

## 2014 University of Auckland Winter Lecture Series

### Lecture 1 : Alison Jones and Kuni Kaa Jenkins 22 July 2014

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#### **KUNI**

*mihi...*

#### **SLIDE 1 WINTER LECTURES**

In this 2014 lecture series we commemorate the 200<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the arrival of the first permanent Pakeha settlers in New Zealand.

The significant date 1814 has been often forgotten in our collective history of Aotearoa New Zealand. Our national origin stories tend to begin with the Treaty in 1840, 25 years after the first Pakeha settlers arrived in the Taitokerau.

The Winter Lectures focus on this preTreaty period – and particularly on the relationships between Maori and Pakeha individuals that led to – and followed – Pakeha settlement in 1814.

#### **SLIDE 2 BOOK COVER**

The first lecture in this year's Lecture Series is based in Alison's and my book *He Korero – Words Between Us – First Maori-Pakeha Conversations on Paper*. We are educationists, and this book gives an account of the earliest Maori interest in writing, and in schooling – though that is not what our lecture focuses on today.

Alison and I seek to understand more of the Maori story of the events 200 years ago – or at least *a* Maori story. No doubt other Maori stories will be told in the future about this significant moment.

Although the pre-Treaty period remains a neglected part of our history, it is rich in events, stories, and images that show Maori and Pakeha individuals struggling to understand each other and to form lasting loyalties critical to both sides.

Other popular commentators have emphasised different aspects of the arrival of Pakeha.

The Church of England, for instance, focuses on Samuel Marsden's plan to set up a mission, and on what they call 'the first sermon' & 'the arrival of the Gospel' in Aotearoa in December 1814.

Others see Pakeha arrival primarily as the first move in European colonisation and domination. In his 1936 introduction to Eric Ramsden's book *Marsden and the Missions: Prelude to Waitangi*, Te Rangi Hiroa maintained that the arrival of Pakeha was the launch of 'an organised attack on a native social system' - a view emphasised by many Māori since. In 2004 Professor Ranginui Walker stated that "In 1814 the missionaries arrived ... this glorified mission masked the insidious nature of their cultural invasion".

Other speakers in this Winter Lecture Series will have their own approaches to Pakeha arrival.

In this first lecture, we do two things to set the scene for the series.

We give a short whakapapa of Pakeha arrival – that is, we look at the strand of linked relationships that led to the arrival. These relationships remind us that 1814 did not come out of nowhere. There was intense engagement between Maori and Pakeha leaders from about 1793 onwards that paved the way to Pakeha coming to live in Aotearoa.

Second, in this lecture, we describe some key events that occurred during one week in December 1814 when permanent Pakeha settlers came ashore for the first time.

For those of you interested in a more detailed account of this period, we recommend you read Anne Salmond's wonderful book *Between Worlds* and also of course our book *He Korero – Words Between Us*.

I will now hand over to Alison to tell some of our story.

*Nō reira ....*

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## **ALISON**

There are a number of places we could start, but we choose to begin with a **kidnapping** off Matauri Bay, Northland, in mid 1793.

*[You might need to keep a little chronology of dates in your head because I am running through a series of relationships over 20 years that, as it turned out, led to the events of 1814] Digest version – find juicy details elsewhere*

A European captain from Australia was under orders to find a **Maori teacher** – someone who could instruct the Europeans in working the flax that was to be found in this part of the world.

Convicts in Sydney and Norfolk Island were suffering at least partly because their clothes were rotting and they found it difficult to process the local flax. Captain Cook had admired the quality of Maori cloth and thread 30 years before – and so it was... that, almost randomly, two young men were kidnapped from their canoes near the Cavalli Islands and taken by ship to Port Jackson (Sydney), and from there to Norfolk Island.

These two men were **Tuki-tahua** from Oruru in Doubtless Bay, and **Huru-kokoti** from the Matauri area. Not only were these young rangatira distraught and furious about their kidnapping but, as they informed their captors later, working the flax was women's work!

Nevertheless, after some weeks on Norfolk, a bond of friendship and information sharing developed between the men and Philip Gidley King – or Kāwana Kingi – the Norfolk governor, who would later become the 3<sup>rd</sup> governor of the colony in NSW.

Tuki and Huru taught Gidley King some Maori words, instructed him about the edible plants on Norfolk, and taught him about Aotearoa. As well as King's lists of Maori words, a concrete reminder of this visit is this beautiful **SLIDE 3. MAP**, drawn by Tuki-tahua, which shows the north and south islands of New Zealand. King's secretary annotated it with the political and geographical information supplied by Tuki, as he and Kawana Kingi discussed Tuki's home country.

#### SLIDE 4 MAP DETAIL

Tuki and Huru were returned home to near Doubtless Bay after about 6 months, in November 1793, with gifts of pigs, hens, wheat, potatoes and maize. By this route, Tuki and Huru effectively introduced potatoes and wheat to Northland.

Tuki and Huru's new possessions, and their stories of the friendly – and teachable – Pākehā rangatira, would have stirred local interest in the possibility of sustained strategic relationships with Pākehā.

As a result of Tuki and Huru's experiences, Kawana Kingi's name became known very positively in the North. Anne Salmond maintains that a lasting consequence for northern Maori of Tuki and Huru's stay in Norfolk Island was the favourable impression gained of a 'kāwana' – kāwana being, of course, a key term used in Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

#### SLIDE 5. Te Pahi

Tuki was related to Te Pahi who was a leading Hikutuu rangatira from Te Puna in the northern Bay of Islands. Around 1805 Te Pahi had become well known amongst European captains in Australia for his hospitality toward European ships, and a number of whaling and sealing ships called in to Te Puna for refreshments, particularly kumara and potatoes.

Te Pahi, who learned about Kawana Kingi from Tuki, sent one of his sons Maatara to Sydney in 1805 to study European society; there, Maatara met Governor Philip Gidley King and returned home with gifts for Te Pahi including tools, goats and pigs.

Te Pahi and his other sons travelled that year to Sydney where they basically went on what we today would call a study tour: they learned about carpentry, spinning and weaving, food cultivation, fruit growing, agriculture. They debated religion, politics, and justice with leaders such as King, and also the chaplain and magistrate of the NSW colony, Samuel Marsden. (**Andrew Sharp** who has just completed a new biography of Marsden, will be speaking in **Lecture Six**)

#### SLIDE 6 MEDAL

According to King, Te Pahi was keen for European settlement. And Te Pahi returned to the Bay of Islands with metal tools, bricks, fruit trees, and even a prefabricated framework for a house, which Te Pahi had erected on his island near Te Puna. King also gave Te Pahi a **medal**.

After his return, Te Pahi sent back gifts to Australia including samples of cloth, weapons, flax and seed potatoes [in short supply], sealing his alliance with the Pakeha leader.

Samuel Marsden, as you no doubt know, is crucial to this story. When he met them in Australia, Marsden was extremely impressed with Te Pahi and his sons, and seems to have fallen in love with Maori, whom he considered to be superior people. He made a point of inviting Maori who turned up in Sydney to stay at his farm in Parramatta, and so Marsden came to get a reputation in the north of New Zealand, as a hospitable chief.

Waiata were composed about Te Matenga and stories of life at Parramatta were regularly told to impressed & disbelieving audiences.

By now young Maori men from the north were beginning to travel to Port Jackson with some regularity, getting work as sailors on passing ships, or paying for their passage with timber and flax.

One of these sailors was Ruatara, a young Hikutuu rangatira from Rangihoua, and a kinsman of Te Pahi. He had met Marsden briefly in Australia, and had set out for England with the intention of seeing the great Pakeha leader, the King. (In this case, King George III).

**SLIDE 7. Ruatara** did get to England in July 1809, but was treated badly, and not allowed to leave the ship in port. Despondent and very ill, he was given a passage back to NZ on a convict ship the *Ann*.

As it happened – **Marsden** was on this same ship, returning to Australia from a sabbatical in London where he was looking for people to set up an Anglican mission amongst Maori in NZ.

This chance meeting would end up determining how Pakeha settlement would proceed. Marsden and his party helped Ruatara back to health, and Marsden records in detail the interesting conversations they had about their respective people's politics and cosmology. Speaking in English largely?

Ruatara was particularly keen on the idea of a week, and a public rest every 7 days!

When they arrived back at Port Jackson, Ruatara ended up staying at Parramatta with Marsden for many months before he managed to get home again in 1812. Before he left Australia he asked Marsden to send a teacher to the Bay of Islands to teach the children to read and write.

While Ruatara had been away, the shipping to the northern part of New Zealand had virtually stopped due to the infamous massacre of Europeans on the ship the *Boyd* in the Whangaroa Harbour in 1809. [*this event was not out of the blue; bad behaviour by European sailors and captains in the area & an outbreak of European disease had caused relations to become strained - another story*].

Tragically, **Te Pahi** was shot dead by some whalers as a result of that fiasco. And Europeans became frightened of Maori as shocking stories about 'savages' spread to Australia and England.

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**By 1814**, [*we are now at 1814*] Marsden was able to contemplate coming to New Zealand.

In June 1814, he sent a ship over to the Bay of Islands to check if Maori leaders, in particular his friend Ruatara, were still keen to have European settlers.

**Anne Salmond in Lecture 3** will talk more about this preliminary visit in June 1814, and some of the relationships that were developing between Maori and Pakeha in the area.

### **SLIDE 8 TUAI**

On that preliminary voyage was the teacher Thomas Kendall, and **Tuai**, from Ngare Raumati the south end of the Bay of Islands, who had been living in Parramatta, and teaching Kendall the Maori language and helping him compile a vocabulary and **SLIDE 9. schoolbook** which would be used in teaching the local children. **SLIDE 10 schoolbook**

Three leaders from the Bay of Islands travelled back with Kendall to Australia in **July 1814**.  
**Ruatara**, plus **Hongi Hika NGAPUHI** and **Korokoro NGARE RAUMATI**

And then after their industrial and agricultural studies in Parramatta, they returned to the Bay of Islands with their group of Pakeha settlers in **December that year**.

They were accompanied by the Pakeha chief **Te Matenga** who was coming to New Zealand for the first time.

On board this ship were several settler families. Including servants and workers, there were [according to Smith & Middleton] 23 Pakeha in all, including 7 children, who were to stay.

**To locate the events so far, let's look at this [SLIDE 11. MAP](#).**

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I will spend the rest of this lecture **describing** some events of the **week of the Pakeha arrival**, 200 years ago this December.

Luckily, on board the *Active* [Marsden's ship] was a man called John Nicholas, who was a wealthy young traveller and scribe, and friend of Marsden, and he recorded his experiences – available in two volumes, well worth reading, called *Narrative of a Voyage to New Zealand* published in England in 1817.

So what we have to go on is his account – and that in Marsden's diaries – as well as some diverse northern Maori accounts, to give us the *memory* we now have of the arrival events of 1814.

During December 1814, the *Active* sailed down the east side of the Tai Tokerau, coming from Australia, carrying Marsden, Nicholas, the settler group, and the rangatira Korokoro, Hongi Hika, and Ruatara.

By **19 December** the ship had anchored off the Cavalli Islands, [Panaaki] and Marsden was able to go ashore for the first time. There is a charming story of Marsden and Nicholas and Kendall struggling up the steep terrain from the beach, while Korokoro and Tuai *skipped up like so many goats*. And when Marsden saw a woman coming towards him, chanting karakia and waving green leaves, he leapt forward to reassure her of his friendship – but she entirely ignored him,



and proceeded toward Korokoro. She was his aunt, who was greeting him after not having seen him for a long time. Marsden's first encounter with Maori on shore in New Zealand is rather ignominious! He was merely a bit player in the larger Maori story in which he found himself – something that we try to emphasise in our book.

Later that day Ruatara and Hongi Hika took Marsden and Nicholas over to Matauri where the Ngati Uru people were camped – they were concerned that the Pakeha had come in revenge for the *Boyd* attack, which had led to animosity between the Ngati Uru people of Whangaroa and Hongi Hika & Ruatara & Te Pahi's people.

With his newly acquired pistol, Ruatara was able to emphasise that they were all now friends, and that the Pakeha were coming to live in his area. Marsden stayed and slept on the land that night.

Then, on **21 December**, the *Active* sailed in to Rangihoua Bay in front of Ruatara's pā.

### **Slide 12 RANGIHOA BAY**

Early in the morning of the 22 December, recorded Nicholas, a fleet of canoes carrying about 200 men swiftly approached the ship *Active*. The scene was 'marked with a wild grandeur of the noblest description' and with a 'force of distinctive sublimity'.

### **Slide 13 RANGIHOA BAY (I think I adlibbed here and you will see where I talked about the beach where the fight took place)**

Nicholas describes the leaders – Korokoro's people – in the canoes standing up, with their cloaks draped dramatically over their shoulders, and their hair, decorated with white gannet feathers, tied in a bunch on the crown of their heads.

Korokoro and some of his chiefs came on board the *Active* with gifts for Marsden. Korokoro then took Marsden and Nicholas onto one of the canoes and brought them towards the shore, where Ruatara and about 200 of his warriors were assembled. There was then, according to Nicholas, an amazing and electrifying event, with the 400 warriors rushing back and forward towards and away from each other, and engaging in bloodless combat.

Ruatara's head wife Rahu in her red new red dress, a present from Sydney, with her whalebone hoeroa, was in the midst of it all...

What was this? The stunned but entertained John Nicholas called it a "sham fight" put on for the amusement of the Pakeha; and subsequent historians tend to pass over the event as some slight piece of entertainment. And maybe they are correct in this interpretation.

But after our discussions with some people from the North, we think of this event not as trivial fun, but as significant in a number of ways.

Professor **Patu Hohepa**, a Ngāpuhi expert [who you will hear from in **Lecture 5**], says it could have been an engagement of the sort we might categorise as a pōwhiri today: a powerfully physical expression of Maori intent to carry the Pakeha leaders *into* the body of the iwi, through rituals of encounter that bring arrivals and the people of the land together into bonds of loyalty and strategic reciprocal engagement.

In addition, and importantly, the ferocity and bravery of the warriors would warn the newcomers that the iwi were not to be trifled with.

If we understand the ritual engagement in *these* terms, rather than as mere entertainment, we are enabled to see the Pakeha arrival from more of a Maori point of view, and get some sense of Maori plans for this auspicious arrival: integrating these valuable Pakeha into the whenua, and into ordinary everyday Maori life.

Pakeha had arrived with all their stuff – including some astonishing animals, a horse, cows, sheep, cats and hens – not to mention some new sorts of humans (Pakeha women and children) – these would have attracted crowds – And Ruatara's wife was wearing a new red dress from Sydney! It was the most entertaining and exciting thing to have happened in the Bay for a long time.

So more than 400 people were crowded into the little Bay; & they were all there the next day.

**SLIDE 14. Sermon image** This next day was, as it happened, a Sunday, **25 December 1814**: Christmas Day on the European calendar. Marsden would have told Ruatara that he wanted to

preach a sermon to the people on that day. Ruatara was familiar with this European cultural practice, having lived in Parramatta on Marsden's farm on and off for over a year previously.

So to make his new arrivals welcome, Ruatara helped set up some seating from some small overturned canoes, and a sort of pulpit for Marsden, inside an enclosure his people had been building to contain the new animals.

Hongi Hika and Korokoro separately called their respective people to sit in front of this arrangement – there were about 400 in total. Many if not all of them would have been present the day before at the pōwhiri, or ritual engagement, and could **now spiritually safely enter** this physical space, to hear from the great Te Mātenga, the leader of the arriving people, and his intentions.

Marsden delivered a Christmas Day sermon, read from St Luke, and the settlers sung some hymns. Marsden spoke in English; according to his biographer **Andrew Sharp** [who you will hear from in **Lecture 6**] Marsden spoke very little Maori at this time. Ruatara would have been the only person present with any facility in both languages. People called out to Ruatara “He aha te kōrero?” “what is he saying?” Marsden asked Ruatara to translate what he had said.

At the end, Ruatara did speak to the people. We do not know what he said, and nor did Marsden. What we do know is that it is highly unlikely that Ruatara translated Marsden's words from the Anglican Service, which would have made no sense to the audience. The audience would have expected the Pakeha to have their own gods, so that point would have been of minor concern. What would have been of real interest was what was going to happen next with these arrivals who were not merely visiting, but staying!

We believe that Ruatara's whaikorero would have been one of the most important political speeches of his life. He would have had to explain to the people something about his Pakeha friends and what they were doing there, where and how they were going to live, the fact that he believed they were trustworthy, and how they were to be looked after and kept in that place, not lured or frightened away to other rohe.

So: our provocative position is that *'there was no sermon'* that day in the Maori world of Rangihoua; there was the spectacle of the Pakeha and their things, an incomprehensible speech from Te Matenga, and a speech by Ruatara who explained something about his Pakeha friends, and what his plans were for them, and how they were to support this plan.

The haka with which the people responded at the end of the session – which Marsden (and many modern Anglicans) considered to be some sort of recognition of the Word of God – would have been an expression of the **ihi and wehi** of the situation – highly charged, risky, and with much riding on it for the future of the people. The people were dependent on their leaders to protect and guide them in their relationships with these dangerously powerful new allies.

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It is worth remembering that Ruatara, Hongi Hika and Korokoro were not whole-heartedly enthusiastic about getting their Pakeha. They were, in fact, quite ambivalent about their invitation to the Pakeha to come and settle in Aotearoa. As I mentioned before, they had been to Sydney and had brought back their Pakeha.

BUT as they were boarding the *Active* in Sydney someone warned Ruatara about the dangers of the migrant enterprise. The person reminded Ruatara that if he allowed Pakeha to come and live in Aotearoa they would eventually take over the country.

Ruatara, Hongi Hika and Korokoro debated this point intensely on board the ship and were clearly very aware of the risks of their invitation to the Pakeha. Marsden asked them what was wrong, and Ruatara explained their anxieties. Marsden stated that he had no intentions of domination, and that if Ruatara did not believe him, then he would have the ship unloaded and the Pakeha would not go to New Zealand.

What could Ruatara and the others do? They had no option. They knew that if they did not come with the Pakeha, and keep them in their area, then someone else would get them, along with the technologies, muskets and trading opportunities they were bringing with them.

So they proceeded, on the condition that the Pakeha live exactly where they were told – on poor land right next to Ruatara’s pā and kainga at Rangihoua, where they could be kept under surveillance and where they could not effectively grow their own food.

Indeed, after the settlers had arrived, a number of Maori leaders expressed their worries about – and often opposition to – the increasing Pakeha presence. Many had **dreams** that predicted Pakeha domination, and Korokoro’s brother Tuai, who had travelled to England, described his vivid and frightening dream of European soldiers on white horses trampling on and defeating his people.

In our account of 1814, not only do we say ‘*there was no sermon*’, we refuse to call the first Pakeha arrivals ‘*missionaries*’. They understood themselves in these terms, but Maori did not.

Maori, as we mentioned before, were not looking for a new God or new ways of living (in fact the first conversions did not occur for about 20 years). They had not invited ‘*missionaries*’ to come to live in Aotearoa. They had invited *allies* from whom they could benefit, who they could marry [they hoped], and who would be become part the people and the land.

... Which brings us to the subheading of this Winter Lecture Series : *ka māoritia te Pākehā*.

**SLIDE 15 – PAGE OF 1820 GRAMMAR** also being copy of the book to show

This phrase is to be found in the lovely book the second New Zealand book, the *Vocabulary and Grammar of New Zealand* which was printed in London in 1820. This book had been put together by Samuel Lee, a professor of languages at Cambridge University in England. He had built on the initial work of Thomas Kendall who had in turn been taught by Tuai. Hongi Hika and Waikato (from Rangihoua) also helped Professor Lee with the book when they were in England in 1820.

Here is the phrase: ka maoritia te pakeha?

It asks the question whether, five years after they have arrived, Pakeha are now ‘maori’ – that is, were they now ordinary, naturalised, part of the iwi and the whenua, here in Aotearoa, as Ruatara and others had hoped they would be?

This is a thought provoking and also confronting question on which to end our korero, and to start this Winter Lecture Series. Two hundred years later: *ka māoritia te Pākehā?*

Nō reira, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā tātou katoa.

We hope you enjoyed today's talk, and encourage you to come back for more next Tuesday. Associate Professor Manuka Henare will be talking about the different economic systems operating in Aotearoa with the arrival of the first Pakeha settlers. Nau mai, haere mai.

Kuni and I will be available in the foyer now for any discussion, and copies of our book *He Korero: Words Between Us* are for sale in the foyer for \$40.