *Of Pay*: Money (coin) was not then in use in dealing with the Maoris, (nor indeed in dealing with whites, who were paid in Orders, which they parted with at the Stores.) With the Maoris, whether for wages or for articles brought for sale,—as pigs, fish, peaches, melons, pumpkins, potatoes, maize, *kumara* (sweet potatoes,) &c., it was invariably a matter of

200 ie, Ngai Tahu dialect pronunciation: the *Resolution* visited only the S.Is.

barter.—Sometimes, two, three, or four canoe-loads, belonging to different parties, landed and stacked on the beach, were purchased and settled for in an hour or less; at other times the purchase of a single pig brought for sale might occupy (if allowed) half a day. The Mission goods sent out for that purpose were always good useful durable articles, whether iron ware,—as axes, spades, iron pots, knives, &c., or soft goods,—as blankets, prints, calico, shirts, trousers, caps, &c.; and as these English goods [28] were well appreciated by the Maoris, we generally had plenty of enquirers or barterers, whenever they had produce for sale. A large and constant supply of pigs and potatoes was required by the Station. Sometimes, however, we knew what it was to want—for a season, especially in times of drought and scarcity; but the shell-fish (principally cockles) in the adjoining sea-banks, were always available and prized. At such times we had to purchase Rice and Biscuit from the Stores in the Bay for vegetable rations to our Maoris, and sometimes obtained a large lot of Yams, brought for sale from the Islands further North, for the same purpose. Pork was the only Butchers' meat known to us for many years,—the flesh of wild, or Bush pigs, and very good it was. We had also some fowls and eggs, and fish, too, occasionally, but not a full supply. Milk and butter were not to be had (by me) for many years after my arrival. The sum of 3/- per week (with simple rations) to each of my three Maori pressmen, must *now* seem ridiculously small, but it was not so considered then; indeed, it was the highest rate known. At that time, useful foreign articles of common use among the Maoris were cheap, and they, in their frugal simple way of living, did not need many; and tobacco was under 6d per lb., and not yet in common use.—

Some, perhaps, may wish to have their curiosity satisfied as to my own pay, or salary; for several years this was £30 per annum, (fixed by the Home Committee, and to commence on my arrival in New Zealand,) with rations, and a “*whare*”

(small house) provided, but no furniture. I did not know anything about either pay or rations until I arrived in New Zealand; I had never enquired in England; I never cared to do so.

II. *Of Rations*:—The rations furnished us, consisted of five principal foreign articles, viz. Flour, tea, sugar, salt, and soap, and whale-oil and ball-cotton wick for a small (shilling) japanned hand-lamp; and also two Maori articles of food—potatoes and pork. The weekly allowance of foreign rations was very small, and generally served-out every half-year; it was said to have been the same in quantity as the convicts' allowance in Sydney; a single ration not being sufficient for one person (as in my own case), but a number coming together—as in a large family where all received rations, did better. I have still an official note of January, 1836, from the [29] Secretary Committee of Missionaries, informing me, (in reply to my note respecting the smallness of the rations issued,) that my future “ration of sugar was increased from 1 lb. to 1½ lb., and of tea from 2 oz. to 3 oz. per week;” the sugar served out was only the soft brown kind, and not unfrequently obtained from Tahiti. Some, or most of those rations were charged high,²⁰¹ *i.e.*, in one's wanting any quantity *beyond* what was allowed;—this was done, not to make any profit, but to meet heavy extra expenses and loss. Flour, for instance, when made from wheat grown on the Society's farm at Te Waimate was nearly double the price of the same article when imported from Sydney for the use of the Mission; and we were, in a measure, obliged to take it! The extra price for Flour from the Church Mission Farm, arose in part from the fact, of it being carted thence to Kerikeri across a rough country and no roads, there to be stored, and from Kerikeri to Paihia by boat or small vessel; all which additional

201 WC: I quote from an official memo., sent to me:— “Flour, 6d per lb.; Tea, 8/- do.; Soap, 9d. do.; Sugar, 6d. do.; Pork (fresh), 3d. do., and (salt) 4d. do.”

charges for land and water carriage were added to that of growing and grinding the wheat.

§ 20. CONCLUSION.

Having thus briefly and somewhat disjointedly brought together and placed before you a truthful relation of matters pertaining to the Introduction of the noble art of Printing into New Zealand—the future “Britain of the South,”—I cannot lay down my pen without making a few final observations.—

1. It seemed almost natural,—in this year of universally observed “Jubilee”!—that I, having been so long and closely connected with the “Divine Art,” and having also survived the many who were my early co-workers in this Land fifty years ago!—that I should be desirous of placing on record at this period what I knew concerning the Press,—its birth and early yet slow growth, under many peculiar hardships and difficulties; which, however, have long ceased to exist; and which, were they not recorded, could never be conjectured. And all this, I fancy, will be more truly and fully appreciated a hundred years hence, than it can possibly be now. [30]

2. I have often looked back with much pleasure to the period of my long connection with the Church Mission and *first* Press in New Zealand; and at the quality the usefulness and the amount of the work issued from it. Notwithstanding it was a time of heavy labours and of much anxiety. The Press rightly used is a mighty power for good, none greater; but it is too often used in the opposite direction; and then, alas! the truthfulness of the old adage is again clearly shown and seen,—“*corruptio optimi pessima.*”—

3. In my coming to reside in Hawke’s Bay in 1844, I brought hither with me a small Albion Press and types, which I again found to be of great service; though, having a people scattered over a very large district to attend to, with its consequent heavy travelling on foot, there being then no roads, I could not use my little press so much as I wished.

4. Happily there is no need for any one at the present day to attempt a panegyric on the Art of Printing, or the diffusion of light and knowledge through the Press; one might just as well vainly venture

“To gild refined gold, to paint the lily,
To throw a perfume on the violet,
Or add another hue unto the rainbow.”—

Yet, the words of an eminent Printer of the beginning of this century, may, I think, be here aptly quoted, in connection with the advent of Printing into this (then) dark Land; (words used by him in vividly portraying the contrast between what existed in the days of the dark ages and the great and sudden change that attended the invention of the Art of Printing;)—

—— “No sooner did this bright luminary [the Press] burst upon Europe than its brilliant rays, like the meridian sun, not only enlightened and invigorated mankind, but also dispelled the murky clouds which had for ages cemented the bands of Ignorance and Superstition.” And again:— “For our own parts, we never think of the benefits conferred on mankind by this Art, but we feel our bosoms swell with admiration of the Divine Being for this inestimable blessing.”—JOHNSON: “*Typo-graphia*,” vol. I, preface, pp. i and xii.

And heartily supporting those truthful noble words and sentiments, with them I close my Paper. [31]

APPENDIX.

Note A, page 7.

Having mentioned my printing for the Colonial Government on the formation of the Colony, I may here briefly relate a few circumstances in connexion with the same. My work began in January, 1840,—immediately on the arrival of H.M.S. “Herald,” Capt. Nias, bringing Capt. Hobson, R.N., our first Governor,—and continued at intervals throughout that year. During the time it lasted my life was truly a heavy

one—doubly laborious! and though in good health and strong and willing I was well-nigh worn-out, and obliged at last to inform the Government, (officially through the Committee of Missionaries,) that I could not do any more public printing for them; as much of our Mission printing was sadly in arrear, &c. During that year the new Governor resided at Okiato, (about three miles up the inner S.E. arm of the harbour from Paihia, and on the opposite shore,) where, also were the Government offices; but many of their chief officers dwelt in different places on the neighbouring shores of the Bay where they could find suitable residence. A curious circumstance occurred in the printing of one of the Proclamations of the Government, viz., that proclaiming British Sovereignty over all the Islands of New Zealand, which ran thus;—“extending from 34 deg. 30' North to 47 deg. 10' South latitude,” &c. I duly executed the order, and subsequently pointed out to them what I deemed to be an error—*North* for *South*! Soon after that Proclamation was set aside, and a new and corrected one issued. One of the last works I executed for the Government was the printing of the *first* Government Gazette issued in the Colony, (December, 1840,) in four pages, demy 4to.,—but without the Royal Arms. For all that I did for the Government I never received any pay or recompense whatever from them, neither anything extra from the Church Missionary Society; but I did receive a very handsome letter of thanks, wholly written by Governor Hobson himself,—although at that time from long illness and injury to his arm he was scarcely able to write.

Note B, page 8.

In the early days of the Church Mission in New Zealand, it was absolutely necessary to have a quantity of goods stored for the use of the various scattered Mission Stations, and for barter with the Maoris—wherewith to obtain daily food, &c. At that time and for long after there were neither stores nor

shops in the land, and communication with England, or even with Sydney, was very rare, and not to be depended on. And as the Maori tribal wars were frequent and severe, it was needful to have a secure building in a suitable situation to contain the Mission goods; hence the large general Mission Store was erected at the head of the Kerikeri river. It was strongly built of stone on the bank of the river, and was quite a massy structure; certainly in those early days it had a very imposing appearance from there being no other building like it in all New Zealand; its white Sydney sandstone facings being, also, such a contrast to its dark-blue stone walls. It was especially striking in rowing up the long and desolate river, (not a house nor even a Maori plantation nor fishing-village on both its sides,) and coming suddenly upon it on rounding the last bend only a little distance ahead. The doors were very thick and strong, reminding me of those of a prison or a fort; and the windows were also well-secured on the inside with strong iron bars; so that on the whole it was pretty safe both from sudden Maori attack and from fire. The Kerikeri river is navigable for vessels of 100 tons to within three or four miles of the Station, and for small craft (such as the Mission Cutter) close up to the wharf alongside the Store. It was in this building that the Bishop of New Zealand, Dr. Selwyn, securely stored his large and valuable Library during his residence of three years at Te Waimate.

Note C, page 11.

The British Resident, Mr. James Busby, resided in his own house at Waitangi, Bay of Islands; this was about two miles by the sea-beach from the Mission Station at Paihia, with a small navigable tidal river between, and he had no neighbours. A Maori Chief of middle rank had taken offence for some small matter, (an easy and common thing in those days!) and Maorilike was determined to have his revenge. So, one night, he crept stealthily through the garden up to the

house with his loaded musket, and squatted in the front verandah; and having, as he thought, exactly determined Mr. Busby's position (who was sitting writing at his table in his parlour,) from the shadow cast from the lamp on to the window-blind, he took steady aim and fired at his head! the shadow, however, being both enlarged and raised, the ball, fortunately, passed a little above his head, and lodged in the plaster of the wall of the room. The would-be man-slayer then returned to his people and village, not very far off; he was, however, soon known, as he did not attempt to conceal it, rather the contrary. The evil deed naturally caused a great deal of disquietude among the unprotected white residents scattered throughout the Bay; and no small number of meetings and amount of inflamed talk with the friendly Maoris. Mr. Busby bore it all very well; and eventually a block of land lying between Waitangi and Te Waimate was publicly ceded to the British Government as a kind of compensation for the crime.

Note D, page 12.

His kind note which came with them is so highly characteristic of him, that I am tempted to make an extract from it.—

“Waimate, March 14th, 1836.

“My dear Friend,

“I herewith send you twelve chapters of Matthew, and will endeavour to have more in readiness very shortly..... While employed in your own particular department you will have the comfort of knowing, that you are fulfilling one of the most important parts of the work, a work without which the rest will be paralysed. I trust when you see the result of your own labours in the hands of the natives, knowing the blessing that must follow, you will be able to rejoice with a joy which will not be intermeddled with. The Missionary body in New

Zealand hang together as members of one body, and you may depend upon it, that so far as you are concerned, the rest of the members will do their utmost, not only to remove every difficulty, but to render every assistance which is practicable.

“Wishing you more encouragement in your work, and hoping that we may rejoice together over it,

“I remain, Yours most truly,

(signed) “W. WILLIAMS.”

“Mr. Colenso,

Paihia.”

Note E, page 13.

And not only for such a reason as is there assigned. More than once during the printing of the New Testament my household Maori lads (or young men) left me, unexpectedly and suddenly, and that without notice or warning. This, however, was mainly owing to their belonging to the neighbouring tribes and villages. I well recollect on one occasion in particular, (in January 1837,) how I was served by them, and how I also managed to turn the tables upon them! it is worth relating. One morning after School and breakfast, I left my dwelling-house for the Printing-office, as usual; giving directions to the man-cook to get ready the simple dinner. It had so happened that morning, that I had been obliged to say a few words to one of my rowers, (a high-minded young chief named Hatete, lately come to reside with me from his tribe at Waiomio a village a few miles beyond Te Kawakawa.) On my return to my house at the dinner hour, I found all hands had vanished! taking all their clothing and blankets with them, leaving behind on the table a very laconic note, containing these words,—“*E mara, kua riro matou: hei kona ra.*” (= O Sir, we are gone: remain in peace.)

Disappointment and vexation having subsided, I found they had not gone away by water in a canoe, the usual course, therefore I surmised they had gone to the *pa* (village) at Te

Kawakawa by an overland route, a long hilly and difficult way, little known and rarely ever used, one which they could not possibly travel over in a single day, and there were no intermediate villages, so I laid my plan accordingly. The next morning early I started in my whale-boat, with four Maori rowers, kindly lent me by Mr Baker, for Te Kawakawa, and arrived there at the *pa* just after the runaways! who were then relating their escapade in a crowded circle of their own people. And so intent were all hands to listen, that no one saw me until I made my *debut* suddenly among them. (This I had contrived, on nearing the upper landing-place with almost muffled oars; my Maori crew entering heartily into the plan, as I feared if the alarm was given (they having arrived before me), they would have secreted themselves or gone farther.) I did not speak to them at first, but to the chiefs and people, and it ended well,—in matters being cordially made up between us, and in my bringing them back with me in my boat to Paihia, where we arrived late at night. The next morning at the School, their appearance caused much derision. To the credit of their fathers and the old chiefs they all gave them good advice, and roundly took my part, as by the runaways' own showing I had done them no harm, and still further (as the chiefs said) I was engaged for them all on that great work the printing of the Maori New Testament. My prompt and effective acting on that occasion stood me in good service afterwards. All the New Zealand Missionaries had frequently to contend (or rather, put up) with conduct of this kind on the part of Maori domestics (both male and female) and workmen. Such, too, was sometimes shown when it could not well or readily be met or borne;—even by a guide in an unknown part of the country, as I have too often proved. That “*pokanoa*” (as it was well and expressively termed) sudden and entire change of mind, or work, without cause; mutability, fickleness;—was a well-known trait of the Maori character, and far too common among themselves.—

Note F, page 16.

One day I had to cross the Bay to Kororareka, purposely to bury one of those poor fellows whom I had known, and who was drowned in attempting to ford this river in his way to the Bay from Te Waimate. I myself have had to swim across at various times; and on one occasion in particular had a very unpleasant time of it. I was returning to Paihia from Te Waimate, on foot, and on my arrival at the river I saw it was under flood, the water being also muddy. I did not like to go back to Te Waimate, as my day had been fixed for my return to Paihia, and I feared I could not carry all my clothing over on my head dry,—it being however the summer season I was very thinly clad. While I was deliberating, and trying the depth of the water near me with a string and stone tied at the end of some rods, (flower-stalks of flax joined together,) a party of Maoris, men; and women, (who were encamped in the neighbourhood on the opposite side,) made their appearance through the fern and scrub and squatted down on the bank of the river, watching my movements. Being strangers they would not assist me,—other than to offer to fetch my clothes and carry them across before me, which I would not agree to. It was a time of great embarrassment; the day, too, was passing, and I had many miles yet to travel, — besides the ugly dreaded Whauwhauroa crossing at low tide!) They lined the bank in the sun at the only landing place; laughing and saying they wanted to see how well a White-man could swim, &c, &c. As there was no alternative I prepared for the worst—a good wetting of my clothes. I cut flax leaves and tied up my clothing in a pretty compact bundle, which I fastened up so as to carry on my head, keeping my shirt loose in my straw hat. I had previously sounded the depth of the water, and, at last, entered the river backwards, and when out of depth turned and swam till near the opposite shore, when feeling the ground, I again turned, and by degrees put on my shirt, and so got to the bank,—not a

little vexed with that party of Maoris; who, however, were loud in their praises (?) of “the cunning White man;” and who, long after, said, had they but known me, or had I told them my name, they would have assisted me to cross. [To tell one’s name, at any time, was, however, not in accordance with Maori etiquette.] The great danger in crossing the New Zealand rivers in the olden time, arose from the denseness of the tangled vegetation on the banks, which also extended overhanging a long way out into the river; so that if you did not happen to hit the one narrow and worn landing place, through the rapidity of the current, there was little chance of getting to the bank at all.

Note G, page 17.

A notable instance of this kind occurred in the summer of 1836. There had been for some time sad variance between two sub-tribes of Ngapuhi, respecting the rights to a piece of waste land on the outer coast between Whangaruru and Whangarei; and at last it was agreed by both parties, to take their case to Waitangi, and there for Mr Busby, British Resident, and the Church Missionaries of Paihia, to hear and to act as umpires, and so end the quarrel. At the time fixed, a large party of Maoris assembled there, and Messrs H. Williams and C. Baker went thither from Paihia—I remaining in charge at the Station. In the afternoon their decision was given, which so exasperated the losing side, (mostly wild heathen,) that they flew to their arms, which they had secretly brought and hidden, and fired right and left, killing two and wounding others of the other side who were unarmed. The consternation was great! The killed and wounded were brought to Paihia; one of the two killed was a fine young man of the Station, a married domestic of the Rev. H. Williams named Taha, and one of my best Maori teachers in the adult Maori School, where he had on that morning worked with me! The wounded I had to attend to, and one of them, a chief of rank from

Whangarei, was shot very seriously through the groin, so that for some time his life was despaired of, but he was eventually cured, and became a Christian. He remained several weeks at Paihia in my charge. For a considerable time after that occurrence armed bodies from the wounded party and their friends came continually to Paihia, to meet, to talk, and to combine for war, to avenge their loss; but after some time, through our always meeting with them and advocating peace, we prevailed. The loss of time, however, was great, all work at a standstill.

Note H, page 17.

The interesting and pleasing visit of Daniel Wheeler and his son George, Members of the Society of Friends, in their yacht "Henry Freeling," should also be briefly noted by me, as it was both unique and of good service. These good Christian men had been making a religious visit to the various Missions in the South Sea, and were now on their return voyage to England. They arrived in the Bay of Islands in November 1836 and remained nearly two months with us; during which time they visited several of our nearer Mission Stations. D. Wheeler, being both aged and rather infirm in body, was carried by Maoris in a chair when visiting the inland Mission Stations. On one Sunday in December, according to appointment, they accompanied me in my Mission boat to Te Kawakawa, whither I went to hold Divine Service, and where D. Wheeler preached in English to the Maoris, I interpreting. It happened to be his birthday (when he attained his 65th year), and this was an extra theme of rejoicing with him. We spent a pleasant day together; a day to be remembered! As we were obliged to land at the lower landing-place owing to the state of the tide, the elder felt the long walk through the fern and scrub to the *pa* (about a mile), which also caused us to be rather late; on our return we were overtaken by rain just as we got to our boat, but we reached their vessel and the Mission

Station, “all right”—save a wetting. I saw them often, and having been formerly well-acquainted at Home with Members of their Society, (also, occasionally attending their places of worship,) I was very much pleased with their visit, and they with the Printing-office and the work then in hand, Their yacht was very nicely found, and their state-cabin or sitting-room was fitted up with an astonishing number of curious articles and natural specimens from the Islands; giving it the appearance of a Museum. I retain many pleasing recollections of their visit. They reached England in safety, and published an interesting account of their long voyage; but have both long ago been gathered to their fathers.

Not very long after they had left us, the Rev. S. Marsden with his daughter and voyaging companions arrived at Paihia; they came by the way of Hokianga and Te Waimate, and remained with us till the 4th July. On Good Friday, (about a week after Mr Marsden’s arrival,) I had a very peculiar and unpleasant adventure. [I quote chiefly from my Journal.] Called on, unexpectedly, this morning, to go up the harbour to Pomare’s *pa*, Otuihu, to bury a man who had been murdered by the Maoris two days before, and also buried secretly by them at the foot of the high cliff near which the *pa* stands. There were several Missionaries at this time at Paihia, who had come to see Mr Marsden, but I was told off on this errand. I went with the Captain of the American whale-ship in his boat, from the Station, he taking a coffin he had got made on board, and spades, &c., and a crew of six or seven strong seamen, the murdered man having been his steward. On landing under the cliff, I directed the seamen to disinter the body. A Maori who was there, ran up the hill to the *pa*, to inform Pomare; the Chief soon made his appearance on the brow of the farther cliff, and bawled down to stop! while I encouraged the men to proceed: they however were afraid and irresolute, half-hesitated and talked, and did not work as they should have done. I told them they were not Englishmen!—

for they had soon uncovered the body, only slightly put under the earth, (or rather thrown there at the foot of the cliff and a little clay from the face of the cliff knocked down upon it,) and they might have got it easily enough on board of their boat alongside the bank in deep water. Pomare then came down to where we were, in a boiling rage! and first he vented his passion on an unfortunate European who lived there close by in a small hut, (as he had pointed out to us the spot where the body lay,) and not content with striking him, persisted in driving him into the sea! Meanwhile, the crew had taken to their boat, with their spades, leaving the coffin, and pushed off into deeper water. I saw that Pomare had been drinking, and I interfered on behalf of the poor ill-used White; this brought the chief on me. I happened to say, in our wordy dispute, that Rum had turned his head!—which, of course, was immediately magnified into a dreadful curse! and he got into a towering passion, declaring, if I were not a Missionary he would kill me! I took off my hat, and lowering my head close to him called on him to strike, &c. &c. He got worse and worse, at length demanding that the coffin should be given up to him; this I was determined to resist and ordered the wondering crew to jump out and take it on board their boat. He demanded, “Why I dared to dig without first asking his leave?” I retorted, “Why did you, or your men, dare to murder the White-man without first asking leave of us?” He ordered me to the boat; I refused to go; he came up and gave me a shove, I retaliated with another; he repeated it, and so did I: fortunately our handy-work ended here. The Captain and crew, seeing how matters were, wished me to enter the boat, saying, they should abandon the job; on hearing this I requested them to come back, and bury the body deeper; this they did. Pomare now said, I should never again enter his *pa*; I rejoined, I would do so, and then and there that very day before I should leave. He returned slowly to his house, stopping and warning me not to follow. Of course many

Maori were now looking-on, silent spectators. I climbed the high hill, or zig-zag track up the face of the cliff, after Pomare, (much against the expressed wishes of the Captain and his boat's crew,) and went on to the entrance of his large house, and sat down on the door-step; he and many of his people were inside, and a bottle of rum was handed round, of which all hands partook. After some time, I rose to go back (as the boat was waiting for me), telling Pomare, I had fulfilled my promise. On my way down the hill, Pomare came out and called after me to take away the body; but the Captain would not have any more to do with it,—saying, they had done their duty, &c.—I learned afterwards, that the poor steward was greatly liked on board of his ship; he had only gone ashore at the *pa* (below or rather on the strand on the other side, where the grog-shops, &c, were) three days before, in the afternoon on a two-hours' leave, and was returning sober to his ship carrying a bottle of rum, which some of the Maoris seeing demanded from him; he refused to give it up, on which they pursued him and he ran into the sea, where in the end they killed him; and then to hide their deed, dragged the body to the farther side and deposited it at the foot of the cliff, &c. The Captain, in his search after the missing steward, had gathered this (privately) from the White residents, but the Maoris of the *pa* had denied the deed, also the burial; so that it would have been useless to apply to the chief.—This was one of the *few* cases in which, during my long residence in New Zealand, (though often in danger,) I was struck by a Maori, or struck one in return; but I would never put up with a blow.—

Note I, page 17.

Two or three rather peculiar events that occurred during this long and dreary struggle of internecine warfare in the Bay may be mentioned; especially as such are never likely to happen again. But, in order the better to understand them, one should first know something of the fighting ground and the

position of the combatants. Several of the smaller tribes of the Ngapuhi (united) were in arms against the two chiefs Pomare and Te Mauparaoa and their followers and adherents; the head quarters of the Ngapuhi allies was at Kororareka (now Russell), which commanded the outer harbour; that of Pomare and Te Mauparaoa at Otuihu (where these chiefs both dwelt), an almost impregnable castellated war *pa* at the head of the narrower inner harbour, centrally situated between the two navigable estuaries of the rivers Te Kawakawa and Waikare, and commanding the whole of the inner waters, and about six miles from Kororareka. On a fine calm morning in the summer of that year (1837), at a very early hour, when the waters of the Bay were like glass, before the daily rising of the ruffling sea-breeze,—a small canoe with only one man in it was seen paddling in haste from Te Wahapu on the opposite shore of the narrow harbour (and about half the distance between Otuihu and Kororareka,) towards Waitangi on the Paihia side. This man was the (afterwards) renowned Hoani Heke. He had crossed over before day from his village at Te Ti on the Waitangi river, to purchase powder from the merchants' stores at Te Wahapu wherewith to carry on the fight; and the eagle eyes of the foe from their eyrie or look-out on the high *pa* at Otuihu had descried the little canoe, and rightly guessed the errand. In a twinkling Pomare's big war-canoe, being all ready at anchor, was manned, and now the exciting chase began! Heke had seen her coming, and well-knew there was no hope for him there—at Te Wahapu—among his White friends, (who also were anxious to get rid of him, knowing they were powerless to protect him;) and so he put out to sea, taking his kegs of powder with him, really paddling for dear life! I suppose there were at least sixty rowers in that fine and handsome canoe; she glided through the water like a fast steamer, only noiselessly; while those on board of her (warriors) who were well armed with guns kept up a continual and rapid fire upon the tiny cockleshell fleeing

before them. And Heke! he, too, dared to return the same; absolutely laying down his paddle now and then, and loading his piece and firing at them backwards over his shoulder—in mere defiance and bravado!! All hands in the Mission Station were out on the sea bank looking out, expecting every moment to see him struck with the balls playing around him; and feeling sure he could not possibly escape from the fleet war-canoe rushing after him; death seemed imminent—certain. But when the war-canoe had come down into the more open harbour, clearing the peninsula Toretore beyond Te Wahapu, and getting abreast of Kororareka, the Ngapuhi there, hearing the firing and seeing what was up, had speedily manned their canoes, and came out to the rescue and the attack; when Pomare wisely returned. From an entry in my Journal, I find, that shortly after this, the Ngapuhi tribes went up one morning in 36 canoes and boats to attack Otuihu; they landed there and fought, and several were killed and wounded on both sides; among them some head chiefs of note. In the evening they returned to Kororareka, bringing off their own dead and wounded, and also the bodies (chopped up warm and divided among them) of two chiefs of their foes, killed in that day's fight, who had only the day before arrived at Otuihu from the interior to join Pomare; both, too, were good friends of mine. For one of them, in particular, Te Koukou, I felt very much; for he had recently received me and my travelling party of Christian Maoris very hospitably, on my visiting his *pa* for the first time in my returning overland from Whangarei to the Bay; and had also then given in his adherence to Christianity. Hearing that the Maoris at Te Ti (near us), had got an arm and shoulder of Te Koukou as their *share* of that war-spoil! I walked there early the next morning and induced the chiefs to give them up to me,—the mischievous and brave chief Te Kemara, himself climbing the tall *Karaka* tree to bring them down; to my surprise the whole arm, &c, was still supple! (Te Kemara was a little lithe nimble fellow, though of middle-age,

and being fully and closely tattooed so as to be almost black, he always reminded me, when in heroics! (and he just could roll his eyes and grimace!) of one of Dante's demons—in *Inferno*!!) I subsequently saw at Kororareka, other and sickening portions of Te Koukou's body, hacked and stuck up on the tabooed temporary fence erected around the body of the great chief Pi, of the Mahurehure tribe, also slain the same day in that fight; Pi with his people had come over from Hokianga on the West Coast to join Ngapuhi in the fight. The body of Pi was laid out in great state, &c. &c.; and as I had visited this large party of allies on their arrival at the Bay, while they were encamped at Waitangi, (before they crossed over to Kororareka,) and addressed them as to possible consequences, I now went inside the sacred enclosure, (much to the dislike of many of the Maoris present,) and took my stand close to the dead chief's body, and there told them my mind. To narrate the whole scene and what took place on this sad occasion would take too long. However, I could not prevail on them to give me the fragments of Te Koukou, all I could obtain was, a promise they should not be cooked and eaten; but two of the head chiefs of Kororareka, Rewa and Te Wharerahi, gave up the portions in their possession for burial.—

Several attacks were made at Otuihu by the united Ngapuhi, who had always several miles of water to cross before they could begin operations; sometimes they turned out twice in the week; while Pomare and his party kept in their *pa* and never once ventured to return the aggression by attacking his foes at Kororareka; yet he did go down more than once into the Bay of Kororareka, in his fine war-canoe, and there blaze away—but not within gun-shot. During this long war we (the Missionaries) had often tried in vain to bring about a peace between the belligerents. The great obstacle, at *first* and for some time, being, that the scales could never be made equipollent; as, according to Maori custom, peace could never

be brought about until this was accomplished or nearly so,—losses on both sides must be made square or equal. On the one day the Ngapuhi side were the heavy losers in fighting; on the subsequent day the other side were so, too—and beyond what was required! and so it went on.—

One day in particular, towards the end of the war, when (it was said) a decisive assault was to be made by the Ngapuhi, I accompanied the Rev. H. Williams in his Mission-boat to the fighting-ground. Our boat pulled up the harbour to Opuā, where we landed on the little beach, and walked out over the rocks to the bold cliff, whence we had a full view of Otuihu on the opposite shore directly before us about half a mile distant. The Ngapuhi had previously landed on both sides of the narrow arm of the harbour, and taken up their position on the two jutting headlands,—one at Opuā where we two were, and the one nearly opposite Oropā,—where they swarmed on the exposed ridges. A large amount of musket-firing was kept up on both sides, but very little harm was done, owing to the two parties being too distant from each other. We two were pretty safe, being partly sheltered by the steep rocky headland and by the large overhanging Pohutukawa trees that grew there, while with our glasses we could easily watch Otuihu. Pomare's people made some slight advance towards their foes in canoes, from which they kept firing as well as from the cliffy brow of their *pa* above, but only now and then balls fell among or near the Ngapuhi. While this a being carried on a rare thing happened: a reckless bravo (*toa* = warrior) paddled fearlessly from Otuihu towards the Ngapuhi in a little dingy—or really small canoe (*kopapa*), suited for one or, at most, two persons; he actually came over into the open water in the midst of those two headlands, nearly abreast of us two on the rocky point, between the two bands of Napuhi! and there he openly defied them in his song, brandishing his paddle, and turning round put his head down in his canoe and smacked his

naked posteriors at them!! which done he paddled back to his party *unhurt*, singing as he went.

The Ngapuhi showered balls at him from both ridges; they fell around him like hail, splashing the water around him, but he escaped; I don't think his canoe was hit. It seemed to me that the fellow really had a charmed life; it was one of the most coolly sustained foolhardy doings I ever witnessed. We both made sure he must be killed, and marvelled much at his escape, while the Ngapuhi were very savage over it; at the same time setting it down to the efficacy of the *karakia* (= spells) which had been used, and on which he had relied. They, also, had both seen and heard of similar feats having been performed before—in the olden time.—

On that day, too, I watched some of the Ngapuhi side (raw recruits?) load and fire off their guns, mostly old flint-and-steel muskets; some actually held their pieces nearly vertical and turned away their faces when they fired; while some, in their haste, fired away their ramrods! one, who was very near me, in loading bit off the end of his cartridge and cast it down; seeing it was a printed scrap (a most rare thing! for there were no common Newspapers then, and I never allowed a bit of printed (or waste) paper to go out,) I took it up and on untwisting it found it to be a portion of a leaf of an English Bible, and to my astonishment containing these words—“How long have I to live?” (2 Sam. xiii, 34.) I showed it to Mr. Williams who was equally surprised. I afterwards heard at Kororareka of some books having been stolen by the Maoris there for the purpose of making cartridges, and among them was a Bible; paper of all kinds being then with them very scarce.—

I have mentioned, above, what was at *first* the cause that hindered peace being made; and afterwards—when both sides were pretty well tired of the costly and savage game at which they had been so long playing, and the general planting season near,—the *second* obstacle was the demand made by the

Ngapuhi, that Pomare should cede to them certain lands on the adjoining Waikare estuary. A day was, at length, fixed for a meeting at Otuihu and fully discussing the terms of peace, when all the Missionaries then in the Bay district went up to Otuihu in the big Mission boat, having a white table-cloth flying at the mast head as a Peace standard; several neutral (or related) Maori Chiefs also going thither in their canoes; there we spent that day in endeavouring to bring matters to meet—but, again, in vain! as Pomare would not yield any land for that purpose, having had also a large number of killed and wounded on his side. Notwithstanding, peace was firmly made within a fortnight from that visit; and about the same length of time after the Rev. S. Marsden's last departure from New Zealand.—

Note J, page 21.

I have said, that silver and gold coin was very scarce,— in fact, not required. I never had any; a few small coins (silver and copper) I had happened to have on my landing in New Zealand remained unused in my desk for many years. All our monetary requirements were met by small Orders, which were in high request at the few Merchants' Stores, as by-and-by when they made up a pretty large amount they were exchanged for Bills on the Society in London. The only coins I saw for several years (and then only casually and in the possession of others,) were dollars in silver and doubloons in gold. The American dollars however, were much sought after by some of the Storekeepers; those of Mexico bearing a greater exchange value than those of the United States.

Note K, page 23.

On the 1st January we left the Bay in the Mission Schooner "Columbine"; on the 4th we anchored inside of Tauranga harbour (under Maunganui), and remained on shore till the 12th, visiting the various *pas* there—Maungatapu,

Otumoetai, &c., in which were a great number of Maoris, some of whom I had formerly seen at Paihia. Here I gained some curious information from old priests. On the 12th we recommenced our voyage, and landed at Wharekahika (Hicks' Bay) on the 16th, there we found Te Houkamau, one of the principal Chiefs of the East Coast district, with a number of his people. I should, perhaps, here mention, that on our leaving the vessel, (which was to proceed to Poverty Bay and there await our arrival overland, by the Coast) the steward and others *cried!* saying "They should never see us again!" Such was their opinion of the East Coast Maoris (from the East Cape Southwards), who had long borne a bad name for being treacherous to shipping and to seamen visiting their shores. From Hicks' Bay we travelled on by the Coast to the Valley of Waiapu; astonished at several things both natural and artificial we there saw. 1. the large amount of *grassy* plains and hills wholly unknown at the North: 2. the immense size and strength of their war *pas*, closely filled with houses: 3. the great number of the people, all healthy. We also noticed the absence of some of the commoner and picturesque trees of the North,—especially the shore loving *Maanawa* (= Mangrove), and the *Pohutukawa*; the *Kauri*, too, was not seen inland in the forests.

We halted at Rangitukia, a very large and well-built *pa*, where we stayed a few days. Soon after our tents were pitched in an open space or square within it, we found that we could not get outside for any purpose! the Maoris were so numerous, forming a compact mass of many hundreds—men, women, and children,—all eager to satisfy their curiosity and see and observe the White-man! At last we were obliged to appeal to the head chief, to have a way of egress and ingress left open to us, and he repeatedly spoke to his people, but in vain; the foremost ranks being hemmed in by those in the rear; (for all the world such as I had formerly seen in a dense London mob.) At length, and as a last resource, the Chief

threw off his fine dress mat garment, and went naked to work! rushing up and butting like a ram against the people, who were soon tumbling all of a heap on all sides—mainly from the fear and dread of being touched by his head, which, of course, would make them *tapu* (= sacred) for a season, and so be attended by disagreeable consequences of privation to themselves. However he succeeded in clearing a way for us,—though many high words followed, used by other chiefs of note who were also overthrown pell-mell in the *melee!*

From Rangitukia we went further up the Waiapu Valley to Whakawhitira, a very large *pa*, the largest by far that I (or we) had ever seen. Its fence was also threefold, the massy and combined outer one being twenty-five to thirty feet high; its main posts consisting of entire and straight trees denuded of their bark, with large carved full-length human figures painted red on their tops,—of these figures there were above a hundred. During our stay there, we measured, by stepping, one of the sides of this *pa*, and found it to be more than a mile in length! and the huge carved figures we ascertained to be more than six feet high, with their heads fully and deeply tattooed;—this we proved from one that had been broken off and fallen, and placed upright below its big post. I took a sketch of this *pa* (as I had also done of Rangitukia) which I still have.

While at Tokomaru (the large *pa* at the North end of that bay), being tired of cliff climbing and beach walking (there being no footpaths nor tracks along the coast from one *pa* to another,) we gladly accepted the offer of the chiefs to take us by canoe to Uawa (Tolaga Bay); so, one morning we left Tokomaru *pa* in a big canoe well-manned; but the sea rose high before we had gained the southern headland of the bay, and for some time it was doubtful whether we should be able to round it—or ever land again, for we were in great danger. Apart from our perilous situation, it was truly a magnificent sight! to see those big ocean billows breaking on the rocks

around, and our little bark threading her winding way in the hollows between them. The chiefs, seeing the danger, held a short consultation, whether to go on or to attempt to return to Tokomaru; I believe they would have returned, but they feared to attempt turning the canoe in the great swell we were in lest it should be upset. I was never more impressed with the admirable skill at navigation possessed by the Maori! how readily the rowers (or paddlers) obeyed every command given by the skilled steersman, and how regularly and ably they wrought! The chiefs, too, and the *Kai-tuki* (= singer-of canoe-songs—which is done both to encourage the paddlers and to enable them to keep time,) retained their standing positions in the canoe and never flinched! On rounding the headland we landed in a delightful little cove, called Te Mawhai, having a curious looking high pillared rock just at its entrance, and there launching a still bigger canoe (which was hauled up high and dry and protected under a long covered shed,) we started afresh for Uawa. On arriving at the bar at the mouth of the river, most of our crew jumped overboard and holding on took us over the bar in safety. I need not remark how glad we were, to get safely on shore; not merely on account of the dangers we had passed, but from being cramped up in the canoe during our very long day's paddling—I suppose quite forty miles! While stopping here I conversed with old chiefs who had seen Capt. Cook and his ships when at anchor here in this bay.

I may also mention, that all along the Coast, in many places, we saw small rafts hauled up above high water mark, each being eight or ten feet long and three or four feet wide, composed of only a few small poles, roughly and distantly but very strongly lashed together with open spaces between them. On these the East Coast Maoris went out to fish in deep-water, one on each; and also, (when opportunity offered) to a ship with a pig, or two, fastened to the raft! They said, these rafts

were quite safe, more so indeed than a small or middle-size canoe, as there was no danger of upsetting.

We were nearly a fortnight in reaching Poverty Bay from our leaving the ship, and great was the joy of our shipmates when they saw us! having given us up. After staying some time at this bay, visiting its neighbouring *pas* and villages, we left on our return to the Bay of Islands, visiting also Tauranga (a second time) and the upper Thames (Waiheke, &c.,) on our voyage back.—

I have already mentioned my bringing back with me to Paihia nine youths and young men for Instruction, &c.; two of them became useful pressmen, and served well in the Printing-office. At that period the Rev. Dr. John Dunmore Lang (of Sydney), arrived at the Bay, where he stayed some time on the opposite shore of the harbour; during which he once visited the Mission Station at Paihia. It so happened that I alone was at home on that day and so received him at my house; he sat some time with me, made several enquiries, and partook of refreshments; when he expressed a wish to see the Printing-office, of which he had heard; on our going thither and entering it, he manifested great astonishment and pleasure at seeing the two young Maori pressmen at work, and that, too, by themselves alone in the office. I mention this little incident here, because when Dr. Lang published his account of his visit to the Bay of Islands, he not only said a few unkind things in it of the Church Mission in the Bay, (which he had gathered from the idle and their associates at the port of Kororareka,) but he also carefully abstained from mentioning this circumstance, at which he had showed so much satisfaction, or even alluding to it!

I may further remark, that one of those young Maoris learned to write before that he could read! and so, sometimes, wrote to his relations and tribe down South. Maoris in our Station School generally learned to read well (beginning with A) in six months; they privately diligently conned their one

book in spare hours and in wet weather. In the reading classes in school there was generally great attention and emulation shown to catch one of the older scholars making a mistake—and so taking him down, to which they always good-humouredly submitted.

Another circumstance I should also mention, as forcibly showing the great power of the mind and feelings (superstitious imagination) over a strong healthy man. And this, I have ever believed, is the root of that fearful power formerly so very prevalent among them, and so greatly dreaded, under the name of *maakutu* (= deadly spells and witchcraft); of which even Settlers of to-day have also heard something. Not very long after our return to the Bay of Islands, a serious epidemic suddenly became common, among Whites as well as Maoris and some of the former and many of the latter died after only a very short illness. The attack began with common feverish symptoms, severe headache and determination of blood to the head, soon followed by swelled and sore throat, which quickly carried off the sufferer. I myself was attacked, and indeed brought very low—all but entirely given up! My Maori lads (now eleven in number) were all naturally very anxious about me, and scarcely cared to cook food for themselves, or to eat; at the same time they were all well and had escaped this sickness. On the last day of my very severe illness, when it was known that the crisis was at hand; one of those young men whom I had brought from Tologa Bay,—a stout, strong, healthy, able, fearless Maori,—who was much attached to me,—fully believed that I should die that night; he would not be consoled by nor even listen to the Missionaries present, neither by the Doctor, Ford, who also attended closely on him, and by the next morning he, poor fellow! was dead,—and the unfavourable crisis was also passed with me. Dr. Ford always maintained, that there was nothing whatever ailing him physically, on the contrary he was perfectly healthy; it was solely the effects of his

imagination!! in which I concurred. Possibly, had he been allowed to *see me*, in my bed, he might have recovered. I have also known of cases somewhat similar occurring among the Maoris; but this is the more striking from the fact, that it was not the fear of *maakutu* falling on the sufferer himself, but on another to whom he was attached.—

Note L, page 25.

On several occasions in former years I had brought this matter, of a new consonant being required for the New Zealand language, before the Committee of Missionaries, but always without anything definitely being settled about it. Again, in July, 1841, at their half-yearly meeting, in an official letter to their Secretary, I made the following request, (among several others):

“9. An order, authorizing the adoption of an additional consonant, in order that the deficiency still existing of some character to represent the “*wh*” sound,—a subject of material and increasing consequence,—may be, without any further delay, supplied.”—

The reply was,—“Wait a little, until we consult Rev. W. Williams:” (who was then residing at Poverty Bay.)

In September of that year I also wrote to him on this subject; from his letter in reply I make the following extract:—

—“With regard to the orthography of words beginning with “*w*,” and the propriety of making a distinction to mark the “*wh*” sound; I have to make the following observations:—

“If the general opinion be in favor of an alteration which would doubtless make reading easier to an Englishman beginning the language, I do not object to a change. Should such be the decision of the collective wisdom of North and South, I would suggest that your proposal of the letter “*v*” be adopted to make the “*wh*” sound. I have not heard on the subject from the Northern District Secretary. Perhaps an

accented “w” would be more appropriate, and would do less violence to the orthography.—Turanga, Sept. 7, 1841.”

Time rolled by, and another year was half through; and as nothing had been done by the Northern District Committee of Missionaries in this matter, at their subsequent half-yearly Meeting in January, 1842, (and as the Rev. W. Williams did not now meet with them, he belonging to the Southern District,)—in June, 1842, I wrote the following letter to their Secretary:—

“Paihia, June 13, 1842.

“My dear Sir

“I enclose for the consideration of the Committee a few printed Maori sentences, as a specimen of certain proposed alterations, which, for some time past, have been had in contemplation by different individuals who have given their attention to the Native language; one of which, it is thought, it is highly expedient should be adopted with as little delay as possible.

“I believe that it is now very generally conceded, by all parties understanding the Native tongue and competent to give an opinion thereon, that some character is still wanting to represent that sound in such common use, and hitherto known in oral communication by the combined consonants “wh.” Believing this, it is not my intention to say anything further on the *necessity* of selecting some character to represent the same.

“Among several characters that have been from time to time proposed by different persons, to convey the idea of the sound under consideration, the following are the principal;—viz. the “wh,” (which has been lately partially adopted by the Wesleyan Missionaries in their books, and by the Rev. R. Maunsell in his “Grammar,”)—the inverted comma “ ‘ ” the apostrophe “ ’ ”—the “f”,—and the “v”. Printed sentences, containing these characters, I now lay before the Committee, on whom it will devolve to say,—which shall be chosen to distinguish this peculiar and hitherto undistinguished sound.

“I beg, also, to offer a few remarks, which I venture to hope may not prove altogether unworthy the attention of the Committee.

1. “That the “wh,” though at present in partial use, being two consonants is at variance with the universally acknowledged fundamental rule of all the Polynesian dialects—of no two consonants without a vowel between. If, however, it be urged, that the “wh” is here to be considered as only *one* character, then it will, of course, have to stand in the Alphabet under its own proper name; and therefore, from its possessing a heavy inelegant appearance, from its taking up much room in printing (owing to its size), and much time in writing from its complex shape,—I think it should be rejected.

2. “That the character wanted being intended to represent a true and distinct consonant-sound, and not merely the lengthening nor the shortening of a sound already produced by any one of the present number of consonants, the proposed addition of an inverted comma, or apostrophe, to the “w,” would not be at all adequate to the thing required. Besides which, either is liable to the same objection as that already adduced against the “wh,”—the being at variance with all the printed Polynesian dialects. To say nothing of the very hiatus-like appearance which such marks always impart to printed pages, particularly in long words and with large type.

3. “That in my proposing the “v” to represent the character in question, it has been borne in mind,—1. that it is already in use in several of the Polynesian dialects:—2. that it is a small and neat, and (in writing) a quickly-formed character:—3. that the Rev. J. Hobbs (at present the Wesleyan Superintendent,) has promised to use his influence in getting the “v” substituted for the “wh,” (now used by them,) should the Church Missionary Committee of Missionaries adopt it:—4. that the Rev. R. Maunsell has informed me, that he intends using it for the future in his “Grammar,” now in course of printing at Auckland, and which will doubtless (if not already in use) be adopted by the Government;—and, 5. that from a similarity (though distant) in the Maori sound, for which a character is

now sought, to the sound of the English “v,” future Missionaries and new-comers generally will be assisted in reading in the pronunciation of the same.

“In conclusion, and with the utmost deference, I beg permission to express my hope, that in the consideration of the matter in question, each Member of Committee will ingenuously dismiss from his mind those prejudices which, too often, unfortunately, stick as closely to the skirts of abstract literary and scientific questions as to other matters whether social or political.

I am &c

(signed) WILLIAM COLENZO,
Superintendent C.M. Press.”

“Mr. R. Davis,
Secretary, Northern District Committee.”

Appendix C

William Colenso's other Māori children?

by Ann Collins²⁰²

Over the years there has been mention of descendants of William Colenso, other than the children of his daughter Frances Mary (Fanny), who married William Henry Simcox and settled in Otaki. His son Ridley Latimer (Latty) had one daughter, May Latimer, who died unmarried when she was only eighteen. His acknowledged natural son Wiremu, who married his cousin Sarah Veale Thomas Colenso and settled in Penzance, had no recorded children.

There are several Māori families that have included William Colenso in their whakapapa. In Māori culture knowing and being able to recite one's whakapapa is the basis of establishing relationships among individuals, families (whanau), local tribes (hapu) and regional tribes (iwi). Knowledge of 25 generations of heritage establishes linear and lateral relationships. Given this cultural importance the inclusion of a "disgraced missionary" is significant.

One of the families that have included Colenso in their lineage is based in Awarua, just over 21 km south of Kaikohe, and another in Rawene, a settlement on Hokianga Harbour.

After his arrival in 1834 Colenso lived in Paihia, busy with his printing, and surrounded by missionaries with large families. The religious environment was very different from Penzance where he had been involved with the nonconformist communities as well as the Church of England. He had been greatly influenced by the Wesleyan movement. He felt lonely and uninvolved in this community. His attempts to change this did not endear him to his seniors. However as his proficiency in the language increased he was called upon to

202 Modified from her paper in *eColenso* April 2013.

conduct missionary business in the villages visited from Paihia.

In his letter to the CMS, written in December 1852 explaining his suspension by Bishop Selwyn, he described his life from 1834, ten years as a bachelor in their employ,

“I thus lived a single life for several years, without a stain upon my moral character – although in the full vigour of youth & health and surrounded by temptation, and where powerful solicitations to evil from without were not wanting.”

Peter Wells, on the other hand, quotes the following passage from Colenso’s diary, dated 11 April 1838,

“I believe I am the vilest sinner on the face of the earth. (Do I really mean this?) – and yet I am proud! and think much of myself!! can’t bear for anyone to tell me of a single fault!!! and love dearly to hear myself praised!!!! Oh God! Thou only knowest my crimes – if man knew – it would not be believed – I am sure that all, both the religious and irreligious would all exclaim – impossible!”

The first is obviously referring to sexual temptation, whereas the second is more ambiguous, possibly to masturbation.

Māori Records

Prior to 1911 only marriages between Māori and Pakeha were required to be registered. Later separate Māori Registers for marriages (1911–1954) and births and deaths (1913–1961) were kept. After this time Māori births, deaths and marriages are recorded in the General register alongside other New Zealanders. The best place to find records for dates of birth or death for the 1800s and early 1900s are in the Māori Land Court Records. Another option for birth, death, and marriage records is church registers. More recently, with the growth of online genealogical websites many lineages have been published. Also many networking sites have queries and

answers about compiling whakapapa. I have used these to try and collate evidence to examine the claims that William had other Māori children.

I have also had the valuable insights and efforts of Ian St George, Gillian Bell and Sarah Carter with this endeavour, especially with the locating and transcribing of William's *Memorandum of Journeys*.

Paki Eramiha Neho

In January 2009 there was a number of messages on networking sites advertising that Uncle Rore was planning to visit Napier on the 16th and 17th for a Colenso hui (meeting). The agenda included visiting William Colenso School, a burial site and the Hawke's Bay Museum. This was probably a reference to a reconciliation and forgiveness ceremony held at William Colenso's grave.²⁰³ It had been organised by Te Rore Neho, a kaumatua (elder) of the Ngapuhi iwi (tribe), which is centred about Hokianga and Whangarei. Te Rore Neho died in August 2009. He was a descendent of Paki Eramiha Neho, and possibly the great great great grandson of William Colenso.

Paki Eramiha Neho died in 1929 in Awarua. The official registry index claims that he was 103 years old – born in 1826, prior to William Colenso's arrival in 1834. However his family believes that Paki Eramiha was born around 1841, the son of William Colenso and Tihe Awarua,²⁰⁴ a daughter of Uroa Te Ringahaka. The couple were reported to have been married according to Māori law, but Colenso's affections began to stray to his wife's sister and the family intervened,

203 Peter Wells witnessed this ceremony and described it in *The Hungry Heart*, pages 122–125.

204 Many of the Neho family still live in Awarua today.

dissolved the marriage and banished him.²⁰⁵

(Colenso's journey inland in June 1836, rather earlier than the 1841 reported, included a climb of Mt Hikurangi and took him close to Awarua. He spent some nights in an unnamed village).

The boy grew up in Awarua and married Heeni Wahine-Koti Matiu Kuiapo around 1859. In 1905 Eramiha Neho was listed as a beneficiary of the Ninihi No.2 Block with 28 shares. He was recorded in the 1908 Māori Electoral Roll as being of the Ngapuhi tribe living at Kaikohe. In 1919 his address was Te Awarua.

This couple had 12 children in Awarua. Te Rore was a descendent of the third son Remana.

1. William Neho was born in 1859 and died in 1948 at the age of 89.
2. Kiri Neho was born in 1861 in Awarua. She died in 1902 at the age of 41. She married Taneie Hoami.
3. Hare Te Tatau Eramiha Neho was born in 1862 and died on 17 Jul 1941 at the age of 79. He and Merepohi Temotuiti "Meri" Heremaia were married in 1894. She was born in 1873 and died on 19 Apr 1942 at the age of 69.
4. Tuera Neho was born in 1863 and died in 1908 at the age of 45. She married Wiremu Puru.
5. Te Awhi Neho was born in 1865. She died in 1881 at the age of 16.
6. Remana Paki Neho was born in 1867 and died on 30 Dec 1915 at the age of 48. He and Ngaperera Taupaki Hohepa Cassidy were married. She was born on 16 Aug 1879 in

205 This story was related in an email from Sarah Carter, February 2013, based on information received from Gail Pope, Curator at the Hawkes Bay Museum who also met with Te Rore Neho, and witnessed the ceremony.

- Rawene and died on 15 Aug 1954 at the age of 74.
7. Te Atarangi Neho was born in 1871 and died in 1928 at the age of 57. He married Ngakoti Terata.
 8. Erana Neho was born in 1873 and died on 19 Jan 1933 at the age of 60. She married Wiremu Heremaia around 1890.
 9. Tarauhia Waho Neho was born in 1875 and he died on 3 Feb 1935 at the age of 60. He married Ngawai Kiro. She was born in 1871 and died on 27 Mar 1936 at the age of 65.
 10. Matiukuiapo Eramiha Neho was born in 1879 and died on 6 Mar 1951 at the age of 72. He and Rewa Te Hemo Erueti were married. She was born in 1868 and died in 1934 at the age of 66. Some of their descendants adopted the surname Eramiha.
 11. Ataraiti Neho was born in 1881. She died in 1926 at the age of 45. She married Henare Tipene.
 12. Waikaranihi Neho was born in 1883 and she died in 1916 at the age of 33. She and Kire Hori were married

Tehakiro Koroneho (Pehi)

At the service held in the Waiapu Cathedral during the Colenso 200th Birthday Celebrations (2011), Bishop John Bluck, after thanking God that he had not had to be William Colenso's bishop, recounted his encounter with Mike Pehi, a funeral director from Ashhurst who believed that he was Colenso's great great grandson. This meeting had occurred at the blessing of a cairn to remember Colenso's ministry at Woodville, after he was reinstated in 1894.

Mike Pehi named his business AAA Colenso-Pehi Funeral and Monumental Services to honour his Colenso ancestor. He

grew up in Hokianga as one of 23 siblings.²⁰⁶

The Pehi family of Hokianga traces its lineage back to the marriage of Koroneho Tehakiroe and Te Paea Hinerangi Gray, also known as Guide Sophia. This couple married around 1851 and were reported to have had 14 children.

Sophia Hinerangi was born in Kororareka (Russell) between 1830 and 1834, the daughter of Kotiro Hinerangi and Alexander Gray who had arrived in 1827 from Scotland. Little is known of her first husband, other than the following story recounted in *Memories from Māoriland*.

“Now,” said Sophia, “the first time I heard of Tegnakahi²⁰⁷ was during the life of my first husband, Tehakiroe (his Christian name was Colenso, for he had been baptised). When my first son was born Tegnakahi came to our house, and said to Tehakiroe, 'Why did you marry that pretty girl? She is too good for you, you ugly old fellow! A great many younger men are after her; you will have trouble through this before long.' Tegnakahi said this out of pure mischief, for though my husband was ugly, still he was a fine man – very big, and a great fighter. Lady, he was born to fight! For whenever there was a battle between the tribes he used to go off and take part in the fighting, which was the only thing he cared for, never troubling himself about us; but when he came back he was lazy and would do nothing. Then we poor women of his house had bad times, for he made us work very hard and carry heavy loads. So Tegnakahi did not do us much good by his remarks, although I do not think he meant any real harm; but he made Tehakiroe very jealous.

This story indicates that her husband probably adopted the

206 Massey Alumni Magazine, Issue 13, November 2002,
www.massey.ac.nz/~wwwpubafs/magazine/2002_Nov/stories/funeral.html

207 A spirit child of the Chief Papahourihia and a spirit woman.

name Colenso when he was baptised and that he was significantly older than her, making William Colenso, who arrived in 1834, an improbable sire.

In 1839 William Colenso and the Reverend William Wade made their journey to Cape Reinga, arriving overland from Paihia to Hokianga before proceeding north along the west coast. On this visit Koroneho Tahakiroe may have been baptised.

On a different journey in 1841, while in Owae, Colenso reported the return of some young men to the village after they had been baptised in Paihia – one of whom adopted the name of his Cornish friend Thomas Vyvyan and another his own name William Colenso.²⁰⁸ It was common then for Māori to adopt the names of those who baptised them.

The children of Koroneho Tehakiroe and Te Paea Hinerangi were born in Rawene, a village on the south side of Hokianga Harbour. Following is a list of 12, consolidated from various sources.

1. Rawiri Koroneho was born in 1851.
2. Heni Kerei Koroneho was born in 1853.
3. Pehimena Paki Neho was born in 1855 and died in 1915 at the age of 60. He married Emma McLean (Makarini) in 1871. She died in 1927 at the age of 70 in Waima.
4. Wikitoria Koroneho was born in 1855.
5. Lucy (Ruruhi) Makiraki Koroneho was born in 1858 and died on 20 Aug 1934 at the age of 76. She married Thomas Henry de Thierry on the 14 Aug 1880 in Auckland. He was born in Mercury Bay in 1856 and died in 1935.
6. Piripi Hamu Neho was born in 1862 and died on 1 Mar 1948 at the age of 86. He married Mihiwera “Meti” Rogan around 1880 and then married Huria Paraone in

208 *Memorandum of Journeys*.

- 1885.
7. Sarah Hera Kura Koroneho was born in 1863 and died on 29 Aug 1918 at the age of 55. She married William Charles Price in 1882. He was born in 1854 and died on 26 Jan 1918 at the age of 64.
 8. Harata Waikauri Koroneho was born in 1864.
 9. Paratene Te-Haakiora Koroneho was born in 1866.
 10. Alexander Grey Koroneho was born in 1868.
 11. Taniora Kui Koroneho.
 12. Riki Koroneho. He married twice, first in 1907 to Kuini Wharerau and then Tuku (Ada) Ripia in 1916.

Following the death of her first husband, Te Paea married Hori Taiawhio in 1870 and moved to Te Wairoa, Lake Tarawera, where she had a further three children. She was the principal tourist guide of the Pink and White Terraces when they were destroyed by the eruption of Mt Tarawera in 1886. After the eruption she moved to Whakarewarewa, where she continued her guiding career. In 1895 she joined George Leitch's Land of the Moa Dramatic Company, playing herself during the melodrama's Australian tour. She became president of the Whakarewarewa branch of the New Zealand Women's Christian Temperance Union in 1896, and the same year was appointed caretaker to the thermal reserve, on a small salary. Sophia guided a number of royal parties through Whakarewarewa. She died in 1911.²⁰⁹

The children of her first marriage continued in Hokianga, with her grandson Rekene Pehi (son of Pehimena Paki Neho) a participant in the Dog Tax War of 1898. One of Rekene Pehi's sons, Kawhati Rekene (Arthur) Pehi had a son called Mike from his second marriage.²¹⁰

209 Images by Blomfield, 1884

210 Armed resistance, led by Hone Toia, against a tax imposed by the Hokianga Town Council on all dogs in the district. Resolution negotiated by Hone Heke Ngapua MHR, grandnephew of Hone Heke.

There is also a community of the Church of the Latter Day Saints in this neighbourhood. In 1929 Maggie Pehi (granddaughter of Piripi Hemo Neho) married Riki Heperi. The current dean of students at the Brigham Young University in Utah is a New Zealander called Vernon Heperi – he may be descended from this family. One of his researchers recently contacted me concerning William’s possible Māori children.²¹¹

Conclusion

It seems physically possible that Paki Eramiha Neho was William’s son, although the circumstances of his birth are inconsistent with William’s writings and behaviours. The premeditation of contracting a marriage, is not the same as giving in to temptation because of loneliness.²¹² If the contract had been made, the progress into adultery with his wife’s sister is even harder to credit taking into account the limited time the first relationship was possible.

That William was married to Guide Sophia is inconsistent with the description she gave of her first husband. He may have been baptised by missionaries and taken William’s name.

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211 Email to Ann Collins from Jessica Gilley 2 February 2013.

212 As was his description of the circumstances with Ripeka.

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Postscript: Colenso's DNA

Ann Collins concluded, "There is an opportunity to confirm whether William was the patriarch of these families using DNA. My father, who was a direct male descendent of William's brother, had his DNA tested and it is available for comparison with a direct male descendent of Paki Eramiha Neho or Koroneho Tehakiro. The Colenso Society, cognisant of and sensitive to culturally different attitudes to these matters, has offered to fund this testing if a suitable candidate

is willing.”

DNA from a living descendant of Colenso’s cousin Bishop John William Colenso matches that from Ann Collins’s father.

Late in 2013 a descendant of Paki Eramiha Neho’s son Matiukuiapo Eramiha Neho, offered to provide a sample and this was tested. The results showed that based on DNA analysis, this man and Ann’s father “are NOT of the same male lineage because the Y-STR profile does not match at 5 of 11 loci examined”.

Later still a descendant of Koroneho Tehakiro offered to provide a sample and again was shown not to be of the same male lineage.

This means only what it says: these two men are not descendants of William Colenso. Consequently, though, William Colenso is most unlikely to have fathered Paki Eramiha Neho or Koroneho Tehakiro.

Much more likely is that they regarded him as their “spiritual father”, ie, they or an ancestor adopted his name at baptism.