

S. Marsden to J. Pratt, 28 October 1815

Parramatta 28th October 1815

Dear Sir

I mentioned in my public Letter to the Society forwarded by the Sydney Packet in June last, that Duaterra was dangerously Ill at the time I left New Zealand in February, and was very apprehensive he would not recover. I was much concerned to hear from M^r Kendalls last communication, that Duaterra died about 4 Days after the Active sailed; As this young Chief has been one of the principal Instruments in the hands of a wise and gracious God in preparing a way for the introduction of the Arts of civilization, and the knowledge of Christianity into his Native Country, the following short Narrative of his Life since I became acquainted with him nearly 10 Years ago, may not be uninteresting to the Society. In 1805 the Argo Whaler commanded by M^r Baden, put into the Bay of Islands for refreshments. On the Argo leaving the Harbour Duaterra embarked on board of her with two of his Countrymen. The Argo remained upon the Coast for about 5 Months and then returned [f] into the Bay. On the Vessel's final departure from New Zealand for Port Jackson, Duaterra went in her, and arrived in Sydney Cove; after the Vessel was ready for Sea again she went to Fish on the Coast of New Holland, where she remained about 6 Months and afterwards put into Port Jackson. During this cruise Duaterra acted in the capacity of a common Sailor, and was attached to one of the Whale Boats— When the Argo lay in Sydney Cove, Duaterra was discharged from her, but received no remuneration for his services

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during the 12 Months he had been on Board; on his leaving the Argo he entered on Board the Albion Whaler then in the Cove; Commanded by Captain Richardson and was 6 Months on the Fishery in that Vessel off the Coast of New Zealand. — When she put into the Bay of Islands, Duaterra left her and returned to his Friends. Here Captn Richardson behaved very kind to him, and paid him his Wages in various European Articles for his services on board the Albion: Duaterra remained in New Zealand 6 Months when the Santa Anna Whaler anchored in the Bay of Islands on her way to Bounty Islands whither she was bound for Seal Skins. Duaterra embarked on Board this Vessel commanded by a Mr Moody; After she had taken in her supplies from New Zealand she proceeded on her Voyage [f] and Arrived at Bounty Island in safety, when Duaterra, one New Zealander, two Otaheitians and ten Europeans were put on shore to kill seals, and afterwards the Vessel sailed to New Zealand to procure Potatoes, and to Norfolk Island for Pork, leaving the 14 Men they had landed with very little Water, Salt Provisions or Bread. — When the Santa Anna arrived off Norfolk, the Master went on Shore, and the Vessel was blown off, and did not make the Land for one Month. — About 5 Months after leaving Bounty Island the King George arrived, commanded by Mr Chase: Previous to the arrival of this Vessel the sealing party had been greatly distressed for more than 3 Months for want of Water, and Provisions; There was no Water on the Island, nor had they any Bread or Meat — excepting Seals and Sea Fowl, Duaterra often spoke of the extreme sufferings which he and the party with

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him endured from hunger and thirst, as no Water could be obtained only when a shower of Rain happened to fall: Two Europeans and one Otaheiteian died from hardships. In a few Weeks after the arrival of the King George, the Santa Anna returned, and the Sealing party during their absence had procured 8,000 Skins. After taking the Skins on Board, the Vessel sailed for England, and Duaterra having long entertained an ardent desire to see King George, embarked on Board as a common Sailor, in hopes of gratifying his wish; The Santa Anna arrived in the River Thames about [f] July 1809. Duaterra now requested that the Captⁿ. would indulge him with a sight of the King, which was the only object which had induced him to leave his native Country.— When he made enquiries by what means he could get a sight of the King, he was sometimes told, that he could not find the House, and at other times that nobody was permitted to see King George.— This gave him very much distress as he saw little of London, being seldom permitted to go on shore. In about 15 Days he told me the Vessel had discharged her Cargo, when the Captain told him, that he should put him on Board the Ann who had been taken up by Government to convey Convicts to New South Wales. The Ann had already dropped down to Gravesend, and Duaterra asked the Master of the Santa Anna for some Wages and Clothing, but he refused to give him any, telling him, that the owners at Port Jackson would pay him in two Muskets for his services on his arrival there, but these he never received. About this time Duaterra from hardships and disappointments was taken very sick, being greatly distressed

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at not seeing King George; Thus friendless, Poor, and Sick as he was, he was sent down to Gravesend and put on Board the Ann; At this time he had been 15 days in the River from the first arrival of the Santa Anna, and had never been permitted to spend 1 Night [f] on shore; The Master of the Ann M^r Charles Clark afterwards enformed me, that when Duaterra was brought on Board the Ann, that he was so naked and miserable that he refused to receive him unless the Master of the Santa Anna would supply him with a Suit of Slops, observing at the same time, that he was very sick. I was then in London, but did not know that Duaterra had arrived in the Santa Anna. Shortly after Duaterra embarked at Gravesend, the Ann sailed for Portsmouth, I had been ordered by Government to return to New South Wales by this Vessel, and joined her in a few days after she had come round to Portsmouth. When I embarked, Duaterra was confined below by sickness, so that I did not see him or know he was there for some time. On my first observing him he was on the Forecastle, Wrapped in an old Great Coat very sick & weak, had a very violent Cough and discharged very considerable quantities of Blood from his Mouth; His mind was much dejected and he appeared as if a few days would terminate his existance, I enquired of the Master where he had met with him, and also of Duaterra what had brought him to England, and how he came to be so wretched and miserable— He told me, that the hardships and wrongs he had endured on board the Santa Anna were exceedingly great and, that the English [f] Sailors had beat him very much, which was the Cause of his spitting Blood; That

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the Master had defrauded him of all his Wages and prevented his seeing the King. I should have been very happy if there had been time to have called the Master of the Santa Anna to account for his conduct, but it was too late; I endeavoured to sooth his afflictions and assured him, that he should be protected from insults and that his wants should be supplied. By the kindness of the Surgeon, and Master, and by proper nourishment administered to him, he began in a great measure to recover both his strength and spirits, and get quite well some time before we arrived at Rio de Janario. — He was ever after truly greatful [sic] for the attention that was shewn to him. As soon as he was able, he did his duty as a common Sailor on Board the Ann till she arrived at Port Jackson in Feb^y 1810 in which capacity he was considered equal to most of the men on Board. The Master behaved very kind to him: He left the Ann and accompanied me to Parramatta, and resided with me till November following, during which time he applied himself to aggriculture [sic]. In October the Frederick Whaler arrived from England, and was bound to Fish on the Coast of New Zealand. Duaterra having been now long absent from his Friends, and wishing to return [f] requested I would procure him a passage on Board the Frederick to New Zealand. At that time one of Tippahee's Son's a near relation of Duaterra's was living with me, and also 2 other New Zealanders. They all wished to return home. I applied to the Master of the Frederick for a passage for them, he agreed to take them upon condition, that they should assist him to procure his Cargo of Oil while the Vessel was on the Coast of New Zealand, and

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that when he finally left the Coast he would land them in the Bay of Islands. They were 4 very fine young Men having been a good deal at Sea, and were a valuable acquisition to the Master; I therefore agreed with him to take them upon his own conditions, on his promising to be kind to them— On the Frederick leaving Port Jackson in November, they all embarked in hopes of soon seeing their Country, and their Friends. After the Frederick arrived off the North Cape, Duaterra went on shore 2 days to procure supplies of Pork and Potatoes as he was well known there and had many friends among the Natives. As soon as the Vessel had procured the necessary refreshments, she proceeded on her Cruise, and in about 6 Months or a little more was prepared having got in her Cargo and ready to leave the Fishery. Duaterra finding that it was the Masters intention [f] to Sail for England requested, that he and his 3 Companions might be put on shore agreeable to the Master's engagement with me previous to their sailing from Port Jackson; At this time the Frederick was at the Mouth of the Bay of Islands where all their Friends resided: Duaterra had got every thing ready to put into the Boat, expecting immediately they wo^d be sent on shore. When he urged the Master to Land him, he replied he would by and bye so soon as he had caught another Whale and the Vessel bore away from the Harbour. Duaterra was now greatly distressed, as he was anxious to see his Wife and Friends having been absent about 3 Years— and earnestly requested the Captⁿ to land him on any part of the Coast of New Zealand; he did not care where it was if he would only put him on shore he wo^d

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find his way home. This the Master refused to do, and told him, that it was his intention to go to Norfolk Island, and from there proceed to England, and then he would land them as he passed New Zealand on his way. On the Frederic [sic] arriving off Norfolk Island, Duaterra and his 3 Countrymen were sent on shore for Water for the Vessel, and were all nearly drowned in the Surf having been washed under some hollow Rocks and to use [f] his own expression "that upon reaching the surfice [sic] he said his Heart was full of Water." At Norfolk Island it is generally extremely dangerous for a Boat to land on account of the surf. When the Frederic was wooded and Watered, and the Master had no further occasion for Duaterra and his 3 companions, he then told them, that he should not touch again at New Zealand but sail direct for England; Duaterra became greatly distressed again, and reminded the Captain how he had violated his promise, and used him very ill in refusing to put him on shore when the Vessel left the Bay of Islands, and was then within two Miles of his own place, and also refused to land him on the North Cape when he passed that land, & was now about to leave him at Norfolk Island and his Companions in a destitute situation where they had no Friends, after all the assistance they had rendered him in procuring his Cargo, however nothing that Duaterra could say had any effect upon the Masters Mind as he went on board his Vessel leaving them to provide for themselves. Duaterra further stated that the Master afterwards returned on shore, and took Tippahee's Son by force on Board again tho' he wept much and entreated the Master to let him

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remain with Duaterra. No tidings have been heard of this young Man since he left Norfolk Island; The Frederic then sailed for England, and was taken on her passage home by an American [f] after a severe action in which the Master was mortally wounded, and the Chief Mate killed. Some time after the Frederic sailed from Norfolk the Ann whaler touched there, commanded by Mr Gwynn, for refreshments, which when she had procured was to proceed to Port Jackson. Duaterra immediately applied to the Master for a passage, who very humanely complied with his request.— On the Ann's arrival at Port Jackson, the Master enformed me, that he found Duaterra at Norfolk in a very distressed state almost naked as the Master of the Frederic had left him and his companions without Clothing or Provisions; Mr. Gywnn further observed, that Duaterra's share of the Oil that had been procured by the Frederic, and also of his Companions would have amounted to £100 each, had they accompanied the Vessel to England, and she had arrived safe, and he thought they had been very much injured by the above Master—Mr Gwynn was very kind to Duaterra and supplied him with necessary Clothing and such things as he wanted, for which he was exceeding grateful [sic]. Duaterra was very happy when he arrived once more at Parramatta, and gave me an affecting history of the distress he suffered while in sight of his own District and not allowed to see his Wife or friends from whom he had been absent so long, and also what he felt when the Frederic finally sailed from Norfolk leaving him upon that Island with little hope of returning to his Native Country.

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When he sailed from Port [f] Jackson he was supplied with Wheat seeds, Tools of Agriculture, and various other useful articles. He had not a single thing left, all was destroyed and lost. He continued with me at Parramatta till the Ann Whaler belonging to the House of Alexander Birnie of London arrived from England, as this Vessel was going on the Coast of New Zealand he requested I wo^d procure him a passage on board the Vessel and he would try once more to see his Friends, I accordingly applied to the Master and he agreed to take him on condition that he would remain on board and do the duty of a Sailor while the Ann was on the Coast. To this Duaterra readily consented, and when the Ann left Port Jackson he embarked taking with him seed Wheat and Tools of Agriculture a second time. The Vessel was 5 Months on the Coast when Duaterra with inexpressible joy to himself and Friends was landed. During the time he had lived with me he labored early and late to acquire useful knowledge, and particularly that of Agriculture. He was well aware of the advantages of Agriculture in a national point of view, and was a good Judge of the quality of Land, he was very anxious that his Country should reap the natural advantage which he knew it possessed as far as it related to agriculture, and was fully convinced that the wealth and happiness of a nation depended much upon the produce of its Soil. When he was landed from the Ann he took with him the Wheat he had received at Parramatta [f] for seed and immediately enformed his Friends & the Neighbouring Chiefs of its value and that the Europeans made Biscuit of it such as they had seen and ate on board of Ships.

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He gave a portion of Wheat to Six Chiefs and also to some of his own common Men and directed them all how to sow it, reserving some for himself, and his Uncle Shunghee, who is a very great Chief; His domain extending from the East to the West side of New Zealand. All the persons to whom Duaterra had given the Wheat Seed put it into the ground, and it grew well, but before it was ripe many of them grew impatient for the produce, and as they expected to find the grain at the root of the stems similar to their Potatoes, they examined the Roots and finding there was no Wheat under the ground, they pulled it all up and Burnt it, excepting Shunghee. The Chiefs ridiculed Duaterra much about the Wheat, told him that because he had been a great Traveller he thought he could easily impose upon their credulity by telling them fine Stories, and all he urged could not convince them that Wheat would make bread. His own and Shunghees Crop in time came to perfection and was reaped and threshed, and tho' the Natives were much astonished to find that the grain was produced at the top and not at the bottom of the Stem, yet they could not be [f] persuaded that Bread could be made of it. About this time the Jefferson Whaler put into the Bay of islands commanded by Mr Thomas Barnes. Duaterra being anxious to remove the prejudices of the Chiefs against his Wheat and to prove the truth of his former assertions that it would make Biscuit, requested the Master of the Jefferson to lend him a Pepper or Coffee Mill in order if possible to grind some of his Wheat into Flour that he might make a Cake, but the Mill was too small and he could not succeed. By the arrival of a

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Vessel at Sydney from New Zealand he sent me word, that he had got home at last and had sown his wheat which was growing well, but he had not thought of a Mill. He requested me to send him some Hoes and other Tools of Agriculture which I determined to do by the first opportunity; A short time after the Queen Charlotta [sic] belonging to Port Jackson cleared out for the Pearl Islands. As this Vessel would have to pass the North Cape of New Zealand, I thought there was a probability of her touching at the Bay of Islands, and therefore put some Hoes and other Tools of Agriculture on board with a few Bags of Seed Wheat and requested the Master Mr. William Shelly to deliver them to Duaterra, should the Queen Charlotta touch at the Bay of Islands: Unfortunately the Queen Charlotta passed New Zealand [f] without touching any where and was afterwards taken by the Natives of Otaheite. While the Vessel was in their possession all the Wheat I had put on Board as well as some other things were either stolen or destroyed. When I received this information I was much concerned that Duaterra sho^d be so disappointed from time to time in his benevolent exertions to forward the improvement and civilization of his Countrymen, and was fully convinced, that nothing could be done efectual [sic] for New Zealand without a Vessel for the express purpose of keeping up a communication between that Island and Port Jackson. — When Mr Kendall arrived in the Earl Spencer, who had been sent out under the patronage of your Society, I soon determined either to take up a Vessel or purchase one for the service of New Zealand and to attempt to Establish a

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Settlement which had been resolved upon by the Society in 1808 and for which purpose Mess^{rs} Hall and King accompanied me on my return to New South Wales. I attempted to hire a vessel, but co^d not get one to go to New Zealand for less than £600 which Sum I considered too great for one single Voyage. — The Active Brig at this time arrived from the Derwent, and the owner proposed to sell her; I therefore purchased her. —

As many dreadful Massacres had been committed at New Zealand both by the Natives and Europeans [f] at different times, the whole Crew of the Boyd having been cut off not long before, and the Vessel burnt, I did not think it prudent to send the Families of the Settlers over at first, but rather wished to go myself if I could obtain permission from the Governor and take with me Mess^{rs} Hall & Kendall: I knew many of the Natives if I co^d only go myself, I co^d then fully explain to Duaterra and the other Chiefs the great object the Society had in view in sending Europeans to reside amongst them. — After I had purchased the Vessel I waited upon His Excellency Gov^r Macquarrie [sic] and acquainted him with my intention and explained to His Excellency, that the Society wished to form a Settlement there and requested permission to visit New Zealand. The Governor did not judge it prudent to give his permission for my going at that time, but told me if I sent the Active and she returned safe he wo^d give leave for me to accompany the Settlers and their Families when the Vessel returned a second time and then I might see them properly fixed. With this Answer I was satisfied having no doubt but the

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Active wo^d return in safety under the circumstances she was going to visit that Island. I therefore ordered the Vessel to be got ready for sea and Mess^{rs} Hall and Kendall to proceed to the Bay of Islands where the Natives whom I knew resided. When the Active Sailed I wrote to Duaterra and [f] enformed him for what purpose I had sent over Mess^{rs} Kendall and Hall and invited him to return with them to Port Jackson and bring along with them two or 3 Chiefs. I sent him a Steel Mill to grind his Wheat, a Sieve and some Wheat for seed with a few other presents. On the Arrival of the Active there the Settlers were very kindly received by Duaterra and all the other Chiefs and every attention was paid to them for the 6 Weeks they remained there. Duaterra was much rejoiced to receive the Wheat Mill; He soon set to work and ground some Wheat before his Countrymen who Danced and shouted for joy when they saw the Meal: He told me that he made a Cake and Baked it in a Frying Pan and gave it to the people to eat which fully satisfied them of the truth they had told them before, that Wheat would make Bread. The Chiefs now begged some more seed which they sowed, and there can be little doubt but they will soon appreciate the value of Wheat. I saw some growing in January last exceeding strong and fine; the grain was very full and bright when reaped which leads me to believe the climate and soil of New Zealand will be very congenial to the production of that grain. Previous to the arrival of the Active, Duaterra had determined to visit Port Jackson in the first Vessel that sailed from New Zealand from [sic] the colony in order to procure a Mill, Hoes, and some other Articles he

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stood in need of. He greatly rejoiced when the Active anchored in the Bay as he hoped to get a passage in her, but on receiving the Mill I sent with the seed Wheat &c. he altered his Mind and said he would now apply himself to agriculture for 2 Years from his having the means [f] of carrying on his Cultivation and grinding Wheat. His Uncle Shunghee had at this time a great desire to visit Port Jackson, and as he is a very powerful Chief, and had no Friend in Port Jackson who could speak both the English and New Zealand language, Duaterra determined to accompany him. He told me his Wives, Friends, and people earnestly requested him to stay with them. He endeavoured to persuade them that he wo^d return in 4 Moons, but this they disbelieved entirely from an idea that the Active would never return more. The Priest told him his head Wife would die if he left her before his return. This very Women [sic] hung herself the day after Duaterra died on account of her tender love and affection for him. He told the Priest he had often returned before and should soon return again. Accordingly he took his leave with his Uncle and a few more Friends, and embarked for New South Wales, and safely arrived in about a Month once more at Parramatta. During his stay at my House, I often saw him very thoughtful and asked him what was the cause of his uneasiness— He would reply I fear my head Wife is either dead or very sick. What the Priest told him relative to his Wife dying in his absence evidently made a strong impression on his Mind, tho' he had been about 3 Years in my Family before and acted with great Propriety all the time, and upon all occasions was willing to receive religious

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instruction; Yet the Superstitious notions of their Religion which he had embibed [sic] from his infancy at New Zealand, was deeply rooted in his Mind: He had great confidence in what the Priest asserted, and in the effect of their prayers, I refer you to my Public Letter of the account I there gave [f] of Duaterra's attention when I arrived in the Active at the Bay of Islands, and also to M^r Kendall's Letter transmitted by this conveyance of what took place before and at the closing Scene of Duaterra's Life and after. His Death has been a subject of much pain and regret to me, and appears a very dark and misterious [sic] dispensation. For the last 10 years of Duaterras Life he had suffered every danger privation and hardship that human nature co^d bear. On my Arrival with him at New Zealand with the Settlers he appeared now to have accomplished the grand object of all his Toils, an object which was the constant subject of his conversation, namely, the means of Civilizing his Countrymen. He told me with much triumph and joy "I have now introduced the Cultivation of Wheat into New Zealand; New Zealand will become a great Country in two years more, I shall be able to export Wheat to Port Jackson to exchange for Hoes, Axes, Spades, Tea Sugar &c". Under this impression he made arrangements with his people for a very extensive Cultivation and formed his plan for Building a New Town with regular Streets after the European Mode on a beautiful situation which commanded a view of the Mouth of the Harbour and adjacent Country, I accompanied [sic] him to the spot. We examined the ground fixed upon for the Town, and the Situation where the Church was to stand &c. The

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Streets were to have been all marked out before the Active sailed for Port Jackson; at the very time when these arrangements were to have been Executed, he was stretched upon his dying Bed. I could not but view him as he lay languishing beneath his affliction with Wonder and Astonishment and could scarcely bring myself to believe that the divine goodness wo^d remove from the Earth a Man whose Life appeared of such infinite importance to his Country which was just emerging from barbarism and gross darkness and superstition. No doubt he had done his Work [f] and finished his appointed course! tho' I fondly imagined he had only just begun his race. He was a Man of clear comprehension, quick perception, and of a sound judgment, and a Mind void of fear. At the same time he was mild, affable, and pleasing in his manners. His Body was strong and robust, and promised a long and useful Life. — At the time of his Death, he was in the prime and vigour of Manhood, extremely active and industerous [sic]. I judge his age to be about 28 years. He was seized with a Bowel complaint and a stoppage in his breast attended with difficulty of breathing and a high Fever about 4 days before his dissolution. In reflecting on this misterious [sic] and awful [sic] event I am lead to exclaim with the Apostle to the Gentiles "O the hights [sic] and the depths of the Wisdom and knowledge of God how unsearchable are his judgments and his ways past finding out". I have now Sir related a few of these changes and vicissitudes in the Life of Duaterra which either came under my own immediate observation or were communicated to me by himself. From the whole of this little

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History you and the Society will be able to form some Idea of the National Character of these people. I do not believe that there is in any part of the World or ever was a Nation in a state of nature superior to the Inhabitants of New Zealand in mental endowments & Bodily strength nor any who wo^d in a shorter period render themselves worthy of being numbered with Civilized Nations provided they were favored with the ordinary means of instruction in those civil arts by which Men are gradually refined and polished. I trust that your Society will prove their Benefactors & furnish them with the necessary means for their advancement in Civilization, and in due time deliver them thro' the divine favor from the horrors & miseries of Heathen darkness, and bondage, and Sin, as these people are litterally [sic] without Hope and without God in the World, and conduct them by the light of divine revelation to him that was born King of the Jews as the Star lead the Eastern Magi. With every devout wish and ardent prayer that the Glory of the Lord may be revealed to these poor benighted Heathens & that they may see the Salvation of God and the work of the Lord prosper in your Hands. I have the Honor to be

Dear Sir

Your very obed^t H^{um}ble Servant

{Samuel Marsden}

The Rev^d J. Pratt

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