

Account of Samuel Marsden's Second Voyage to New Zealand

Second Voyage in 1819

[T. M. Hocken]

The following statement contains an Account of my Second visit to New Zealand. In the beginning of the year 1819 the Rev. John Butler M^{rs} Butler & their Son, with M^r & M^{rs} Kemp & M^r Francis Hall came out as Missionaries from England to join the New Zealand Mission. At this time the Brig Active was gone to New Zealand and it was very uncertain when she would return. Independent of the Missionaries, there were several Mechanics wanted at the Bay of Islands for the erection of the necessary buildings, as well as New Zealand Chiefs waiting at Parramatta wishing to return to their friends. As the Master of the "General Gates" an American brig then in the harbour intended to proceed to New Zealand I made an arrangement with him to convey the above Missionaries, Mechanics & Chiefs to the Bay of Islands. It was now about four years since my first visit & wishing to see the state of the Mission I made application to the late Governor Macquarie to accompany the Missionaries & obtained his sanction, having left directions for the Active to follow me ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~Ne~~ in order that I might return in her. The number of persons [f] who accompanied me were twenty two, we sailed from Sidney on the 29th of July, and on the 10th of August we made the North Cape and came up with about forty Canoes full of men all fishing for Guard Fish: We had some conversation with them, when they informed us they were all tabooed, and on that account they could have no communication with us though I was acquainted with some of them. We now proceeded on our voyage with a fair wind, and came opposite to the Cavalles at sunset, when several canoes came off to visit us; in one of which was the Chief, Okeeda, whose son had lived with me twelve months at

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Parramatta, and was gone again in the Active. He requested to remain on board till we arrived at the Bay of Islands, which was complied with. Okeeda informed us that they were assembling their men to go to war with the people of Whangarooa; and that Shughee [sic] was to leave the Bay of Islands on Friday Morning, with his war Canoes and Warriors to join the people on the main opposite to the Cavalles. Okeeda told us the cause of the difference between Shunghee and the people of Whangarooa was this: a whale had been driven on the Shore which belongs to Shunghee, and the people of Whangarooa had eaten it, which was considered a public [f] theft & Shunghee was going to punish them for it.

About twelve o'clock at night, the "General Gates" anchored safely off Rangheehoo in twelve fathoms, and the Natives immediately fired several muskets, to welcome our arrival though midnight. Several Natives with the Pilot, came off immediately; but we could not admit them on board till morning; and therefore requested them to return on shore, and inform the Settlers which they complied with. —

Aug. 13th 1819. At day break the vessel was surrounded with Natives. Some of the Settlers came on board and told us all was well. Our meeting afforded mutual satisfaction to all interested in the Mission. When we viewed the shores of New Zealand, and the Natives ~~of New Zealand~~ flocking around us, our hearts were warmed within us; and we considered that we had arrived at the Land of Promise.

About eleven o'clock Shunghee arrived, with his War Canoes and fighting men, on his way to Whangarooa. He received us very cordially, as did all the Chiefs who were with him. I told him that we had heard of his intention to go to war with the people of Whangarooa and remonstrated with him on the folly of carrying on a continual

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warfare one with another. Several of the subordinate Chiefs urged me to speak to Shunghee to give over fighting, as they wished to live at peace, and some of them requested me to take Shunghee with me to Parramatta, for that would tend to promote the general quiet. I used every argument with Shunghee to dissuade him from fighting. He laughed at me, and said it was very hard to comply with my wishes; but that he would not fight [f] while I remained at New Zealand, and would accompany me to Port Jackson, if I approved of his going, and that at present he would suspend his intentions against the people of Whangarooa: but he must go in a few days near that place to remove the bones of his Wife's Father; but he would not fight, and I might go with him if I chose. I told him I would if I could spare time.

Shunghee is a man of the mildest manners and disposition, and appears to possess a very superior mind.

Canoes continued to arrive the greater part of the day, at Ranghee-hoo, till the beach was crowded with Natives.

Aug. 14 & 15th Early in the Morning we began to land our stores, and continued the whole of the 14th & 15th. We had considerable difficulty to get through the multitude of Natives who covered the shore, as they were so eager to see us, & what we brought. They gave us every assistance, in carrying the Stores to the house appointed for their reception; nor did we miss in these two days a single article that I know of, excepting a silk pocket handkerchief which was taken out of my pocket. When I missed it, I informed Shunghee, who in about ten minutes, brought it to me again. I made no enquiry who had taken it, but left Shunghee to settle that matter. During these two days, we landed all our light and many of the heavy stores, as the weather was fine —

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[f]

On the Evening of the 15th a heavy gale came on which drove the boats of the "Active" and the "General Gates" from their moorings & broke them to pieces. This was an unfortunate circumstance; as we had only the whale boat belonging to the "General Gates" left, which was not sufficiently strong to carry ~~to carry~~ our heavy stores on shore.

Aug 17th This morning we resolved to build a punt 24 ft long by 10 wide for the purpose of landing the heavy stores &c for general use. x The gale continuing this day, with heavy rain, nothing could be done; and as we were confined to the house, we deliberated on the propriety of immediately forming a new Settlement where the operations of Agriculture could be carried into effect on an extensive scale. In the Even^g Korrokorro Tooi's Brother, arrived. He is Shunghee's opponent, and commands a large extet of the Coast on the South side of the Bay of Islands. The two Chiefs were soon ~~informed~~ acquainted with our intentions of forming a New Settlement and were both equally anxious to have us within their respective jurisdiction. Shunghee said he would give me Choice of all his lands, and any quantity we might wish: Korokoro was ready to do the same. However it was agreed that we should proceed, the next morning to Kiddeekiddee, a district about twelve Miles from Ranghee-hoo where Shunghee carries on his principal cultivation of the Sweet & Common potatoes.

Aug. 17th 1819. Accordingly, after setting the Natives to cut the timber for our punt, and [f] giving the necessary directions to the carpenters, myself the Rev. John Butler, & Mess^{rs} F. and W. Hall, set off with Shunghee in his war canoe for Kiddeekiddee where we arrived in the afternoon and proceeded immediately to examine the country. I had

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surveyed the part of the land and about 14 miles to the west of it when I was in New Zealand in 1815 and considered this district as the most promising, for a new Settlement of any I had met with in the Island; the soil being rich— the land pretty level, free from timber, and easy to work, with the plough— bounded by a fine fresh water river— the Communication by water free and open to any part of the Bay of Islands and safe anchorage for ships of any burden within about two leagues of the Settlement. Shunghee told us that we were at full liberty to take what land we wanted on either side of the River; as it was all his own to a very great distance. We determined, therefore on forming the principal Settlement at this place; as we could not doubt but the rich soil would be grateful for any Cultivation we should bestow upon it, and return a plentiful produce. We accordingly told Shunghee, that we should, with his approbation, settle there. He was much gratified, as well as his people at with our determination.

After walking over the land till towards dusk, we returned to Shunghee's village, where we were to sleep for the night. We found a fine sow, of about 140 lbs weight at the [f] door of our hut, which Shunghee was going to kill for our supper, with plenty of sweet and common potatoes: but, as we had brought with us a sufficient quantity of provisions, we requested him not to kill the sow; and with some difficulty, prevailed on him to spare her life. The ground was wet in consequence of the heavy rain; and, from having had some rain on our passage from Ranghee-hoo, together with walking through the wet fern, our clothes were wet too; we therefore took them off on entering the hut where we were to remain for the night, and had them dried.

After taking necessary refreshment, and spending the evening in pleasant conversation

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with Shunghee & his People, who were in the hut with us and about the entrance, we read a Chapter, sung a hymn, and returning our grateful thanks to Almighty God for his kind protection of us and for the safety and comfort that we enjoyed in the very midst of cannibals, we lay down in peace to rest till morn^g.

Aug 18th – We rose about three this Morning, sung a hymn, and offered up our Morn^g sacrifice of Prayer and Praise; and after breakfasting at four o'clock Crossed the River, in order to examine the land on the opposite banks.

Here we were much gratified with a fine clear Country for cultivation, and of great extent; though the soil, in some parts, did not appear so rich as the land passed over the preceding evening. On the whole of the Survey which we had taken, we were perfectly satisfied that a more suitable situation could not be found in any of the districts adjacent to the Bay of Islands. There is a fine fall of water close to the place where we intend the new Town to stand, for a Corn Mill, Saw Mill, or any other purpose, without the expense and risk of making a dam; which is a valuable consideration. At Kiddee Kiddee, any quantity of grain &c may be grown that the Settlement may [f] want for years to come either for victualling the Native Children in the Schools, or Europeans belonging to the Mission.

Before our departure, we marked out the ground where we wished our Public Store to be built; and requested Shunghee to put up a temporary building for the accommodation of the stores, and of the Mechanics who had accompanied us from Port Jackson, who immediately set his people to work.

Having now gratified all our wishes, as far as respected the object of our visit to Kiddeekiddee, in the evening we returned to Ranghee-hoo, in Shunghee's War Canoe;

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who with much pleasure accompanied us back again.

Korrokorro remained at Ranghee hoo with Tooi, till we returned, in order that he might know what prospect there was of forming a Settlement ~~there~~ within his jurisdiction. When we arrived, he was anxious to know if we approved of the land that we had seen, and had come to any determination relative to forming a Settlement there. We told him that the land was good at Kiddeekiddee, and on that account, we must form a Settlement there. He was much affected; and said that Shunghee would now cut him and his people off. We replied, that Shunghee had promised us that he would leave off fighting, if we would settle in his district; and would reside himself with the Europeans. Korokoro replied, that Shunghee would make fair promises, but we could not see into his heart; and gave us to understand that he would not believe a word that he said, however fairly he might speak: and recited instances how Shunghee had taken advantage of himself and others in former times; and contended that what he had done formerly, he was capable of doing again. [f]

We endeavoured to pacify Korrokorro, but in vain. He said he should be perfectly satisfied, if the Europeans were fairly divided between him and Shunghee: but it was too great an affliction for him for all the Europeans to reside with Shunghee. He made strong appeals to our feelings, and urged his request by every argument he could advance. We all felt much anxiety to relieve his distress. I and M^r Butler promised to accompany him and Tooi, the following day to Parroa, where he resides and examine his land; and that if we found a suitable place for a Settlement, we would build him and Tooi a house; and one or more Europeans should reside with him at present, till more Europeans arrived from England, when his wishes should be complied with, as

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far as we could. This assurance relieved him a little though not much.

August 19. 1819. I and M^f Butler went with Korokoro to Parroa who was tolerably quiet on the passage. Tooi had not, as yet, seen his friends and relatives, and therefore he accompanied us, with his Brother Teranghee. After we arrived at Parroa, Korrokorro again brought on the subject of the Settlement on the district where he lived. He told us that there was a fine tract of land, called Manowowra which he would give us; and which we should ~~give us~~ see the next morning. We endeavoured to convince him that it was not in our power at present to form any extensive Settlement within the limits of his jurisdiction. He became extremely angry, and told us that he was treated with great ingratitude; that his brother Tooi had been long absent from him and his friends, had been to England – had brought out white people with him – and after all, he was not to have the advantage of any of them to reside with him! that this was an act of great injustice, and such as we ought not to be guilty of. His brother Teranghee joined [f] in his remonstrances with us, at length, both of them grew warm. Tooi took our part; and endeavoured to convince Korrokorro that we had not the means, at present, for supplying him with Europeans. He then got extremely angry with Tooi, and Teranghee joined him. Korrokorro told Tooi that he might go and live at Ranghee-hoo or with Shunghee, or where he liked; for he cared nothing about him, as his request could not be complied with relative to the Europeans. Tooi went, and was much distressed; and M^f Butler and myself felt much pain, on both their accounts. After a long conversation, and strong remonstrances from Korrokorro we retired to rest.

M^f Butler and myself were convinced that we could not avoid doing something for

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Korrokorro. We also pitied Tooi. He was anxious to live a civilized life and not to conform to the Native habits and dress any more; but he said he could not stand his ground, if he had not one or more Europeans to support him. The ridicule of the Natives, if alone, would compel him to conform to their dress, and to live in their manner, which he was greatly averse to do. Tooi is a fine man, well informed, and well disposed; and would do all in his power to second the views of the Society. His family is of the first respectability and his Brother's influence and authority extend along the Coast almost to the River Thames, and that of his friends, from the North to the East Capes. We feel much interested in the future welfare of Tooi, and must give him all the support possible. — [f]

August 20th 1819. In the Morning Korrokorro was more calm, and appeared more reconciled than he had been before. He was very friendly, and expressed his sorrow with a warmth with which he had spoken to us the preceding evening. We assured him that we would assist him all in our power. As we had gone down in the "General Gates" to Korrokorro's place, where the Master intended to fit out for sea again, we remained on board all night. Korrokorro accompanied us with Tooi from Rangheehoo. As he knew that the vessel would anchor off one of his Settlements, he had given directions to his people previous to his visit to us, that none of them should presume to come to the "General Gates" till the following day. It was dark when we anchored. We were hailed from shore by one of Korokoro's officers; when Teranghee answered, and informed the people that Tooi was arrived; and gave directions that Messengers should be immediately sent to the different districts, to inform the inhabitants of Tooi's arrival. A party of chiefs had arrived a few days before, at Wyecaddee from the River

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Thames, by whom one of Tooi's cousins had been cut off sometime before, and they were apprehensive that the father of the young man & Korrokorro would revenge his death. Tooi ordered a messenger to be sent immediately to Wycaddee, to inform the chiefs that a general pardon would be granted to them; and that, if they thought proper to come and pay their respects to him, their persons would be safe. The next morning the vessel was crowded with chiefs and their friends who came to see Tooi. Some wept for joy, [f] and all welcomed him home. The chiefs from the River Thames met us the next day at Ranghee hoo.

After breakfast we set off to Manowowra, to examine the ground for a Settlement, accompanied by Korokoro and many of his people. We found a level piece of good land, surrounded by hills the soil of which was generally rich, at the head of a fine harbour. As this was the best situation for timber, water, and good land, we determined on forming a small settlement here. The harbour abounds with the finest fish; and there is safe anchorage for Shipping. The fresh water is good; and it is a very convenient place for a school. Korrokorro was much gratified with our choice. Here Tooi intends to reside. He gave directions for materials to be collected immediately, for a temporary building for the Europeans; and returned in the evening to Ranghee-hoo. The distance between Manowowra and Rangheehoo is about nine miles.

This morning we set all hands that we could muster at work for our punt, as we could not land the remainder of our stores till that was completed. We had soon fourteen Natives, sawing timber, others cutting knees; in short, all the beach exhibited a scene of happiness and busy civilization. A sight more grateful to a benevolent mind could not possibly be seen. Our hearts overflowed with joy and gratitude. We viewed the

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various operations with delight and considered them as the dawn of Civil and Religious Liberty to this Land of darkness, superstition, and Cruelty.

August 21st 1819. All our works went on well [f] and every preparation was made for completing the punt, with all possible dispatch, in order that the stores might be landed, and the Settlement formed at Kiddee kiddee, and Manowowra.

August 22nd. We assembled on the beach for public worship, as there was no place, for divine service sufficient to hold the People. We were surrounded with Natives, and a number of Chiefs from different districts of the River Thames. It was very gratifying to our feelings, and afforded us a pleasing prospect, to be able to perform the worship of the true God in the open air, without any sensations of fear or danger, when surrounded by Cannibals with their spears stuck in the ground, and their Pattoo-pattoos & daggers concealed under their Mats. We could not doubt but that the time was at hand for gathering to the fold of Christ this noble race of men, whose temporal and spiritual wants are inconceivably, and call loudly on the Christian world for relief. Their misery is extreme. The Prince of Darkness, God of this World, has full dominion over both their bodies and souls. Under the influence of darkness and superstition, many devote themselves to death, and the chiefs sacrifice their Slaves as a satisfaction for the death of any of their friends— So great is the tyranny which Satan exercises over this people!— A tyranny from which nothing but the Gospel can set them free; and we cannot hope for the Gospel having its full effect, according to the ordinary course of the Divine proceedings, without the united aid of the Xⁿ World. Suitable means must be provided for the civilization & evangelization [f] of the inhabitants of New Zealand; and if this be done there can be little doubt, but the important object will

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be attained.

23rd. We this day built a shed for the Carpenters to work in, and in which divine Service, might be performed while we remained at Rangheehoo. The Natives continued to saw timber and to render us every service in their power.

August 26th. I went with Tooi accompanied by M^r Samuel Butler, to an island called Motoorooa, belonging to Korrokorro and where he principally resides. My object was to set the people to work, the next day, at Manowowra. We arrived about two o'clock, and found that Korrokorro was on board the General Gates about two miles distant. The first object that struck my eye, near where we landed, was a man's head stuck on a pole, on the summit of a hill close to the shore, and near the hut where we were to sleep for the night. The face appeared beautifully tattooed. Tooi told me that it was the head of a chief near the East Cape, who had been killed by Shunghee's people, and purchased by some of Korrokorro's people. This sight naturally excited sensations of horror in my breast; and caused me to value, more and more the blessings of divine revelation, and the protection of civil government. These are blessings, which can never be duly estimated, by those who enjoy them, as they respect the life that now is, and that which is to come. As the afternoon was fine, we walked over the island to the opposite side. When we got to the top of the island which is very high, we had a full [f] view of Korro Korro's hippah, or castle; which is situated on the top of another island less than two miles distant. A number of Natives were at work on this second island. I was anxious to visit it; and when we came opposite, Tooi, M^r Butler, and myself, got into a Canoe, and crossed over. We were received with much pleasure by the Natives. We found Korrokorro's head wife, or Queen hard at work, with a little wooden spade,

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digging the ground for potatoes; and Teranghee's wife, with several more women & men. They were all much rejoiced at our visit to them. The old queen earnestly requested that I would give her a hoe; and endeavoured to convince me how hard it was to turn over the ground with a stick. I promised to comply with her request. After spending about an hour among them, we returned; taking with us a quantity of fish which they had given us. The land on this island was rich: part of it was sown with turnips and part was already planted with potatoes. The women turned over the ground with sticks about two feet long, and as thick as a broomstick. They wrought hard; but made little progress in cultivation, for want of proper tools. When we reached the beach, Tooi said one of his sisters was coming, whom he had not seen since his return: and earnestly requested me to get into the canoe before she arrived, as he did not wish, to have his first meeting with her there. I begged him to wait for her, as she was hastening down the hill and not to regard me; [f] but I could not prevail upon him; he leaped into the canoe, urging me to follow him. I delayed till she reached the beach, when I stepped in. Tooi ordered the canoe to put off; but at that moment, his sister sprung into the canoe, weeping aloud, and passed by me. She fell on her knees, and grasped Tooi's: he saluted her, when she gave vent to her feelings in tears and loud lamentations, which she continued for about an hour. When we landed at Motooroa, she still sat weeping for a long time. Tooi conducted himself with great propriety, he suppressed all the wild feelings of an uncultivated mind, and yet showed all the soft & tender feelings of nature towards his sister. I could not but view his conduct with admiration: and told him to indulge his affection for his sister, without any respect to my being present. I saw that he was anxious, lest the warmth of his

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Sister's affection & the strong manner in which she manifested it, should overcome his manly fortitude, and cause him to imitate her example; as he had done on a former occasion when I first visited New Zealand. When we landed, we found Korro-korro, and a number of his people who received us with much kindness. I told him I was come to set the people to clear the land at Manowowra, and to see about the house, which it was necessary to build for their accommodation. He received this news with much [f] joy; and said he would accompany me in the morning, and give the necessary directions to his people to lend their assistance. When he saw the hoes, for breaking up the ground, he was much pleased. After conversing on various subjects we had supper, sung a hymn, and committed our selves to the protection of the Angel of the Everlasting Covenant, and then lay down to rest. A number of the Natives lay round about the hut & some within. I slept well till the day returned, being weary with walking, when I lay down.

Aug. 27th. 1819— We took our breakfast and then set off for Manowowra, which lay a few miles distant, on the opposite main. On our way we came up with a very large war canoe. I inquired how many men she carried; and was told sixty fighting men, with their provisions &c when they went out to sea, to the River Thames, or to East Cape; and eighty men in smooth water.

On examining the Canoe, I observed in the stern the head of a Chief— the features of the face as natural as life, and one of the finest countenances I ever saw. The chief must have been about thirty years old. The hair was long; and every lock combed straight: and the whole brought up to the crown, and tied in a knot, and ornamented with feathers according to the custom of the Chiefs when in full dress— the hair and

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countenance both shining with oil with which they had been lately dressed. [f] From the beautiful tattooing on the face, the chief must have been of high rank. I inquired whose head it was; and was told that it was the head of a chief who had been killed beyond the River Thames by Shunghee. It is possible that the ~~head~~ death of this Chief may be revenged by his children if the tribe to which he belonged should ever have strength to retaliate on Shunghee or his posterity. Hence the foundation is continually laid for new acts of cruelty & blood, from generation to generation; as the remembrance of these injuries seems never to be forgotten by them. I shall mention an instance of retaliation, some of the circumstances of which came within my own knowledge:—

About fifteen or sixteen years ago, a vessel belonging to Campbell & Co of Port Jackson, called the Venus, was taken by the Convicts at Port Dalrymple. When the pirates had possession of the Venus, they sailed for New Zealand, and touched at the Bay of Islands; from whence they took the Sister of a Chief, named Temmarangha; and afterwards sold her at an island near East Cape for some mats. Two of the Natives afterwards quarrelled about her, in consequence of which she was killed.

Some time after, some Natives arrived from East Cape at the Bay of Islands, and gave information relative to the fate of Temmarangha's Sister. Temmarangha's Father was alive; and previous to his death, caused Temmarangha to swear that [f] he would revenge the death of his Sister. In 1815 Temmarangha accompanied me to Parramatta; and two years after his return, he mustered his tribe and set off to the East Cape to perform the oath which he had sworn to his father. He killed the Chief of the island where his Sister had been murdered, and brought away the Chief's Wife a prisoner,

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and gave her to his brother, with whom she now lives.

M^r Kendall informs me, that there is always some, either, remote or immediate, cause, that induces the Chiefs to go to war; and that it is not for the mere motive of plunder and blood, but to obtain satisfaction for some injury done to them or to their tribe.

In the above canoe, I met with Hooratookie, and his two brothers and Uncle, who were all officers under Korrokorro. Hooratookie was the first New Zealander who was introduced into civil Society. He had been landed at Norfolk Is. with another of his countrymen about twenty five years ago, by some vessel which had touched at New Zealand. The late Governor King had the command of the Island at that time. He treated the two strangers with great kindness: they lived at his table and received from him every attention. After remaining a considerable time with the Governor, the *Brittania* Whaler touched at Norfolk Island; when the Governor agreed with the Master to take Hooratookie and his companion to New Zealand, and accompanied [f] them himself to see that they were properly treated and safely landed in their own Country. The great kindness of Governor King towards these New Zealanders ~~towards these New Zealanders~~ made a most favourable impression upon all the Natives who heard of it; and, to the present day they always speak of it with gratitude, and make enquiries after Governor King's eldest daughter whose name is Maria, and who was only a few years old when Hooratookie was at Norfolk Island. When he asked me about Maria, I told him that she now lived at Parramatta. He said he would go and live with her till he died. Hooratookie was much rejoiced to see me. He left his war canoe, and some of the Chiefs with him, and accompanied us to Manowowra. On our landing,

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I selected a small spot of ground to sow a little English flax seed upon; which was immediately cleared and broken up, and afterwards I sowed the seed. I then examined the ground for building on; and staked out a house \approx about 40 ft by 13 ft. for the work people, and, in the evening returned to Rangheehoo.

Aug. 28th – All hands were busy, either in cutting timber for the intended new buildings, or in working at the punt. [f]

Aug. 29. Sunday. Divine Service was performed in the new shed, when we enjoyed the administration of God's word, with little molestation. It was very interesting to see the eager countenances of the Natives who surrounded the Shed; and to hear them frequently repeat the word that was delivered, though they could not as yet understand it.

After Morning Service, I and M^r Butler visited the Native Village, and conversed with the people. In walking over the ground near the village, I had some conversation with a young women, who lives with M^r brother in law to M^r King. On asking if her father was alive she told me that he was killed and eaten at the North Cape by Shunghee's People; and that she was a prisoner of war. I was also informed, that, since she had been brought to Ranghee hoo, it had been determined to kill her. A few months ago the brother of the present Chief at Ranghee hoo died; the people believed that he was killed by incantation, or charm. As he told them that this was the cause of his death. Towha the son of the late Tippahee, lived with me at the time of this man's death; and had two female Slaves, whom he [f] had left at Ranghee hoo. When the Chief's Brother died, in order to give satisfaction to his departed spirit, to appease his anger, and to

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prevent him from coming again and destroying them, these two young Women were killed by the relatives of the departed Chief: They both belonged to the School under Mr Kendall, at the time. Another relation of the Chief demanded the death of the young Woman who lived with Mr Hanson, as a satisfaction, on his part, that the spirit of the departed Chief might not injure him; and, as it was the custom of the country, she delivered herself up to be killed: but the Chief, before he died, knowing that some would be sacrificed for him had given directions that she should not be one of them, and, on that account, her life was spared. When the Active ~~was~~ returned to Port Jackson, the two young Men who had been appointed to kill Towha's Female Slaves, came in her. Towha was with us at the time. Mr Kendall informed me of the above circumstance, fearing that Towha might be angry with them when he heard of the death [f] of his servants. The young Men, when they arrived, appeared alarmed: I spoke to Towha, and told him what had taken place: he was much concerned for the death of his servants; but assured me that he should show no anger to the young men who had killed them, for he knew better than to do so now; which promise he strictly kept. These incidents will tend to show the superstition and character of these people.

In passing along the Village, we spoke to a man and his wife. There were some fowls running on the premises, which the man told me, had been bred from some that I had given Terra, the Head Chief on the south side of the Bay, when I was first there; and that when Terra died, his wife had taken Terra's Nephew for her Husband, who succeeded to the authority of his uncle. As it was contrary to the established custom of the Natives for a Chief's wife to marry again, a party from Ranghee-hoo went over to punish her for the violation of their laws, and stript her of what property she

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possessed. The [f] fowls that we then saw, were part of the plunder which this ma had taken at that time. We then returned to the village, and had Divine Service in the evening. Aug. 30, 1819— After dark, I was called out by a Chief named Towhee; who informed me that Shunghee had made an attack on a village betwee Whangaroa and the North Cape, and had killed six persons; and had told me neither to be angry nor afraid. I expressed my concern for what had happened. Towhee said the cause of the difference between Shunghee and those people was the following:— his Wife's Father had died some years ago: the people spoiled his sepulchre, took his bones, and made fish-hooks of them, for the express purpose of cruelly and wantonly sporting with Shunghee and his relations; and had put his scull on a pole to provoke him to revenge. Shunghee told me that he was going to fight, when [f] he left Ranghee hoo, but only to remove the bones of his Wife's Father. When he returns we shall lean whether he knew, previous to his departure, that the sacred tomb, in which the bones of his Father in law were deposited, had been spoiled. Aug-31- About 40 Men, Women, and Children, arrived at Ranghee-hoo, from a village situated on the banks of the Shukeangha, distant between 50 or 60 miles. This river empties itself into the sea, on the west side of the island, about 100 miles to the south of Cape Van Diemen. They brought with them a few hogs for sale; and a large quantity of sweet potatoes, as presents for their friends and relatives at Ranghee-hoo, where many of them reside. The complexion of these Natives is fairer than any that I had seen. They are a very fine race of people. I told them that it was my intention to visit them before I left New Zealand; which gratified them much. The Chief wished to know how long it would be before I went; and said that he would show me the way, and carry me over the

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intermediate [f] swamps. I promised to visit them in one moon, if I could. He expressed his fears that Shunghee would be offended if I went to Shukeangha, lest any ship, at a future time, when the river and harbour were known, should come to them. I replied, that before he came to Ranghee-hoo, I had formed an intention of visiting them; and had already mentioned the circumstance to Shunghee, who approved of my design, and would not be displeased with me, or them, for my visiting the inhabitants on the banks of the Shukeangha. He expressed his satisfaction that Shunghee approved of my going; and said that he would supply the Settlement with pigs and potatoes, when formed at Kiddee Kiddee; as it would be nearer to Shukeangha. I gave him a spade; and promised his people some fish-hooks when I came to their Settlement, which pleased them all. Sept. 1, 1819— Mr Butler accompanied me on a visit [f] to the Chiefs at the south side of the Bay; We arrived at Corradica, the residence of the late Chief Terra, who was, at all times, a warm friend to Europeans. When I first visited New Zealand, Terra wept much for joy; and both he and his wife shewed us the greatest kindness. Mr Kendall informed me that he died last November; and expressed his happiness, on his dying bed, that no European had ever been killed in his district. We found his successor at home, who had long been known by the name of King George; and Terra's late wife, with several of their people. They were overjoyed to see us; and Terra's Widow requested me to sit down by her, which I did. She then told me what troubles she had met with, since I was there— that when Terra was alive, they had plenty of hoes, axes, spades, fish-hooks, tokees, sweet and common potatoes, and fowls, from those I had given them, and clothing; but that now they were completely [f] destitute. They had not a nail, fish-hook, spade, axe, or hoe; and she had not any

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clothes, but the mat which she had on. She wept as she related her misfortunes, and spoke in a feeling manner. She is naturally a kind and tender-hearted woman: many instances of this I saw, when first at New Zealand. I told her that I had been informed that she had married King George since Terra's death, which was contrary to the customs of their country; and which offence against their laws had furnished her countrymen with a pretence to plunder her of all that she possessed at the time of Terra's death. She admitted that she had consented to marry King George; but, as yet, they were not united with the public sanction, nor could they be for some time to come. When Terra died, she wrapt up his body in mats, and performed every other necessary service for the dead: and had [f] the body deposited in the Ahoodoo Pa, or sepulchre in which the dead are laid, till their bones are finally removed to the family vaults belonging to their tribe. She shewed me where Terra was laid; and said that she had to remove his bones before she could marry King George, which ceremony she would perform in a little time. In consequence of having performed the above services, and what she had still to do for Terra's remains, she was polluted, and was compelled to eat and live with the common people; and could not enter into King George's house: but, when Terra's bones were removed, she would then be received by King George as his wife, and raised from her present low state. She said that what King George possessed, at the time of Terra's death, had also been taken from him, in consequence of taking her for his wife. King George confirmed what she said; and lamented that he had no pork or any thing to give us for our supper, but fern root; and also regretted [f] that he had not an English house for us to sleep in. He reminded me how he had been treated when living with me at Parramatta, which favours he could not return; but said

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that we should have the best accommodation that he could give us. We spent the evening very pleasantly with these poor Heathens. At ~~the~~ length, King George informed us that our lodgings were ready. He had prepared his hut in the best manner – had spread new clean mats on the ground for us to sleep upon, and a clean mat at the entrance. The hut might be about 14 feet by 10; and he had made a fire in the centre, which made it as hot as an oven, there being no vent for the smoke but at the entrance, which was very small – so small, that I could not creep in without taking my coat off. I requested [f] him to have the fire taken out, as we should not be able to bear the heat; which was done. When all was ready, we crept into the hut, along with King George, and his Wife, and Nephew, who is a fine youth, named Racow, and will succeed King George in his authority, should he survive him. Though the fire was removed, the hut was extremely hot. We perspired profusely when we lay down, and requested that the door of the hut might be kept open for a little air, as the hut was naturally from its construction, as warm as a bee-hive.

Sept. 2, 1819. – When we awoke, we observed Terra's widow sitting at the outside of the door, waiting for our rising. Our berth had been very warm – and clean; yet we willingly left it, on the return of day, and crept out to breathe the morning air. We desired Teeterree to prepare our breakfast. While it was getting ready, Terra's widow, who was sitting on a log, with two or three females, requested me to sit down by them, which I did. The conversation turned [f] on Terra, and the former time I was there. A fine young girl sat by, as we conversed together. She burst into a flood of silent tears: they ran in streams down her cheeks, on her mat. She sat and wept, and never spake, Her grief was to [sic] excessive. I called Mr Butler to witness the scene. It was more

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than his feelings could support: he was melted into tears. We then turned to King George who was sitting with his Wife, Racow, and Racow's mother. Mr Butler inquired if they knew Mowhee; not knowing at the time, that he was speaking to Mowhee's relations. The fine youth was Mowhee's cousin; and his Mother, Mowhee's Mothers sister. When she heard his name she was greatly agitated, and wept bitterly, as did his other relations; and told us that his Mother was dead. The account which Mr Butler gave them of Mowhee having been at his house, &c, was very gratifying to them, and they knew not how [f] sufficiently to express their affection for Mr Butler. Racow is a tall, fine, handsome, youth, as can be seen in any country. His countenance is rather fair; and very open, noble, and placid. I told King George that he must not tattoo Racow – that it would spoil his countenance, and disfigure his face; but he laughed at my advice; and said he must be tattooed, as it would give him a noble, masculine and warlike appearance; and he would not be fit for his successor, with a smooth face.: the New Zealanders would look on him merely as a woman, if he was not tattooed. Poor Racow has much to suffer, before his face is carved like his Uncle's, and other parts of his body too. When we had breakfasted on the provisions which we had with us, we prepared to visit another Chief, on the coast opposite to Coorraddicea, named Tekokee, about five miles distant; not knowing, at the time, that King George had prepared any thing for us to eat. When we informed him that we must leave him, he told us that his cooks had [f] been providing for us some sweet potatoes, and that we must not depart till they came. We remonstrated with him for detaining us; but he resolved that we should not go till we had partaken of his hospitality. We had every reason to believe that he had sent a messenger in the night, to Pomarree, to procure for

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us some sweet potatoes for our entertainment; as two of Pomarree's daughters arrived very early, and shortly after we saw King George's servants kindling the fire at a distance. In about half an hour, six cooks arrived, with a number of baskets of sweet potatoes, ready dressed, for ourselves and people. King George said that we must take the whole of them; and what we could not eat, we must take in the canoe, which order was complied with. King George expressed his regret that there were no Europeans to reside with him: he said that he wanted a Carpenter, Smith, and a Clergyman. We promised that he should have a European to live with him, as soon as we could spare one. [f]

When we left Corroraddicea, King George accompanied us to the other side; where we were kindly received by Tekokee and his people, who were busy preparing their land for potatoes. Tekokee was much rejoiced at our visit, as well as his wife and people. He told me that since I was there, he had buried four of his children, and had only one son remaining, and he was gone in the Active on a visit to me. I told him that he had arrived safe at Port Jackson, and was well; which gave him and his wife much satisfaction. He expressed a very ardent desire to have some Europeans to live with him; and pointed out a situation where an European house would stand to great advantage, and be an accomodation [sic] to the ships that came into the Bay, as they could easily water on his shore, from a stream of fresh water which went into the cove. We promised to bild him a house, as soon as we could, on the spot that he fixed on. Tekoke is the Chief of the Timber District; and, as much timber will be wanted for the intended buildings [f] it was necessary to acquaint him with it. W promised him a few tools of Agriculture which he was much in want of, as he had only wooden tools to

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work with. He was much pleased with our promise, and said he would come to Rangheehoo for them.

After staying about two hours, we set off for Wytanghee, where Mr Hall formerly lived. It lay in our way, about three miles from Tekokee's. When we landed, and the people observed us, they ran in all directions to inform the Natives of our arrival. They met us with great joy. The Head Chief's Wife was much affected. Her husband was gone to Parramatta, on a visit to me. I told her that he was well, and would return in the Active; which gave her & the other Natives much satisfaction. They earnestly solicited that some Europeans might live with them; but were apprehensive, from what had happened to Mr Hall when there, that none would come to them. Their land is rich; and the finest fall of water, for mills, [f] is here that perhaps, ever was seen. We were much gratified with these poor Heathens while we remained with them. In the evening, we had a stormy passage to Ranghee-hoo, in a small canoe, with six Natives to work it. The water was rough, and the wind fresh. We were not without our fears, till safe on shore at the settlement, where we arrived after dark, highly gratified with our visit to the Natives, and thankful for our preservation; having, for some time, almost despaired [sic] of reaching the shore, as we had about seven miles to pass through a rough sea, the water frequently over the sides of the canoe.

When we arrived, I learned that Shunghee had returned from his expedition. I inquired what he had done. He informed me that he had been told, some time previous to his present voyage toward the North Cape, that the inhabitants, not far from Whangarooa, had taken the bones of his wife's father from the sacred sepulchre, and had [f] made fish-hooks of them, as already mentioned; but he did not believe the

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report, but, went first to examine the sepulchre; where he only found a few ribs, and the upper part of the skull, which was broken; and that the thigh— land [sic] arm-bones, and also he jawbones, had been all broken and mad up into fish-hooks. Having satisfied himself of the fact, he proceeded to the village, where the people lived who had committed the sacrilege; and, going up within gun-shot of them, in the open-day, informed them that he was come to punish them for spoiling the sepulchre where his Wife's father's bones had been deposited, and for making his bones into fish-hooks. They admitted his charge, and the justice of his conduct: he then, without entering the village, fired upo them, and killed five me; whereupon the party attacked, requested him to fire no more, for the death of those who [f] were shot was a sufficient atonement fr the offence committed. Shunghee answered that he was satisfied; and the business was thus decided, with the mutual consent of both parties: and Shunghee returned, after visiting the people who had taken the dead whale cast on his shore, and breaking the canoe in which they had gone. Shunghee appealed to me, wishing to know if we did not consider it a high crime to rob the sepulchre of the dead, and to offer such indignities to their remains; and whether the people, whom he had been to punish, had not merited their punishment for their crimes. I replied, I was sorry that any lives had been taken; and, at the same time, admitted, that it was just to punish such offences; but I was apprehensive that what he had done would excite the other party to avenge the death of their friends. Shunghee said that they were not able to [f] make war upon him; and, therefore, would be quiet.

Sept. 4, 1819. — Ahoudee O Gunna, the Chief from whom the land had been purchased where the present settlement stands, informed me that M^r Kendall had insulted him

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and his brother, by turning them out of his house. I assured him that Mr Kendall had no intention to offend him at the time, as I was there, and saw what passed. I was shortly after informed, that his Brother had gone to Mr Hall's, and stolen two earthen pots. In the afternoon, I met Ahoudee O Gunna and his brother, and charged them with the theft. Ahoudee O Gunna replied, that his brother had not stolen the pots, but had taken them away with an intention to bring on an explanation respecting Mr Kendall's conduct; as he demanded some compensation [f] for the insult, and he should refuse to give up the pots till the compensation was given I told him that Mr Hall was not to be punished for what Mr Kendall had done; and that the pots ought immediately to be restored to the owner. Ahoudee O Gunna was willing to give them up; but his Brother demanded an axe; not as a favour, but as a reward for them. We conceived that if we complied with this demand, it would open the door for future robberies; and therefore told him that he might keep the pots; for we would not purchase them, because they were stolen.

Ahoudee O Gunna was much hurt at his brother's conduct; and, in the course of the following week, they differed seriously. Ahoudee O Gunna, in order to show his disapprobation, set his own house on fire, and burnt it; and left Ranghee-hoo with a determination to return no more to [f] his brother, he was so much ashamed of the theft, after our kindness to him and his Wife.

A few days afterward, Mr Butler and myself were walking through the village & met Ahoudee O Gunna's brother. He told us that he had but one pot, which he would give up: the other had been broken by another Native, who was gone into the country. We pointed out to him

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the evil of stealing; and that it was a crime which we could not reward, whatever we lost. He sent his son to us with the pot. We gave the boy six fish-hooks; who soon returned with them, and said that his father would take nothing for the pot. Thus, by firmness, we gained our point. We are concerned for Ahoudee O Gunna and shall heal his grief and vexation by some act of kindness, the first opportunity. Our punt not being complete, the Master [f] of the "General Gates" brought up the remaining stores, in a canoe belonging to Korrokorro. The casks being chiefly [sic] filled with tools of Agriculture, we could not land them, without opening and exposing their contents to the Natives. A Miser never valued gold so much as they do edge tools. These are a temptation which they cannot withstand. We now expected to be robbed, more or less; as the Natives could not be kept from the canoe, nor from the casks when opened. We were obliged to employ some of them, to carry the stores to the public store. When about half of them were landed, a report was spread that the Natives had stolen some of the axes, bill-hooks, &c. An immediate stop was put to the Natives carrying any of the articles from the canoe, and several of them were charged with theft; which created a general tumult and fermentation among them. We could not ascertain what they had stolen, but knew that some axes, sickles, &c were [f] missing. We remonstrated with them for their ungrateful conduct; and told them that we had come there to do them good— that we wanted nothing that they could give us, as we had plenty in our own country— & that, as we had no object but to serve them, we could not allow them to rob us of our property. I told them that King George and the gentlemen in England, would be ashamed of them, when they heard of their thefts; and that I could allow no thief to go in the Active to Parramatta; &, if they went there and stole there, Governor

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MacQuarie would hang them; and if any one of them should come to Port Jackson in any other ship, I should then catch them. After a long debate, some recommended the stolen property to be given up, and others alleging it was too valuable to be given up, the honest party prevailed; & ran off, [f] in different directions, for the axes, &c. A number were brought in on Saturday evening, and laid down publicly, on the beach, where we were assembled to discuss this important subject. Our object was to convince them of the injustice & immorality of their conduct, and to check, as much as we could, their disposition to steal.

Before we allowed the casks to be opened, & the Natives to carry the Stores, I asked Mr Kendall publicly, if they would not steal them. Mr Kendall said they would not; for he had never known them steal any thing from him. When they were charged with theft, Towha, Tippahee's son, who had resided 12 months at Parramatta, reprobated their conduct, and told them that they had covered Mr Kendall with shame— that he had given them a good character for honesty; but their theft proved that he was a liar, [f] hen he said they were honest. At length they said that they would return all that had been taken, excepting one axe, which was the first stolen; & that the man who had taken it should be banished from Ranghee-hoo, and not allowed to return again. The thief [sic] offered to return his axe; but the others said, that if he was allowed to remain, he would steal again; and therefore desired him to leave the place, & take the stolen axe with him.

The remainder of the stores were safely landed, and the Natives promised to return on Monday what property they could not recover on Saturday night; & thus ended the business, to our mutual satisfaction.

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I spoke to Shunghee on the heinousness of their crime in stealing the axes. He said that they were not his people, and that it was very wrong to take so many; & observed, with a smile, that if they had [f] taken one axe, he should not have thought much of it: which convinced me that Shunghee himself could not have withstood the temptation, had it lain in his way.

Sept 5, 1819. — Early this morning arrived King George and Racow, Mowhee's Cousin, with their relations; and, at the same time, Pomarree, with part of his Tribe. I was walking on the beach when they landed, and told them it was the sabbath day; & on that account, we could not do any thing with them. They said that they could not stop, as they had bought no provisions, We ordered them what was necessary, & afterwards performed Divine Service in the shed; where the four great men in New Zealand (Shunghee, King George, and Pomarree, with Racow the Young King) attended, & many others. All behaved with decorum & we hope the day is not far distant, [f] when they will know the joyful sound of the Gospel; & have the Lord for their God, in the fullest sense.

In the evening, we had Divine Service; & afterwards, the Holy Sacrament was administered in this distant land; the solemnity of which did not fail to excite in our breasts sensations and feelings corresponding with the peculiar situation in which we were. We looked back to the period, when this Holy Ordinance was first instituted in Jerusalem, in the presence of our Lord's Disciples; and adverted to the peculiar circumstances under which it was now administered, at the very end of the earth, where a single ray of Divine Revelation had never till now dawned on the inhabitants.

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Sept. 6.— This morning, the greatest part of the articles stolen on Saturday were returned. [f] We expressed our approbation of the conduct of the Natives in attending to our remonstrances, recommending them to act honestly in future; & rewarded such as had given information of thefts, or had exerted their influence to obtain the stolen property. A good understanding was soon established again between us & the Natives; & they joined their respective work as before, in sawing timber, &c. Pomarree paid us an early visit with King George. He told me he was very angry, that I had not brought a blacksmith for him, & that when he heard there was no blacksmith for him, he sat down and wept much, as also did his Wives. I assured him that he should have one, as soon as one could be got for him. He replied it would be of no use to him to send a Backsmith, when he was dead; & that at present he was in the greatest distress: his wooden spades were all broke, and had not an axe to make any more: his canoes were all broke [f] and he had not a nail or a gimlet to men them with: his potatoe grounds were uncultivated, and he had not a hoe to break them up with, nor a tool to employ his people; and that, for want of cultivation, he and his people would have nothing to et. He begged me to compare the land of Tippoonah which belonged to the inhabitants of Ranghee hoo and Shunghee, with his; observing that their land was already prepared for planting, because a Smith was there, and they could get hoes, &c. I endeavoured to pacify his mind with promises, but he paid little attention to what I said, in respect to sending him a Smith at a future period. He was so angry with me for not giving him a Blacksmith, that he had taken twenty five hogs to the General Gates, but had brought none for us. [f]

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I tried to divert his mind from his disappointment, and asked him if he should wish to go to England, with that view. He replied, he should not: and observed he was a little man when at Port Jackson, and should be less in England; but, in his own country he was a great king. We then promised him a few hoes, &c., which operated like a cordial on his wounded mind. He begged hard for three hoes, one axe, a few nails, and a gimlet. I told him he should have them. Mr Butler, when he accompanied me to Corroraddica, had seen the distress which King George was in for want of a few tools; and told us, if he did not get an axe he would hang himself. We therefore agreed to give these Chiefs, 15 hoes, 2 spades, 3 axes, 4 gimlets, a few [f] nails, 12 combs, 2 looking-glasses, 2 plane irons, and nearly 100 fish-hooks. They received this present with the greatest joy and gratitude, and returned to their own district as happy as King's with the spoils of war.

Sept. 7, 1819. — Mr Butler & Mr Francis Hall accompanied me to Tippoonah; a Native Settlement, about two miles distant from Rangheehoo. The land there is chiefly planted with sweet potatoes, which constitute the choicest food of the Natives. The soil is generally rich and light, and well adapted for the growth of this root.

The principal inhabitants of Ranghee-hoo have their sweet potatoe gardens here. We found numbers of them at work, in their respective allotments; some with spades and hoes [f] which they had received from us; others, with wooden spades, with long handles to them, the mouth made about the same as an English spade; and such as got neither spade nor hoe, turned up the ground with long spatulas, about three feet in length. The wooden spades and spatulas can only be used when the land is light, and has been previously turned up. They have another wooden tool, about seven feet long,

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pointed like a hedge stake, and a piece of wood lashed on about two feet from the point, to place the foot upon, to aid in thrusting the instrument into the ground. They call this tool Koko. They pull up all the weeds with their hands, and then cover them with the spatula or spade, as they proceed in digging.

The Natives were overjoyed to see us, and [f] their universal cry was for spades and hoes. We regretted much that it was not in our power to gratify all their laudable wishes. We saw, with pain, the hard toil which they endured, and the little progress which they made in cultivation with their rude instruments; and were convinced, by ocular demonstration, that the earth can never be subdued, and made to bring forth its increase, to reward the sweat and toil of man, without iron; and that this valuable article is the only thing in the creation that can relieve the temporal miseries of this people. In passing over these potatoe grounds, we were informed that Shunghee had an extensive allotment, and was then in his garden. We went to visit him; and found him in the midst of his [f] people, who were all at work, preparing the land for planting. Shunghee received us with great pleasure. I observed his head Wife at work with a spatula; and her little Daughter, between four and five years old, sitting on the bed which her mother was digging. I knew the age of this little girl; for she was born at Shunghee's Hippah (or Epah, a fortified place), about thirty miles from Ranghee-hoo, the very night I slept there, when first at New Zealand. Shunghee's Wife reminded me of this circumstance; and said that she had called the child Marsden" from my being with them at the birth. [Left off - in pencil]

This woman is about thirty five years old, and is quite blind. She lost her sight from an inflammation in her eyes about three years ago. She appeared to dig [f] the ground as

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fast as those who had their sight, and as well. She pulled up the weeds, with her hands, as she went on— then set her feet upon them, that she might know where they were, — afterward, dug up the ground, and covered the weeds with the mould, with her hands. I told her, that if she would give me the spatula, I would give her a hoe: which offer was accepted with joy; her daughter was sent immediately with the spatula, along with Mr Butler for the promised he.

When we viewed the wife of one of the greatest Chiefs in New Zealand— a man possessed of a very large and extensive territory of rich land; and one whose name, as a soldier, strikes terror into all the inhabitants, from the [f] North to the East Capes — labouring hard, though completely blind, with a wooden spade to gain a scanty subsistence on potatoes— this sight excited, in our breasts, new sensations and reflections, both of pleasure and pain & kindled within us the best feelings of the human heart.

We most ardently wished that the Christian World could witness this sight, with the surrounding scene: the means would soon be raised to furnish every blind woman, whether of high or low rank, who are willing to labour for their bread, with a hoe or spade; as well as to afford relief to all that are in distress, for want of these necessary instruments.

We have found, in every district which we have visited, the body of the inhabitants [f] industrious, but their industry is universally checked for the want of agricultural tools. We need not adduce any other proof of their habits of industry, than what has now been stated. If a woman of the first rank, and, at the same time, blind, can, from habit, labour in the field with her servants and children, what will not these people rise to, if

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they can procure the means of improving their country, and bettering their condition! Their temporal state must be improved by agriculture and simple arts, in connexion with the introduction of Christianity, in order to give permanence and full influence to the Gospel among them. It may reasonably be expected, that their moral and religious advancement [f] will keep pace with the increase of their temporal comforts. They are, at present, naked & hungry: and if we should say unto them, "Be ye warmed and filled, notwithstanding we give them not those things which are needful to the body, what doth it profit?

The bowels of Christians would yearn, I am sure, over their temporal and spiritual miseries, was it possible to make them known. Our God and Saviour, who is loving to every man, and whose tender mercies are over all his works, is now blessed be his name! moving the hearts of his servants to send relief to the poor Heathen, even to the very ends of the earth; which must cause the hearts of all who wish well to Zion, to rejoice.

Sept 8, 1819— Early this morning, several canoes left Ranghee-hoo for Whangarooa, in consequence of information, that had arrived in the night from the people who had been attacked by Shunghee. A number of our sawyers, we found, were gone with them. The report is, that the Natives, in these districts, are going to muster their tribes; and to demand satisfaction from Shunghee for the men he shot, in his late attack on the village. Shunghee has a Hippah in the Bay of Islands, about two miles from Ranghee-hoo, which he is fortifying, and preparing to receive the enemy.

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As these people have no regular established government, it appears that all crimes are punished, either by an appeal to the sword, or by plundering the offender of his little property and laying waste his potatoe grounds.

In the evening, Tori and his brother [f] Teranghee paid us a visit. Tooi informed us, that his brother Korrokorro wished him to be tattooed. We told him that it was a very foolish and ridiculous custom, and, as he had seen so much of civilized life, he should now lay aside the barbarous customs of his country, and adopt those of civilized nations. Tooi replied, that he wished to do so himself; but his brother urged him to be tattooed, as otherwise he could not support his rank and character as a Gentleman among his countrymen, and they would consider him timid and effeminate. However, he promised that he would not be tattooed, unless compelled by his friends.

In time of war, great honour is paid to the head of a warrior, when killed in battle, if he is properly tattooed. His head is taken to the conqueror, and [f] preserved, as the spoils of war, with respect – as a standard, when taken from a Regiment, is respected by the victor.

It is gratifying to the vanquished, to know that the heads of their Chiefs are preserved by the enemy; for when the conqueror wishes to make peace, he takes the Heads of the Chiefs along with him, and exhibits them to their tribe. If the tribe are desirous of putting an end to the contest, they cry aloud at the sight of the Heads of their Chiefs, and all hostilities terminate: this is the signal that the Conqueror will grant them any terms which they may require. But if the tribe are determined to renew the contest and risk the issue of another battle, they do not cry.

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Thus the Head of a Chief may be considered as the Standard of the Tribe to which [f] he belongs and the signal of peace or war.

If the conqueror never intends to make peace, he will dispose of the Heads of those Chiefs whom he kills in battle, to ships, or to any persons who will buy them. Sometimes they are purchased by the friends of the vanquished, and returned to their surviving relations; who hold them in the highest veneration, and indulge their natural feelings, by viewing them, and weeping over them. When the Chief is killed in a regular battle, the victors cry aloud, as soon as he falls, "Throw us the Man", if he falls within the lines of his own party. If the party, whose Chief is dead, are intimidated, they immediately comply with the demand. As soon as the victim is received, his [f] Head is immediately cut off; and a proclamation made for all the Chiefs to attend, who belong to the victorious party, to assist in performing the accustomed religious Ceremony, in order to ascertain, by augury, whether their God will prosper them in the present battle. If the priest, after the performance of the ceremony, says that their God is propitious, they are inspired with fresh courage to attack the enemy; but if the Priest returns answer, that their God will not be propitious, they quit the feild [sic] of battle in sullen silence. The Head already in possession is preserved for the Chief on whose account the war was undertaken, as satisfaction for the injury which he, or some one of his tribe, had received [f] from the enemy.

When the war is over, and the Head properly cured, it is sent to all the Chief's friends, as a gratification to them, and to show them that justice had been obtained from the offending party.

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With respect to the Body of the Chief, it is cut up into small portions, and dressed for those who are in the battle, under the immediate direction of the Chief who obtains the Head; and, if he wishes to gratify any of his friends who are not present, small portions are reserved for them; on the receipt of which they give thanks to their God for the victory obtained over their enemy. If the flesh should be so putrid, from the length of time before it is received, that it cannot be eaten, a substitute is eaten in stead.

They not only eat the flesh of the Chiefs, [f] but are wont to take their bones, and distribute them among their friends; who make whistles of them, and fish-hooks of others. These they value and preserve with care, as memorials of the death of their enemies.

It is also customary with them, for a man, when he kills another in battle, to taste the blood of the slain. He imagines that he shall then be safe from the wrath of the God of him that has fallen; believing, that from the moment he tastes the blood of the man whom he has killed, the dead man becomes a part of himself; & places him under the protection of the Atua or God, of the departed spirit.

Mr Kendall informed me, that one occasion, Shunghee ate the left eye of a great Chief, whom he killed in battle at Shukeangha. [f]

The New Zealanders believe that the left eye, some time after death, ascends to the Heavens, and becomes a star in the firmament. Shunghee ate the left eye of the Chief, from present revenge; and under the idea of increasing his own future glory and brightness when his own left eye should become a star.

From all that I have been able to learn, relative to the New Zealanders eating human flesh, this custom appears to have its origin in religious superstition. I could hear of no

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instance of any man ever being killed, merely to gratify the appetite; or of any killed for the purpose of selling their Heads to Europeans or other nations. The Heads which are cured and sold, are those of the slain in war, which are not intended to be returned to their friends. At the same time, I am of opinion, that it is [f] not safe or prudent for masters of vessels or any of the crews, to purchase heads from the Natives: for if a Tribe knew that the head of their Chief was on board any vessel, it is more than probable that they would make an attempt on the vessel, in order to obtain the head from the high veneration and esteem in which they hold the relics of their departed leaders.

Sept. 12, 1819. Sunday – Divine Service was performed, this morning, on the beach, in the shed; when some Chiefs from distant districts attended. We met with no molestation from the Natives: they behaved with decorum; and we trust they will, ere long, esteem this Day above all other days, & become true worshippers of the only true and Living God: then shall this Heathen Land, in every sense, “bring forth [f] its increase, and God will give His blessing.”

Sept. 13. – Ahoudee O Gunna came, this morning to take his leave of us. He had been on the spot where his house stood before he burnt it, to weep with his friends. He had cut and lacerated his face, arms, and other parts of his body, very much; to express his grief, according to their custom; and his friends had followed his example. We gave him a spade, hoe, axe, gimlet, looking-glass, file, and two Knives, one for himself and one for his Wife. These presents contributed to heal his distressed mind. He told me that he should never return to Ranghee hoo; and should take up his residence with Tekokee, and pressed me much to send an European to live at Cowa cowa, with him

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and [f] be friends. I promised him his wishes should be granted as soon as we could. Whenever he turned his eyes on his presents of tools, his joy was visible in his countenance, and appeared to to swallow u all his late sorrows.

Ahoudee O Gunna is much attached to the Europeans, and was very serviceable when I first visited New Zealand. We had also a number of Chiefs to visit us to-day, from different districts.

Their object was, to obtain a hoe or a spade some of them had come more than twenty miles. They urged their distresses with every argument in their power. We distributed about three dozens of hoes among them, and a few other tools, and regretted much that it was not in our power to give them three hundred; [f] which number even would only be like a drop in the bucket. They danced with joy when they were presented with these tools: and many of them will immediately be at work with them, which will greatly increase the quantity of corn & potatoes next season, as this is the Spring, and the proper time for planting both; by which means their comforts will be increased, and the Settlers more abundantly supplied with pork, corn, and potatoes. As the comforts of the native inhabitants increase, so will their civilization be proportionably improved. All they seem to want is the means of procuring the comforts of Civil Life. They neither want industry, nor natural ability of mind, nor strength of body; for these they possess, perhaps, in a superior degree to any other barbarous nation: and, as their climate & soil are both favourable for all the purposes of agriculture, they, no [f] doubt will make a rapid progress in the attainments of the necessary comforts of Civil Life.

We, this evening, had the pleasure to launch our flat-bottomed boat, in the presence of the joyful natives. It is estimated to carry twenty tons, and is the first vessel ever built

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on the Northern Island of New Zealand. We may view it like a grain of mustard-seed, if we anticipate the naval power and strength which this country is capable of attaining, from the energy of the inhabitants – their bold and enterprising spirit – and their harbours, rivers, and naval stores. It was impossible to prevent the mind from contemplating, with secret pleasure, on viewing the launching of this little bark [f] into the bosom of the great deep, the infinite blessings which the Christian World would impart to this nation, by the introduction of the Arts of Civilization and the Gospel. it is not possible for persons in Civil Life to conceive the wants of those who are in a state of nature; nor can they estimate the blessings which they themselves enjoy when compared with the miseries of a barbarous state.

Sept. 14, 1819 – This morning, I met Korrokorro at Rangheehoo. He informd me that he had been spending the night with Shunghee, at Tippoonah. Knowing the jealousy that existed between these two Chiefs, I wished to know what was the nature of his visit to Shunghee. He said he went to arrange some public [f] matters with Shunghee, previous to his own departure for the River Thames; whither he was going on an embassy of peace, and intended to take the gratest part of the men of his tribe with him. He was apprehensive that Shunghee would take advantage of his absence, and attack the people whom he should leave behind, unless Shunghee and he cam to a good understanding before he went. I inquired if Shunghee and he had settled their differences to their mutual satisfaction. He replied that they had and that Shunghee had engaged not to molest his people during the period that he was from home, which he expeced, would be about 4 months.

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The object of his present visit to the river Thames, was, to make peace between [f] some of the Chiefs there & his uncle Kaipō. Some months ago, the son of Kaipō was poisoned, or supposed to be so, by some of the Chiefs at the River Thames, when he was on a visit. For this real or supposed offence, Kaipō wanted satisfaction; and Korro Korro was going with all his fighting men, and his Uncle, to settle this business – not with a view to fight, but to bring the offending party to some honorable terms of settlement, according to their customs.

Korro Korro is a very brave and sensible man. I have seen no Chief who has his people under such subjection and good order as he; yet he is tired of war, and wishes that there was no fighting at New Zealand; and we have reason to believe that he will prevent war, as much as he can. [f]

After conversing with Korrokorro, I set out for Kddeekiddee, with our ne boat, full of scantling-boards for the New Settlement; accompanied by Mr W. Hall, the three carpenters, and Mr Samuel Butler. We arrived in the evening, in the midst of a crowd of joyful Natives, who immediately conveyed the timber to a spot where we intended to erect the Public Store, the Smith's Shop, &c. We set the Natives to work to clear the ground; and then we marked out these buildings – the Public Store, 60 feet, the Smith's House, thirty feet, and his shop, twenty feet, by fourteen.

After the ground had been marked out, I left Mr Hall and the Carpenters to begin the buildings, and returned, with Mr S. Butler, in the boat to Ranghee-hoo, where we arrived at near eleven [f] o'clock that night.

The boat will prove the most essential service to the Settlement, from the bundles of timber, lime, and stores, which she carries.

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Sept. 15, 1819— This morning I met some of the people who had returned from Whangaroa; and inquired how they had settled the difference relative to Sunghee's shooting some of their people, in his late attack on the village. They informed me that there had been a very large meeting of Natives, from different parts, among whom were hundreds from the North Cape. The object of their meeting was to mourn and weep with Topira, the Chief of Whangaroa, and to comfort him for the loss of his people. One of the Chiefs from Ranghehoo [sic] informed me, that Topira wished me to go to [f] Whangarooma and see him. If I could not go, he would come to Rangheehoo, before I returned to Port Jackson. He wished to obtain a he, spade, adze, and a few fish-hooks.

Topira is considered a very mild, and sensible man, and much averse to War, and is greatly respected by his countrymen, as well as by the Settlers.

It is not intended to call on Shunghee for satisfaction, on account of his attack on the village; the inhabitants have given the first offence, by spoiling the Sepulchre of his Wife's Father, as already mentioned.

In walking through the Village of Rangheehoo, this morning, I observed Towhee tattooing the Son of the late Tippahee, on the seat and on the upper part of the thigh. The operation was very painful, it was per= [f] formed with a small chisel made of the wing-bone of a pigeon or wild fowl. This chisel was about a quarter of an inch broad, and was fixed in a handle, four inches long, so as to form an acute angle at the head, something like a little pick, with one end. With this chisel he cut all the straight and spiral lines, by striking the head with a stick about one foot long, in the same manner as a farrier opens the vein of a horse with a fleam. One end of the stick was cut like a

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knife to scrape off the blood as it gushed from the cuts. The chisel appeared to pass through the skin at every stroke, and cuts it as a carver cuts a piece of wood. The chisel was constantly dipped in a liquid made from a particular tree, and afterward mixed with water, which communicates the blackness or, as they call it, the "Amoko". I [f] observed proud flesh rising in some parts, which had been cut almost a month before. The operation is so painful, that the whole tattooing can not be borne at one time; and it appears to be several years, before the Chiefs are perfectly tattooed.

On my return thro' the village, in company with Mr Kendall, I observed the Heads of four Chiefs, stuck on four poles, at one of the huts. I requested Mr Kendall to accompany me to the hut, in order to ascertain the cause of the death of these four Chiefs, and from whence the heads had been brought. On making inquiries of the people, we received the following account:—

Some years ago, a vessel from Port Jackson, called the Venus, touched at the bay of islands, from whence the crew took a woman belonging to Shunghee's tribe, and afterwards landed her [f] at or near East Cape, on the main land. After Temmarangha had heard of the fate of his sister (who was taken at the same time), he sent spies towards the East Cape to ascertain the particulars, and the situation of the people who had killed her. Temmarangha's spies travelled as traders, all along the coast; and when they returned, they brought information of what had become of these two women: one had been killed and eaten on an island, and the other on the main at a greater distance. Temmarangha set off to revenge the death of his Sister, as already stated; and Shunghee followed when he was ready. They both returned, without meeting, after taking vengeance on the respective people who had committed the above murders;

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and the Heads which [f] I saw were the Heads of Four Chiefs whom Shunghee had killed in battle. He also brought with him two Chiefs as prisoners, and many more Heads. Mr Kendall told me that Shunghee was eleven months on his voyage; and returned eight months ago, with many prisoners of War, who were shared between him and his subordinate Chiefs.

I could not but reflect, with pain and grief and shame, on the crimes of my countrymen; who, by their wanton atrocities, spread war, misery and death, even among the poor Heathen Nations, who have never done them the smallest injury. What an amazing day that will be, when God shall bring to light the hidden things of darkness!

Almost sixteen years have now elapsed, [f] since the Venus was pirated; and, in consequence of that piracy, and the crimes afterward committed by the pirates, the Heads of the Fathers of families and leaders of tribes are this day exhibited in Rangheehoo and their Wives, children, and servants, either slain, or delivered over to captivity! Previous to closing this day's observations, I met with Shunghee and Temmarangha. Wishing to know every particular relative to their expedition toward the East Cape, I requested them to accompany me to Mr Kendall, that I might, with his assistance, examine them very minutely. After a conversation of nearly two hours, I collected the following particulars relative to their expedition and customs.

Temmarangha went chiefly to revenge the death of his Sister, as already mentioned. [f] he took with him 400 fighting men, and, after attaining his object, returned with a few prisoners of war. He went on his expedition previous to Shunghee; but they never met on any part of the coast. Shunghee had two objects in view; the one was, to revenge the

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murder of the Woman belonging to his tribe, who had been taken away by the Venus, as already stated: the other, to assist Houpah, a Chief at the river Thames, to revenge three murders, which had been committed on his tribe several years before. Houpah had long solicited Shunghee to aid him, in punishing the tribe who had cut off his people.

Shunghee left the Bay of islands, on the 7 of February 1818, with his fighting men, to join Houpah at the River Thames. [f]

When they sailed from the river Thames, their forces amounted to 800 men. On their arrival at the districts where they intended to make war, such of the Natives as were able fled into the interior, leaving their habitations. Shunghee says, that they burnt 500 villages. The inhabitants are very numerous on the Coast, between the River Thames and the East Cape. Many of them were taken by surprise, and had not time to muster; and, therefore, were compelled to fly for safety to the country, as Shunghee advanced. A number of Chiefs were killed, either by surprise or in defending their towns and people; and many of their heads brought away by the conquering party. The settlers informed me, that about seventy heads were brought to Ranghee hoo, in one canoe. They also took 2,000 prisoners of War, whom [f] they brought back with them, as their spoils; consisting of Men, Women, and Children. These prisoners were shared among the Chiefs and their Officers, and made slaves.

I was anxious to know whether or not they eat those slain in battle; and, therefore, requested Shunghee and Temmarangha to inform me how they acted in the field, when the enemy met them; and also if they eat their enemies when then killed. In answer to my request, they gave me the following account: —

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When a Chief of the enemy's party is killed, his body is immediately demanded by the assailants; & as before stated, if the party attacked are intimidated, it is directly delivered up. If the Chief was a married man, his Wife is then called for; and she is also delivered into the hands of the enemy. [f]

She is taken away with the body of her Husband, and is killed. If she loved her Husband, she voluntarily resigns herself and her children; and desires the victors to do unto her and her children as they had done to her husband. If the party refuse to give up the Chief's Wife, they are immediately attacked by the enemy; who will not give up the contest, till they obtain her, or are overpowered.

When they have got possession of a Chief and his Wife, after the Woman is killed, their bodies are placed in order before the Chiefs. The Areekee, or High Priest, then calls out the Chiefs to dress the body of the man for his God; and the priestess, who is also an Areekee, gives the command to the Wives of the Chiefs to dress the women for her God. The bodies are [sic] then placed on fires, and roasted by the Chiefs and their Wives; none of the common people are allowed to touch them, as they are [f] tabooed.

When the bodies are dressed, the Areekees take each a piece of the flesh, in a small basket, which they hang on two sticks stuck into the ground, a food for their Gods (to whom they are going to offer up their prayers & whom they are about to consult relative to the present contest) in order that their Gods may partake first of the sacrifices.

While these Services are performing, all the Chiefs sit, in profound silence, in a circle, around the bodies, with their faces covered with their hands or mats, as they are not permitted to look on these mysteries; while they, the Areekees are praying, and

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picking small pieces of flesh from their sacrifices which they eat at the same time. These consecrated bodies are only to be eaten by the Areekees. [f] When all the sacred services are completed, the Areekees return the answer of their Gods to their prayers and offerings. If their prayers and offerings are accepted, the battle is immediately renewed (as before mentioned) and all in common feed upon the after slain. They eat the slain, not so much for food, as for mental gratification, and to display, publicly, to their enemies, their bitter revenge. Wishing to know if the Areekees prayed secretly to their Gods, at the time of performing the above ceremonies, I asked them the question: to which they replied, No: but publickly, with an audible voice, that all might hear what was prayed for unless the Areekees disapproved of their proceedings: in that case, their prayers were not heard. The New Zealanders are not only afraid of being killed in battle, if they enter on war without permission of their God; but they [f] are also afraid of spiritual consequences that they will either afterward be killed by the anger of their own God, or of that of their enemy. They fully believe that a Priest has power to take away their lives by incantation or charm; and attribute many of their deaths to this cause. I may observe here, that I never discovered that the New Zealanders offered up human sacrifices to their Gods on any occasion, before Shunghee and Temmarangha made the above statement; but I am now satisfied that they do perform these cruel rites.

After we had ended our conversation, I was walking on the beach, when I was met by a young woman, of a very interesting countenance and address. She asked me to give her a hoe, I inquired who she was, and from whence she came. She told me [f] that she was a Prisoner of War, and had been taen between the East Cape and the River

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Thames, by Shunghee's party, and brought to Rangheehoo; and that her Aunt's name is Heena, a great Queen. I have often heard the Natives, when at Parramatta, speak of this Woman, as possessing a large territory and numerous subjects; and M^r Kendall has occasionally mentioned her, in his correspondence with me. This Young Woman informed me that Shunghee attacked their Settlement by surprise. She was taken prisoner in the town; and her Father, brother and Seven sisters escaped in the country: none of them were killed. The cause of the attack being made on them, was that her forefathers had killed three persons belonging to Hupah's tribe, and they came to revenge their deaths. This account confirmed what Shunghee [sic] had [f] just stated.

While she was stating these circumstances, the Young Man was standing by, who had taken her in the attack on the town; and she was part of his spoil. I observed, that, when the "Active" returned, I might visit the place which she came from if I had time. The young man said, that if she went in the "Active" he would go too; and would allow her to see the place, but not to land, as she would in that case run away.

Sept. 16, 1819— In consequence of many of the principal inhabitants of Rangheehoo having never been able to obtain either an axe, or a hoe since the Settlement was formed, we resolved to make a few presents of these articles, so far as our means would allow, this Morning, and for that purpose we requested the Settlers to give us the names of those persons whom they knew to be the most needy and deserving.