JOURNAL KEPT in NEW ZEALAND in 1820

BY

ENSIGN ALEXANDER McCRAE.

TOGETHER WITH RELEVANT DOCUMENTS.

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BULLETIN No. 3.

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JOURNAL KEPT IN NEW ZEALAND IN 1820

BY

ENSIGN ALEXANDER McCRAE,

of the 84th Regiment,

TOGETHER WITH RELEVANT DOCUMENTS.

Edited by

THE HONOURABLE SIR FREDERICK REVANS CHAPMAN,

formerly a Judge of the Supreme Court of New Zealand.

With Notes by

JOHANNES C. ANDERSEN, F.N.Z.Inst.,

Librarian.

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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION.

It will presumably prove interesting to have some explanation of the publication of these papers. A younger sister of Mr. Alexander McCrae, the author of the Journal, was the wife of Dr. Thomas, a well-known early colonist in Melbourne, Victoria. Mrs. Thomas, long after her husband's death, came to Dunedin with several daughters and there resided for some time, including the year 1880, in the district known as Pelichet Bay. I also then dwelt at Dunedin. I frequently met Mrs. Thomas at the house of my father, the Hon. H. S. Chapman, formerly a Judge of the Supreme Court of New Zealand and a member of the Executive Council of the Colony of Victoria. Mrs. Thomas informed me that she was a very little girl when her brother returned from his voyage to Australia and New Zealand. She could just remember his return; he brought back some interesting objects, including a dried tattooed Maori head and some objects of nephrite with which she was allowed to play. These objects from the hands of the family in Scotland have since passed into a local museum.

I have adopted "McCrae" as the proper spelling of the diarist's name, as that that is correct is amply borne out by a sketch of the family history furnished to me by his grandson, Mr. Maurice Blackburn, of Melbourne, and further information from his nephew, Mr. George Gordon McCrae (1833–1927). It is not improbable, however, that originally there was a want of care in following the spelling, as the *Army List* for 1840 has the career of Captain Alexander McRae, referring to the same individual. The late Dr. Hocken, of Dunedin (who spells the name both ways), in his *Bibliography of New Zealand Literature* (p. 39) quotes a statement from a manuscript journal of one Edward Markham, who visited the Bay of Islands in 1834, to the effect that Captain (afterwards Major) Cruise, author of *A Journal of a Ten Months' Residence in New Zealand* (1823), was not the real author of that well-known and highly interesting work, which was written by a subordinate. Dr. Hocken conjectures that, if this be the case, Mr. McCrae was probably the subordinate who wrote it. It is quite likely that Dr. Hocken knew Mrs. Thomas at Dunedin, and equally likely that he learned of the existence of McCrae from her (or possibly from myself), as Cruise never mentions his name. Reading again Cruise and these papers, I find no support for the suggestion as to McCrae having written or inspired that book. Coincidence of dates and of happenings on those dates afford altogether inconclusive proof of such a statement. The two men were never far apart during the ten months' sojourn at the Bay of Islands, and they returned to England together in H.M.S. Dromedary in 1821. Books and papers relating to the earliest settlement of Europeans in New Zealand are very few in number and by no means copious in matter. Apart from the works of navigators, we have the following works by actual visitors:—

(1) Captain King's account of his visit in 1793, narrated in David Collins's *Account of the English Colony of New South Wales, with some Particulars of New Zealand.* (1798.) See the Governor's correspondence, McNab's *Historical Records of New Zealand*, Vol. 1, p. 169.

(2) William Neate Chapman's account of the same visit in a letter to his mother, dated 19th November, 1793. Printed in Polynesian Society's *Journal*, Vol. 7, p. 42, and R. McNab's *Historical Records of New Zealand*, Vol. 1, p. 185.

(W. N. Chapman, then a midshipman, was my grandfather's half-brother.)

(3) John Savage, Surgeon: *Some Account of New Zealand, particularly the Bay of Islands.* (1807.) This is really the first book on New Zealand by a visitor other than a navigator.

(4) John Liddiard Nicholas: *Narrative of a Voyage to New Zealand, performed in the Years 1814 and 1815, in Company with the Rev. Samuel Marsden, Principal Chaplain of New South Wales.* (Published 1817.)

(5) Richard A. Cruise, of the 84th Regiment of Foot: *Journal of a Ten Months' Residence in New Zealand.* (Published in 1823.) Relates to his visit in 1820, when accompanied by Alexander McCrae and other military subordinates.

(6) William Ellis: *Polynesian Researches*, Vol. 3. (Published in 1831.) This energetic missionary visited New Zealand in 1816.*

To these may be added serial papers published by missionary societies and other publications containing information from people who had visited New Zealand or who had received information about it, such as George Barrington (1810) and J. A. Turnbull (1813). From these sources bearing on the year 1820 the late Mr. S. Percy Smith, formerly Surveyor-General of New Zealand, quotes very fully in Part 4 of the "Wars of the Northern against the Southern Tribes of New Zealand in the Nineteenth Century," published in Vol. 9 of the Journal of the Polynesian Society.

To these may now be added this publication, which relates to the same period as the work of Cruise and supplements the information there given, in addition to which are the miscellaneous pieces of information of various dates, and collected by the late Hon. R. McNab in his *Historical Records of New Zealand*, hereafter mentioned.

In view of the scarcity of historical matter, despite the fact that hundreds of ships visited New Zealand, it is very desirable that papers preserved by missionaries should be reprinted in an accessible form; of these several diaries are known to exist.

It has proved somewhat perplexing to determine what to publish, as, in addition to keeping a diary, McCrae has evidently started, or contemplated starting, an extended narrative; indeed, he appears to have twice attempted this. After full consideration I have decided to include in this publication the whole of the MS. in my hands, excepting a sea diary relating to the voyage of the Dromedary, but not to New Zealand, and the commencement of a narrative which closely follows the Journal. One immaterial statement in it is that on the voyage from Port Jackson to New Zealand the natives on

* There has just been published (1927, but issued 1928) *Earliest New Zealand, The Journals and Correspondence of the Rev. John Butler*, compiled by R. J. Barton. Butler first came to New Zealand in 1819, and his diary, which covers the period dealt with by McCrae, has a number of references to the Dromedary and its people.

board the Dromedary used stringy-bark, a well-known Australian *Eucalyptus*, to make their spears. Another statement is that it was rumoured that there were centipedes on the Three Kings Islands. This statement has not been repeated by visitors to these still-uninhabited islands. The method adopted may result in some repetition of matter, but only to a very slight extent; nothing of value is omitted.

As Cruise's Journal ending the 5th December, 1820, goes a long way beyond the last date in this Journal, it seems on first thoughts probable that some of McCrae's papers are missing. This, if it be the case, may be accounted for: Mrs. Thomas's house at Pelichet Bay, with all its contents, was suddenly burnt. A box containing papers was among the things dragged out of her house: the contents of this box included the papers of which those now published are copies, but I understood that others, including the rest of the Journal, perished. Mrs. Thomas sent me many years ago the copies—and in some cases originals—of the papers now published.

There is, however, one circumstance which seems to tell against the notion that the Journal was continued. There is no doubt that McCrae remained in New Zealand throughout the ten months' stay of the Dromedary; yet after the 18th March there is a gap, taken up in narrative form about the 29th March, while on the 1st May commences a set of jottings rather than a continuance of the Journal. At the same time, the Recapitulation, which I have rejected as surplusage, ends exactly where the Journal ends, which as a mere coincidence would be somewhat singular. Of course, a conjecture may be made that part of the Journal may have been handed either to Captain Cruise or to Commissioner Bigge. It is easier to account for the coincidence by supposing that the rest of the Journal and narrative were separate from these papers when the house perished.

The text of the various documents has been carefully revised, especially to make sure of the author's spelling of Maori names. It is evident that, though fairly consistent spelling is adopted, this represents a local dialect—presumably the Ngapuhi dialect—used by the missionaries in the North before the spelling of Maori was standardized. The letter *d* often replaces *t*; *oo* is used as in English where the sound would now be represented by *u* — thus "Murihwenua" becomes "Moodewhenooa"; *sh* for *h* results in "Shungie" for "Hongi," and "Shukianga" for "Hokianga." Most of these variations are easy to follow, and their consistency would enable a person moderately versed in Maori to transpose the text into the standard Maori which has for many years been used for printed matter by both races. What I call the "standard Maori" is spoken in the Waikato valley. The matter of dialect is unimportant outside New Zealand, while those familiar with northern orthography of the period will easily make their own corrections or conversions.

Upon the stay of the Dromedary and her consort, the schooner Prince Regent, in New Zealand waters several of the documents set out in *Historical Records of New Zealand*, by the Hon. Robert McNab, Minister of Lands and Agriculture, published by the Government Printer in 1908, have an important bearing. It must be borne in mind that the store-ship Coromandel, Jas. Downie, master, on a similar service, was operating at the same time a little to the southward, in the estuary of the Thames.

In McNab's book comes on the scene Commissioner Bigge, whose exact status, though not explained, may be gathered from the documents. He had been sent out to New South Wales by the Admiralty to make certain inquiries. The Rev. Samuel Marsden addresses him as "The Honourable Commissioner of Enquiry" in documents commencing prior to the Dromedary's visit. The inquiries take a very wide range, including the condition and disposition of the New-Zealanders—the name "Maori" for the native race had not then come into use—and matters relating to other Pacific islands. The volume quoted contains numerous communications from missionaries and others, sometimes in answer to regular sets of interrogatories drawn up by Mr. Bigge, often relating to economic matters. On the 12th January, 1820, Mr. Marsden, in a letter to Missionary J. Butler, writes: "I have had repeated conversations with the Commissioner respecting New Zealand, and I hope Government will attend to it when the present powers that be are removed." On the 14th January he writes to the Rev. J. Pratt: "I have seen the Commissioner of Enquiry since my return. He will lay open the state of this colony very fully to the British Government. I have a very high opinion of the Commissioner's character, but the generality of the inhabitants agree with Mr. Wilberforce that two would have been better than one."

On the 7th February, 1820, Mr. Marsden announces that the Honourable Commissioner, as well as the Captain of the Dromedary, wished him to go to New Zealand, and he had decided to go.

A very large amount of evidence was taken which proves highly interesting reading. It includes reports to Captain Skinner, of the Dromedary. One document purports to be: "Evidence given before Commissioner Bigge: Ensign McCrae, 84th Regiment, May, 1821." This date makes it certain that the Commissioner and McCrae returned together to England by the Dromedary.

The itinerary given by Cruise ends as follows: Returned to Sydney Cove, 21st December, 1820; after refitting, sailed on 14th February, 1821; 1st April, doubled Cape Horn; 3rd July, anchored at Plymouth.

Commissioner Bigge reported to Earl Bathurst on the 27th February, 1823. He refers to his visit to New Zealand in the Dromedary. It may be that the voluminous evidence he had obtained, referred to by McNab as docketed "Bigges Appendix, Vol. 142," was at times contradictory. This defect he seeks to clear up by reference to the evidence of Ensign McCrae. I now, therefore, quote this. Bigge writes: "I was unable to procure more correct information than I could have expected from persons composing or connected with the missionary establishments. In the evidence of Mr. McCrae, a very intelligent officer of the 84th Regiment, and who in the course of service with his detachment on board the 'Dromedary' had an opportunity of making tours in the interior (in one of which he was accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Marsden), I have been able to obtain information upon the present state of New Zealand, upon which I am justified in stating that the greatest reliance may be placed. The intelligence and activity of Mr. McCrae, and his impartiality and candour, are fully admitted by Rev. Mr. Marsden whenever any appeal was made upon questions of doubtful authority, and it is certain that

no person that ever visited the island enjoyed so many opportunities of observing the character of the country, as well as its inhabitants." The Commissioner certainly makes the best use of his facts, and gives an excellent and trustworthy description of northern New Zealand and some of its products. Referring to New Zealand flax (*Phormium tenax*), he continues: "Mr. McCrae states that he passed through a valley of six miles in extent which was covered with this plant. . . . From the observations of the thermometer, registered by Mr. McCrae from the 1st May, 1820, to the 7th December, the variations during the winter months appear to have been between 39° and 60°, and at noon in the month of December they did not exceed 68°. . . . The use of spirituous liquors has fortunately no attraction for the New-Zealanders, and it is stated by Mr. McCrae (but upon what grounds I am unable to conceive) that the opinion they have formed of the European character is in no wise affected by the conduct of the crews of the vessels that from time to time have visited their shores. . . . It is the opinion of Mr. McCrae that although the natives would not hostilely oppose the settlement of a body of Europeans or of English in New Zealand, landing with pacific or friendly objects, yet that their indiscriminate revenge and sensibility to injury would expose individuals to a great degree of personal danger."

The Commissioner goes on to mention that quarrels between natives and his sailors were settled by the prudence and discretion of Captain Skinner, of the Dromedary, adding that, on account of the liability of the natives to be moved by hidden impulses, "Mr. McCrae considered that a small military force would be necessary in case it should be deemed expedient to give encouragement to the colonization of New Zealand."

In the concluding paragraph of his report the Commissioner says: "I beg most respectfully to refer you to the evidence of Ensign McCrae, and to that of Dr. Fairfowl, Surgeon of His Majesty's storeship 'Dromedary,' that I have the honour to enclose, together with the replies of Mr. Kendall and two other missionaries to certain queries that I addressed to them by the first opportunity that occurred after my arrival in New South Wales."

Mr. McCrae mentions dogs and rats as the only quadrupeds seen. The dog resembles the New Holland dog, but is more easily tamed. He speaks of small emus, as do other writers, obviously referring to the kiwi. He heard of large lizards "southward"—a myth repeated later by the Rev. Richard Taylor in *Te Ika a Maui, or New Zealand and its Inhabitants*. (1870.)

The evidence of Alexander McCrae occupies sixteen pages of McNab's volume, and comprises 168 questions and answers. I abstain from summarizing this, as the quotations from Commissioner Bigge's report give a sufficient summary of McCrae's observations. They are well worth a careful study, but, having been once published by authority of the New Zealand Government, it is unnecessary to reproduce them.

The extensive cultivation of potatoes is often mentioned by early visitors, including McCrae. Recent writers tell us that the potato, though long known, did not become the universal food of our race until a little more than a century ago. This accounts for the circumstance that the missionary Ellis, visiting New Zealand in 1816, notices

with some surprise the extensive cultivation of what he calls "the Irish potato" by the New-Zealanders at the Bay of Islands. Accumulated evidence shows that at various points down to the extreme south the Maori, who must have received seed from sealers, whalers, and others, were cultivating this food at a very early date. (See *Maori Agriculture*, by Elsdon Best: Wellington, 1925.)

After considerable delay, caused by the mistake as to the spelling of the name, I am now able to give a few particulars of the life of Captain Alexander McCrae, for which I am mainly indebted to his grandson, Mr. Maurice Blackburn, of Melbourne. I have, however, in addition received letters from his nephew, the late Mr. George Gordon McCrae, of Melbourne, who at the age of ninety-four wrote giving me some interesting facts relating to the clan and accounts for variations in the spelling of the name. This honoured gentleman died before our correspondence was quite concluded.

Alexander McCrae was born in Edinburgh on the 25th January, 1799, the son of William Gordon McCrae, an advocate, who, born in Jamaica, had broken with his father, a planter, on the issue of slave-emancipation. Alexander entered the Army at the age of fourteen, in the Chasseurs Britanniques, from which corps he passed, on its disbandment, to the 84th Foot. His military career, as summarized in the *Army List* for 1840, is as follows: 9th September, 1813, Ensign in the 84th; 18th July, 1822, Lieutenant; 30th August, 1831, Captain The last mention in the *Army List* is in 1840, when he is still described as Captain Alexander McRae. He was thus of the rank of Ensign only when he visited New Zealand in 1820. Mr. Blackburn adds that McCrae's brothers and sisters came to Port Phillip in 1839. His mother, a lady of distinguished Scottish ancestry, died in Melbourne in 1840, and Captain McCrae himself arrived there in the following year. He became Postmaster-General under the Governorship of Captain La Trobe. Labilliere, in his *Early History of Victoria* (1878), mentions him as Postmaster-General among the more important functionaries whose names appear in the Victoria Government *Gazette* of the 15th July, 1851.

Philip Mennell, in his *Dictionary of Australasian Biography* (1892), in a full notice of the life of George Gordon McCrae, one of the most distinguished literary men Australia has known, writes: "Another uncle, Captain Alexander McCrae, of her Majesty's 84th Regiment, was the first Postmaster-General of Victoria." From this office Alexander McCrae retired when, under constitutional changes, the position became political. He never held any other office, save that of an honorary Magistrate. He died at Richmond, Victoria, on the 8th May, 1871. I have a faint recollection of having seen him when I was a boy. Captain the Hon. George Ward Cole, who gave his name to Cole's Wharf, and was a prominent man in early Melbourne, was related by marriage. The descendants of Alexander McCrae are numerous.

I desire to express my obligation to Mr. Johannes C. Andersen, of the Turnbull Library, for numerous suggestions, and especially for his notes on the Maori names, and my further obligation to members of the McCrae family.

FREDERICK REVANS CHAPMAN.

NOTES ON N. ZEALAND BY AN OFFICER.

[Alexander McCrae.]

H.M.S. ship Dromedary on board of which I embarked on special service for New Holland arrived there on the 10th January 1820 and after a short stay proceeded from Port Jackson for New Zealand to procure timber for the Navy and arrived at the Bay of Islands on the 27th February following.

Unconnected with the duties of the ship and having consequently my time more at my own disposal I determined to embrace so favourable an opportunity to obtain that information respecting this country and people without which I felt it to be impossible to gratify the curiosity which had been so greatly excited from the first moment of my arrival on finding myself placed in circumstances so novel and interesting to a youthful mind ever on the watch to devise new sources of pleasure or of instruction.

The following notes are the fruit of this determination. In these the public is presented with the result of observations made on the country and people during a residence of 10 months in which period from the frequent excursions I made and from associating with the natives and conforming with their habits more than any European before me ever did or had it in his power to do I became possessed of a mass of information more certain and therefore more to be relied upon than could possible be obtained in any other way.

The dates may be occasionally referred to it is not my intention to encumber this narrative by a scrupulous adherence to these as that by rendering it insipid and tedious might divest it of that interest which it would otherwise inspire. Facts posterior in the order of time may therefore have precedency in the relation; this however when it occurs will be quite immaterial as my only solicitude is more for the accuracy of my details than the connexion of my narrative and it will be far more congenial to my principles and feelings to be assured that it rests upon the imperishable Basis of Truth and consequently beyond the reach of Cavil.

Previous however to the performance of the duty which I have imposed upon myself it may be as well to precede it by some General Remarks upon this people and Country which will shew in a very interesting point of view in how many respects these are worthy of our attention.

These Islands, first discovered by Tasman in 1642 were only known to exist till the time of our illustrious circumnavigator Cook who visited them and engaged the public attention respecting them by an account as remarkable for the truth of its details (considering the limited means of information he possessed) and the Elegance and perspicuity of the narration which has never yet been equalled and in all probability will never be surpassed.

Since his time the formation of a Colony of New South Wales, the annual visits of vessels engaged in the Southern Whale fishery and latterly the Establishment of Missionaries in these Islands have brought them more and more into notice and excited an eager and as yet unsatiated desire to obtain every possible Information respecting them, and to gratify this desire various accounts have from time

to time been given to the World. These however are not of such a nature as to preclude an attempt to throw additional light upon the subject. And here it may be remarked that these Islands with a climate equally removed from the extreme of either zone and therefore well suited to Europeans and European animals and plants, a soil capable of producing in the greatest abundance the fruits of the earth indigenous or exotic, Harbours numerous excellent and secure, Rivers intersecting the country and contributing to its fertility, large and extensive forests of timber of the best quality, flax superior to any in the world, and its Coasts and Rivers and Bays teeming with the greatest variety of fish present such an assemblage of natural advantages as few countries enjoy whilst on the other hand its people present to us many very interesting points of association betwixt savage and civilized life in the progress they have hitherto made in those things which while they enlarge the sphere of their comforts are the more pleasing and decisive proofs of what they might be capable of under another and more propitious order of things. The New Zealanders are a remarkable fine looking people, and their personal appearance and deportment is much in their favour. They are generally, above the European stature strait, well limbed, muscular and active, and have a natural Grace and dignity, especially the Chiefs, in all their movements. Their physiognomy is very prepossessing, and marks distinctly the natural acuteness of their understanding and the sensibility of their nature. The Women are inferior in stature to the men, which may perhaps be owing to the custom in this as in most savage countries, of making them perform all the hard labour and their being employed in carrying Loads—yet under such unfavourable circumstances, they have much to interest the Stranger in their favour, being very good natured cheerful, and perfect models as mothers being remarkably attached to their children and taking the greatest care of them.

Nature indeed has lavished her gifts upon these Islands and people in no ordinary degree—and perhaps no part of the Habitable Globe presents so many and such strong inducements to a Great Nation, such as ours is to establish a Colony there or more likely to repay the fostering care of the Mother Country. The Bay of Islands situate in Lat. — and Longitude — *was the first place we made upon coming to New Zealand, is a fine and spacious bay, affording in all parts of it good Anchorage for the largest ships. From Point Pocock to Cape Brett it may be about 10 miles over. It derives its name from the number of islands, within it which gives it a very picturesque appearance. Many of these are Inhabited. It has within it several Bays and coves amongst which is Cororadica in which our Vessel anchored —Paroa and some others. Several small rivers and streams discharge themselves into it the principal of which are the Wya Caddie the Kede Kede the Wytangie and Tana's river. The country near the sea Coast is very hilly, but in the Interior gradually becomes more level and is agreeably diversified by Hill and dale.

Amongst no people are the duties of Hospitality better known or practised. They have been accused of treachery and cruelty, but certainly without sufficient reason. I myself found them to be unsuspecting, friendly and humane, and though much in their power in my various Excursions felt as secure amongst them, as in my Native Country, and certainly more so than I have done in some Countries boasting the advantages of Civilization.

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* 35° 10′ South, and 174° 15′ East.

[JOURNAL OF ALEXANDER McCRAE.]

1819.
Sat., 11th Sept

On the 11th September 1819 H.M.S. Store Ship Dromedary sailed from Spithead with 360 convicts for New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land and at 5 a.m. of the 9th of January 1820, saw the S.W. Cape of Van Diemens Land: at 8 we were abreast of it and about 10 passed the Mewstone a high rugged and barren rock inhabited only by Sea-fowl and situated about 8 miles from the Mainland. That part of the S. Coast we passed was very mountainous and appeared to be thickly covered with wood. In the evening when off Tasmans Head at the entrance of the Derwent, the wind died completely away and during the night we made no progress. On the 10th the weather being fair though the wind was light and contrary we were obliged to beat up the river. At noon the Pilot came on board and about 7 p.m. we anchored abreast of Hobart Town within 250 yards of the Shore. Nothing could exceed the beauty of the scenery on the Derwent. This fine river winding its course amongst mountains which rise with a gentle Slope from its Banks and are covered with wood interspersed here and there with a hut or patch of cultivated ground—the abode of some industrious Settler, which gave an additional Beauty and interest to the Scene—certainly one of the finest I ever saw. The Thermometer which at the entrance of the River was only 60° as we approached the Town rose to 80°—but we were told this was by no means common at this time of the year. On the 11th went on Shore and paid my respects to His Excellency Lieut. Gov. Sorel and afterwards traversed the Town which consists of three Streets composed of a number of wooden huts. There are also some excellent brick houses—the property of the more opulent Settlers. The public buildings—Govt. House, Church—Barracks etc. are neat and commodious. The Rev. Mr. Knopwood Chaplain to the Colony on whom I called shewed me his garden where I saw all our English fruits and vegetables growing in the highest perfection, particularly peaches and apples. The trees were all propped up to support the weight of the fruit. From this gentleman I got returns of the State of the Colony from its establishment to the present time.

1820.
Sat., 22nd Jan.

On the 22nd January sailed from the Derwent and on the 28th anchored in Sydney Cove.

Tues., 15th Feb.

On the 15th February we proceeded to New Zealand pursuant to Instructions from the Navy Board to ascertain whether a supply of timber fit for naval purposes could be obtained in these Islands—an opinion having prevailed to that effect on the testimony of Cook and other intelligent Navigators. Availing himself of so favourable an opportunity Mr. Marsden principal Chaplain to the Colony and Agent for the Church Missionary Society in these parts accompanied us thither with a Mr. Shepherd a native of Port Jackson whom he wished to settle there, and also having under his charge ten New Zealanders who had resided with him for some time and were now returning to their own Country, amongst whom superior to the rest were Moihanga and Ripero—the former, son of Paraheckoo and the latter of Shonge —Chiefs of consequence in the Bay of Islands. There were also

Tetoroo and Evee—inferior Chiefs from the same place. While the Ship was under weigh Morachie and Echoie two remarkably fine looking New Zealand boys, sons of Temorangé and Whie Wharee Chiefs at the Bay of Islands came on board to take leave of their friends. On this occasion I saw for the first time their manner of saluting each other—Tetoroo in taking leave of these Boys touched noses with them—and they were All so much affected at their separation that they could not refrain from tears. During the voyage the New Zealanders amused themselves in singing and dancing and cleaning their muskets. They displayed a surprising dexterity in the use of our tools which was a sufficient indication to us how rapidly they would advance in the arts of civilized life were opportunities afforded for the development of their capacities. If they are quick of apprehension—they are equally so in feeling and in resenting any affront or injury. An occurrence which took place at this time shewed very clearly that this is the case. Tetoro had been showing his stock of powder to an officer of the Ship, who probably apprehending danger from its being in such hands communicated the circumstances to the master of the Ship, and in consequence, an order was issued for taking All their powder away from them during the voyage which was done, tho very much against their inclination, as they became quite sullen. Tetoroo in particular, was so much offended by this measure that he hid his head in his mat and refused to talk or eat for the remainder of the day. Mr. Marsden however succeeded in pacifying him by explaining to him the real intention of the measure when he soon regained his usual cheerfulness and good nature.

Fri., 25th Feb. On the 25th at noon the " Three Kings " in sight, distant about 37 miles.—These are a small cluster of uninhabited Islands nearly 20 miles from the Mainland—At 3 p.m. the New Zealanders, who had been the whole of the preceding part of the day stationed in the forecastle and on the look out for land, having descried it, manifested the excess of their joy by singing and dancing after the manner of their country. This day also I noticed a remarkable ceremony. Tetoroo whilst cutting the hair of Moihanga during the operation, said or rather chanted a prayer in a low monotonous tone of voice, and having finished, wrapped the hair up in a piece of cloth and put it carefully away.—That this was a religious rite or ceremony was probable and indeed I found afterwards it was—These people holding in reverence whatever is connected with the head. In consequence of this ceremony they became tabooed for a season—neither Tetoroo nor Moihanga touching their food with their hands that night or the whole of the following day, being obliged to be fed by others, or to take it up with their mouths themselves.—

The wind being fair but light we passed the " Three Kings " which are steep on all sides and covered with brushwood and ferns.

Sat., 26th Feb. On the 26th found ourselves off Doubtless Bay, but, being nearly a calm, the ship made no progress.

Sun., 27th Feb. On the morning of the 27th found ourselves off the Bay of Islands, but the wind being still very light it was 12 noon before we got into the Bay and came to an anchor about 7 p.m. in Cororauca Bay. Before this however several Canoes full of men, women and Children attracted no doubt by the size and appearance of so large a vessel, came about us and on seeing their countrymen on board immediately

commenced firing their muskets which compliment was returned by their friends and during the continuance of the firing which lasted a considerable time, the noise was so great that we could scarcely hear each other. After we had come to an anchor, the natives came on board, amongst whom were Shongee the Father of Ripero and Whie Wharie and Whia Caddie two brothers of Tetoroo. The meeting on both sides was very affecting indeed for these people are capable of the greatest attachment as I had frequent occasion afterwards to remark.—Moihanga's friends were not amongst our visitors owing to the illness of his Father who was unable to leave home—The poor fellow's grief in consequence was so great that he remained in the chains inconsolable the whole night. We had also a visit from the missionaries and from one of them Mr. Kendall we learnt his intention of proceeding to England in one of the South Sea Whalers then lying in Paroa Bay in the Bay of Islands and taking with him Shongee and another New Zealander—They were to sail in a few days.

On the morning of the 28th we were again visited by a number of Canoes and the natives brought with them provisions and curiosities which they bartered with us for iron, axes, and fish-hooks. Amongst the arrivals were Moihanga's father Parahecko and his family in a war Canoe ;—he was so weak from illness that he was lifted on board. When Evee who had had the charge of one of his sons a Youth about 12 years of age related to him (the whole family being seated on the deck on mats) all the circumstances of his death—the mother and sisters of the boy were very much affected—At the conclusion of his story he presented to the Chief his Son's little mat as a proof that he was no more and the mother taking it from her husband placed it in her bosom. The Chief was very particular in his enquiries about his Son's illness, the care that had been taken of him and whether he had been buried ;—he expressed a desire to send one of his people to Port Jackson for his bones which he wished brought to his native Country. On his departure he took Moihanga with him. At noon I went on shore with Messrs Marsden and Butler at a place called Waitangie. We were received very kindly by the natives, who were chiefly women and Children, the men having gone to the Southward near the River Thames on a war expedition. The country hereabouts is, in general, pretty level, the soil good and bearing excellent crops, particularly of Maize and potatoes. The village was composed of about 40 or 50 huts and was built without any regard to regularity. I learnt from the Missionaries that when they first came to this country one of their number had settled here but had been driven away by the natives ; whether they knew the real reason of this or not I cannot say, but I was afterwards informed by the natives that it was solely in consequence of his having interfered with them in matters he had no business with and that he and his family narrowly escaped with their lives from the effects of his imprudence—a lesson which it is to be hoped will not be lost upon his brethren, since nothing is more foolish and dangerous than to violate the customs of any people. On this occasion the fidelity and attachment of a native girl, their servant is worthy of notice for at the moment when the danger was imminent she without being perceived by her enraged countrymen took from the Missionary's wife their little daughter about a year old and getting into a Canoe paddled over to an island where

Mon., 28th Feb.

she remained with the child till the danger was past when she returned it in safety to its parents, who deeming their situation there no longer eligible removed to Rangihooge where they have remained ever since. Returning to the Ship I found a party of the officers with the Carpenter, about to set off in the Schooner [" Prince Regent "] which had accompanied us from Port Jackson by order of Governor McQuarrie for the purpose of facilitating our operations to examine some timber belonging to Tetoroo which was thought might answer our purpose, at a place up the Wycaddie River, at the head of the Bay of Islands. Tetoroo having gone on before to see his relations, his brother Whia Whia went with us. As we proceeded up the Wycaddie River, the water became shallow and the Schooner anchored near to where the Cowa Cowa a small river discharges itself into the Wycaddie. From thence we proceeded by boat up the river and as it was growing dark we were surprised by the report of a musket from the bank of the River, and on landing found it was our friend Tetoroo who had taken this method of announcing that he was near us. He kindly pressed us to remain all night at this fishing village and to go on in the morning, but we declined the offer and he accompanied us. As we advanced the water became shallower and it was with difficulty the boat could proceed, but the natives dragged it along, so at length we reached the spot where it was proposed we should land and went to a small village called Whiacane, about 200 yards from the river, where we pitched our tent for the night, but we were very much annoyed by the curiosity of the natives and their incessant noise.

Tues., 29th Feb. not 1st Mar., as this was leap year. (Cruise has the correct dates.)

1st March—Tuesday—We left the village to examine the timber, accompanied by Tetoroo, Whia Whia and Whycacaddie, with a number of other people. Our way lay through a beautiful valley which we observed was partly cultivated. The river here dwindles into a small stream which, following the footpaths, we crossed and recrossed several times, the natives carrying us over on their backs.—Proceeding two miles up the valley we struck off to the right up the side of a small hill on which the timber was growing. On inspecting it closely we found it was not the proper kind and even if it had been it was too far from that part of the river where it might be floated. Tetoroo was greatly disappointed for he had already grown rich in his imagination at our expense. We returned to the village by another route on the other side of the river. During this excursion we particularly noticed a piece of ground of about two English acres in extent, bearing a Crop of Sweet Potatoes (a root held in much esteem by the natives and forming part of the food of their Chiefs) which were regularly planted, free of weeds, well earthed up and very neatly and substantially enclosed with a fence about four feet high, supported by poles and wattled together, by a kind of root. The whole exhibited an appearance of industry and skill which would have done credit to the owner even in a civilized country. Here also I saw a tree of the kind called Kyka Kara which was at least 150 feet in height and of a proportionate thickness in the bole or stem. In appearance it was not unlike an orange tree. In this village I remarked too a house made of wood which was a complete piece of carved work consisting of representations of human and other figures, a work of much labour and time, and by no means defective in execution, considering the nature of the tools used by the native Carvers. On enquiring who

was the artist and for what use it was meant, I was told it was the work of a slave taken at Enamatuora* (probably the East Cape of Cook) and that it was called Whari Taboo which means " a sacred house " and in which it was usual to deposit whatever was tabooed. About 2 p.m. we returned to the Ship where we found Shongé and his sons and a number of his people. Mr. Marsden desirous to keep him in the country as likely to be useful to the missionaries, pressed him to remain but he refused, saying Mr. Kendall had told him if he went to England he would get there several muskets, a double-barrelled gun, and what he seemed particularly anxious for—a large Dog. Mr. Marsden offered to purchase for him a double barrelled gun belonging to Mr. Hall, a missionary, which he refused unless he could get with it ten muskets, though his son-in-law and another man who was very anxious for him to remain pressed him to accept it—but in vain as he was quite determined to go to England

On the 2nd of March we set off for the village of Cowa Cowa about 7 miles up the River of that name, which falls into the Whia Caddie, having been told that 5 years ago the missionary Brig Active and a large Ship called ' The City of Edinburgh ' had got cargoes of timber at that place. On reaching the village the Chief Tecokie with almost all his people were absent, having gone on an expedition against another tribe, leaving only their women and children behind—but we procured a native of Bengal a deserter from the City of Edinburgh Wed., 1st Mar.

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* This is an interesting statement, though Enamatuora is a personal name not a place-name, the correct spelling being Hinematioro.

The name occurs in connection with Cook's visit to Tolaga Bay, and the following passage is quoted, for its interest, from an article by Archdeacon W. L. Williams " On Cook's Visit to Poverty Bay," in *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*, Vol. 21, 1889, pp. 395–97 :—

" On Sunday, the 22nd [October, 1769], another start was made, but, the wind being unfavourable for standing to the northward, Cook determined to put into Tolaga Bay, some natives having told him of a small cove, a little within the south point of the bay, where fresh water was handy, and where the boats might land without being exposed to a heavy surf. This is the cove which in recent times has always borne the illustrious navigator's name. The natives here were as friendly as those at Tokomaru, and a good supply of wood and water was easily procured. During the eight days' stay at this place Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander explored the neighbourhood, and were rewarded by the discovery of many more plants new to science. In the course of their rambles they came upon what is described as a very extraordinary natural curiosity. ' It was a rock, perforated through its whole substance so as to form a rude but stupendous arch or cavern, opening directly to the sea. This aperture was seventy-five feet long, twenty-seven broad, and five-and-forty high, commanding a view of the bay and of the hills on the other side, which were seen through it, and, opening at once upon the view, produced an effect far superior to any of the contrivances of art.'

" There are three small streams of water here, one of which finds its way to the sea through the natural arch above described. The arch (called by the natives " Te Kotore o te Whenua ") pierces the ridge the extremity of which forms the western head of the cove, and is about 400 yds. from high-water mark within the cove. The measurements given by Cook do not quite correspond with the present dimensions. The present length is 55 ft., the breadth at the narrowest part 24 ft. 6 in., and the height at the lowest part 23 ft. The length has probably been reduced by the falling-away of the cliff at the outer end, at which part also the measurements of the height and breadth given by Cook may have been estimated.

" About 30 yds. from high-water mark, among some bushes about 20 ft. up the side of the same hill as that in which the arch occurs, is what is known as ' Cook's well.' This is a small hole, about 10 in. in diameter and about 1 ft.

who, marrying a New Zealand woman had settled amongst them, to shew us the timber which was of a different kind to that we had seen at Whia Caddie.—It grew upon a flat swamp upon the banks of the river and was a species of Cypress bearing a small berry, by which we knew it to be similar to that which Captain Cook had seen at the river Thames, and considered by him as fit for naval purposes. It is called by the natives Kaikatoria†, and grew in considerable quantities on both sides of the river; it was suitable for our purpose as far as length and thickness went, but we were doubtful as to its durability, it having been reported that the timber taken at the East Indies by the City of Edinburgh had not proved durable. Returning to the ship which had now come round to Paroa in the Bay of Islands, we remarked on a hill on the left bank of the river a cross which we were told was used for suspending the bodies of those who had been killed for theft. The Cowa Cowa is navigable for boats at all times, for about three miles from its mouth—Its banks are rocky and covered with beautiful Shrubs, but, beyond this the banks get low, and the river gradually contracts to a small stream. In the vicinity of this village, the country is level and very much like our Haughs, or what are called in England Holms and where not covered with wood was generally in cultivation. A number of huts scattered here and there along the banks of the river give to the scenery a very picturesque and pleasing appearance.

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deep, excavated in the soft rock where a tiny rill trickles down from a small spring a little higher up the hill. This could not have been used in any way for watering the ship, but was probably hollowed out for amusement by some of the boys in the ship's company. That it is not a natural cavity, but that it was made on the occasion of Cook's visit, seems to be satisfactorily shown by the name which the natives have given to it—viz., 'Te Wai Keri a Tepaea,' or Tepaea's Well; Tepaea (in which form they have preserved the name of the Tahitian Tupaea) having been thought by them to have been the name of Captain Cook. Various letters have been cut near the little well, but most of them have become very indistinct from the scaling-off of the surface of the rock. It is impossible to assign any date to these, which may all of them be much more modern than 1769.

"Maori tradition states that Hinematioro [the Enamatuora of the text above], who was then a young girl, was pointed out to Cook as a young lady of high rank, and that he presented her with beads and other ornaments. Hinematioro was much looked up to in her time by all the tribes along this part of the coast, and her name was known formerly as far north as the Bay of Islands as that of a great *rangatira*. She lost her life about sixty or seventy years ago when making her escape from Te Pourewa, or Sporing's Island, the pa on which was attacked by Ngatiporou. The canoe was making for Whangara, and was upset at sea, the only survivor being her grandson, the late Te Kani-a-Takirau.

"Cook says that the bay is called by the natives 'Tolaga' but this has not been identified with any Maori name now in use in the neighbourhood. The bay takes its name from the River Uawa, which flows into it; and the name of Cook's cove is Opoutama. The rocks off the entrance to the cove have altered very little since Cook's time, for the description which he gives of them might have been written yesterday. 'Close to the north end of the island [Sporing's Island], at the entrance into the bay, are two high rocks: one is round, like a corn-stack; but the other is long and perforated in several places, so that the openings appear like the arches of a bridge. Within these rocks is the cove where we cut wood and filled our water-casks.'

"On Monday, the 30th October, Cook made sail again to the northward, and here we take our leave of him."

† Kahikatea, the white pine.

The next day Tooai brother to Kero Kero Chief of Paroa paid us a visit on board and breakfasted with us. He had been in England for several months and had returned with the missionaries. He told us he had been at the North Cape with his brothers and a large party of his people taking home the body of his Cousin who had died there and that his brother was coming with the body, which was true, for soon after we saw a large fleet of war canoes making for the Pah situated on one of the islands of the bay.—About the same time also we saw another fleet of betwixt 30 and 40 war Canoes coming from the Southward, which proved to be Temorange a powerful Chief returning from an expedition. The vessel which was to carry Mr. Kendall and Shonge to Europe being at this time under weigh, Mr. Marsden went on board her and found Shonge's wife who was blind and his Children taking leave of him. Whilst the Ship was tacking she had very nearly upset one of the Canoes, and as it was, a boy apparently not more than two years old was thrown into the Sea, but so early are these people familiarised with this element, that the little fellow manifested not the slightest fear, continuing to paddle about for some time till relieved by one of the natives who took him into the Canoe. In the course of this Day I visited the Missionary Settlement at Ranghe-hoo about 7 miles from the place where we lay, and situate in a cove on the other side of the bay — but was much disappointed to find that the appearance in no way corresponded with the account we had received from Mr. Marsden or with that sent home by the missionaries. At this place lived three missionaries with their families—Their houses were built of wood and surrounded by a high and strong wooden fence and with the exception of Mr. Hall's, were neither clean, nor comfortable. The schoolhouse was pointed out to us but we were told there were no scholars at that time nor had there been any for some time past. The natives shew no disposition for instruction and the missionaries are at no pains to remove their prejudices. Before leaving this Settlement we went to the native village of Ranghe-hoo, which is situated on a Hill with a steep declivity towards the Sea and which is remarkable as belonging to no particular tribe. Here we found on the beach Tooai who after leaving Temorangé had come here with his Canoes, and his share of the prisoners in number about 40, chiefly women and Children. Amongst these I observed a Chief's daughter who might have been about 18. She was sitting and in tears, attended by an old woman, who supplied her with small pieces of the Volcanic Lava called obsidian with which she cut her breast, face and arms, from which there was a great effusion of blood. Whilst thus employed one of Tooai's people offered us a head for sale which was that of her brother lately slain in battle, which she seized on in an agony of feeling, and it was with difficulty taken from her.* On our return we found Kara-kara on board, whose joy was excessive on meeting with Mr. Marsden whom we had lived with whilst at Port Jackson.

Thurs., 2nd Mar.

* From another fragment of paper which also relates this incident the additional information following is given: Formerly these might be ransomed and are still so occasionally but since Europeans have shown a disposition to procure them these have become like everything else an article of commerce. This chief's daughter if not ransomed would in all probability become the wife of her captor.

Inset—Turnbull Bull.

His appearance was as singular as ludicrous—he being dressed after our fashion and with a cocked hat—He told us he had taken the name of Governor McQuarrie. He had a most ferocious countenance which was by no means improved by the loss of an eye, but was in other respects, well formed and beyond a doubt the most active man I have ever seen.

Fri., 3rd Mar. 4th March—Koro Koro having promised to shew the body of his Cousin which had been preserved, Mr. Marsden and myself in company with the Master and Surgeon of the Ship went to his hippah upon an island.—We saw nothing to note in the hippah, but crossing over to another island where the body was we found it in a Canoe wrapped up in mats and attended by two old women, who very reluctantly took off the mats though ordered by the Chief to do so. The body was in a sitting posture with the knees drawn up to the chin. The hair was decorated with the leaves of a Shrub called Kavamori & the white feathers of the Albatross. The body to all appearance was quite dry and free from any offensive odour. The flesh was very much shrivelled and of a black colour. Having satisfied our Curiosity we returned to the Ship.

Sat., 4th Mar. On the 5th having to deliver the Stores of the Missionaries, these were put in the launch which was towed by the schooner up the river Kede Kede on the west side of the bay, where the principal missionary Settlement was. A ludicrous incident occurred upon this occasion which served to show that the professions and the actions of the missionaries did not exactly harmonize together. A package said to contain leather addressed to Mr. Kendal, by some accident gave way, when instead of leather several muskets came to light—which created a laugh at the expense of the clerical gentlemen, who had been on all occasions very solicitous to impress us with the impropriety of bringing such articles among the natives.* The missionary Settlement is called Gloucester Town, in honour of the Bishop of Gloucester.† When we went on board the Schooner we found Timerange, brother of Parachecho, the Chief whose expedition we had seen on its return ; he was accompanied by another Chief from the River Thames named Tooretta who with his two sons and a daughter were on a visit to Timerange. He was a remarkably fine looking man, upwards of six feet in height. Timerange was very glad to see Mr. Marsden whom he had known before and hearing that I was a soldier, was very anxious to know what brought me there, which being explained he was satisfied. After we passed the islands of Meturoua—we entered the Kede Kede River where the water became so shallow that the Schooner could proceed no further than a Pah called Couranghie, a short way above which we came to an anchor. In conversing about the expedition from which he had just returned and its cause Timerange told us that about 15 years ago some convicts had carried away a small vessel from Port Jackson and having touched at the Bay of Islands had carried off his sister whom they had sold at Mercury Bay, and that the Chiefs having disagreed about her she was killed. Some time after, some of her people trading there, had discovered her fate and from that time to this, he had been

* In his journal Butler mentions this unloading, through necessity, but he does not mention the incident, though later in the journal he deplores the trading by Kendal.

† Dr. Henry Ryder.

incessantly at war with the tribe into whose hands she had fallen, in order to avenge her loss. Expressing the state of his feelings, whilst busy recollection brought her back to his remembrance, he compared it to having a load about his heart of whose pressure he was sensible, without possessing either the power or the inclination to remove it. On this last expedition he had been very successful, having killed or captured about 300 and as a gratifying memorial of his victory, had got his nose tatooed afresh. After the Schooner had anchored the launch was towed up by her boat, but owing to our ignorance of the proper channel, we got aground several times and it was 9 p.m. before we reached the Settlement, to which we found our way through the darkness, by the light of fires which the natives had made on the banks of the river. The missionaries received us with civility and we slept at Mr. Butler's.

Sun., 5th Mar.

The next being Sunday the missionaries gave us another proof of how much their precepts and their practice are at variance, for instead of instructing the natives or being themselves employed in those duties which religion prescribes, they were busily employed in unloading the launch and in housing under lock and key their stores. Whilst they were thus occupied I went about a mile and an half from the settlement to see a remarkable waterfall which fell from a rock 100 feet high into a basin surrounded on all sides by trees. In the evening the missionaries performed Divine Service at which a few of the natives were present, but merely to gratify their curiosity to see the Europeans who had lately come, but they talked so much that their absence would have been more desirable than their presence. This Settlement is on the banks of the Kede Kede and consists at present, of about half a dozen huts and near it is a large straggling village belonging to Shonge. The Kede Kede like all the rivers which flow into the Bay of Islands is navigable for boats a short distance as far as the tide flows, which may be about 5 miles, the same distance the Settlement is from the mouth of the river. The missionaries estimate the extent of their Settlement at 20,000 acres, for which they gave 45 axes, and as the natives say a barrel of gunpowder. It is a fine tract of country and susceptible in better hands of the very highest improvement. There is not more than an acre in cultivation immediately round their habitations and for want of a proper enclosure the growing crop upon it was in a great measure destroyed by the natives and animals. The houses are similar to those at Ranghe-hoo having high barricades and wicket doors and like those are far from being either clean or comfortable in fact not so much so as those of the natives who tho' not boasting the advantages of civilization are superior to the missionaries in those respects. As no proper timber could be procured at the Bay of Islands Mr. Marsden advised the master to send some persons to examine that which grew on the banks of the Shungahangi on the West Coast and also to ascertain whether the Ship could get up it.

Mon., 6th Mar

On the 7th therefore a party from the ship accompanied by Mr. Marsden and myself set out on our journey—We took with us a number of natives as carriers of our baggage and also Tooi and Wheetie as interpreters, to whom we gave an axe a piece. The first day we went as near as we could judge about 24 miles the first six of which were within the limits of the missionary settlement Kede Kede. The first part of this tract was partly level, clear of wood

and covered with fern excepting two or three small patches. The remainder was more uneven in its surface and of an inferior soil, being in some parts swampy and covered with reeds. Towards the close of the day we passed through 2 large woods separated from each other by a small tract of open country, near the last of these we pitched our tent for the night. Here we found the trees to be very lofty indeed and amongst them a number of that kind called by the natives Demo and Totara. The former resembles the pine and the latter has a leaf like the yew tree—both grow to a considerable size and height.

Tues., 7th Mar. Whilst breakfasting in the morning (8 March) we were joined by Mudiwy a Chief from Shooke Hanga who was on his way to the missionary Settlement to barter pigs and potatoes, but hearing we were going to Shooke Hanga, he sent forward his son with his people and the pigs and potatoes. He with his wife and daughter returned with us. The country we passed through in the early part of the day was chiefly forests of wood in which were, here and there several deep ravines and the pathways were made rugged by the roots of trees which spread across them. This made our journey very fatiguing though the natives made very light of it, notwithstanding the encumbrance of our baggage which they carried. That part of the country which was open was covered so thickly with fern that no grass or anything else could grow under it. Towards the latter part of the Day we got into a beautiful valley through which flowed a branch of the Shooke Hange which at this point was quite a small stream. Having walked up this valley about 7 miles, we arrived at the Chiefs Settlement, where we were received with the greatest hospitality by his people who waving their mats called out to us—"Haromai, Haromi," their welcome to strangers and which means literally "Come to us" "Come to us." Having pitched our tent and made ourselves comfortable I walked to the village on the Bank of the river, up to which the tide flows. The Chief had several large Canoes here. He was most hospitable and sent us several large Baskets of potatoes and Fish, regretting that he had no pigs to offer us as there were none caught, but said he would go to the woods early next morning and try to catch some.

Wed., 8th Mar. Next morning (9th March) we found he had been as good as his word for he had set off on his chase long before we were stirring. During his absence a very disagreeable occurrence took place, which showed how cautious we ought to be. One of our party complained that a tin Cup had been stolen from him. Mudiwy's wife was greatly distressed at such a Charge and after ineffectual endeavours to procure it from her people, she brought one that she herself had got, thinking from its similarity to that which had been stolen, it might pass for it, but as it happened to be marked with Toois name a brother of Koro Keros the deception was manifest,—however it was well meant and showed beyond doubt her regard for the character of her people, her love of justice and her desire to prevent any misunderstanding. This matter was scarcely settled when we were involved in another of a more serious nature. A petty officer complained that a pair of his trousers had been stolen from him. The poor woman did all she could also in this case to procure their restitution and whilst thus occupied her husband returned. She at once told him what had happened and he was so angry that he loaded a musket declaring

he would shoot the deliquent. In the meantime however the trousers were found but it was deemed prudent to conceal this from the natives who were told it was of no consequence to the owner whether they were found or not. Thus the whole affair died a natural death. In the afternoon I walked up the valley—a delightful spot in which were built several huts distant about a mile from each other. The greater part of the land here was almost all in a state of cultivation and the crops were most luxuriant owing to the richness of the soil. It appeared to have once been covered with wood from the remains of stumps and roots which were visible in many places.

Thurs., 9th Mar.

Next day the tide being favourable the Chief lent us a Canoe, the largest I had yet seen excepting war canoes and accompanied us. We were about 30 in number. The Canoe moved with the greatest rapidity and in a short time we entered a small Branch of the river and came to a very fine forest of Koude fit for our purpose — its situation was also quite convenient for conveying it when felled to the water. When it was getting dark we reached a small village where we spent the night and the next morning 10th March went down the river about 15 miles, at which point we came to a halt for breakfast. The banks here are rocky and covered with shrubs. We resumed our journey as soon as we had finished our repast and about 6 miles further up, found the river considerably broader and the natives told us that a little further on it branches off in a N.E. direction. We had now reached a little island called Moetoo-itte, it was very flat and apparently very populous from the number of houses thereon. We made no stay here however but following the windings of the river we reached the entrance to another called Poo-Nake-terre from the length of its course. Here we saw a very large Pah on a point of land which jutted out into the river forming one of the Heads to its entrance. At this place the Shooke-Hange is very wide but shallow, so much so that at low water it is difficult to find a sufficient depth for a large Canoe.

Fri., 10th Mar.

A little further down (March 11th) we breakfasted in a small Bay near a few deserted huts and proceeding arrived at a village belonging to a Chief called Mewenna, situated about two miles within the Heads of the river on its left Bank. On landing we were received very kindly by the natives and were conducted by the niece of the Chief to his house in front of which he was standing ready to receive us. After shaking us by the hands, which he had heard was the white man's custom, he seated himself on the ground, having his brother on his right hand and his nephew, his Sister and his nieces on his left—behind him were the men, women and Children of the village. He enquired what brought us there and we told him we had come on a quest for timber having been informed that it was to be obtained here and that we also wished to ascertain whether a large Ship could get up the river. He appeared willing to aid us by all means in his power and said that he was anxious for Europeans to settle among his people. Most of the natives here had never seen Europeans and were most anxious to gratify their curiosity concerning us—we therefore found it impossible to walk about with any comfort as wherever we went we were surrounded and followed by crowds of people, mostly women and Children. In the evening the Chief sent us a large quantity of fish and potatoes and he and his people did everything to make us comfortable.

Sat., 11th Mar. The next day (March 12th) the officers who had been sent to examine the mouth of the river set off accompanied by the Chief's brother and a priest in a Canoe. This priest pretended to have power over the winds and waves and the people seemed to look on him with great respect. Mr. Marsden and I preferring an excursion by land we walked along the beach. The coast here has a very wild barren appearance consisting of a long range of low sand-hills.—About a mile from the shore there seemed to be a bar of rocks extending for about three miles to the mouth of the river and over which the sea breaks with great force although inside of it the water was comparatively smooth. We saw a good many natives here fishing in their Canoes. We walked for about 3 miles along the coast but it was all alike—The sand on the beach was curious in its appearance and on examining its particles minutely I found they were like glass quite transparent. As there was nothing more to be seen we retraced our steps and on reaching the village found that the search party had returned. They told us that a bar of sand lay at the entrance of the river but it was thought possible for the Ship to get over it. In the evening the old Chief took me to see one of his relations—an old man now unable to walk who said he recollected Captain Cook being at the Bay of Islands in 1777,—he also said he walked over to see the Ship but was afraid to go near as Captain Cook had quarrelled with the people at Paroa. He pointed to a young man about 30 standing near him and said he was about his age at the time of Cook's visit. He was a remarkably fine looking old man with hair as white as snow and appeared to be about 80 years of age.

Sun., 12th Mar. Next day (March 13) I went through the village and up the Banks of the Stream which runs through it. A little above the village there is a small hill where one of the Pahs of this tribe had formerly been but is now not used as a dwelling place. The Store houses were here and this being the season for taking up potatoes, all the people were busy and women and slaves carrying them in baskets which held about a peck, from which they did not remove them but packed one above the other until the storehouse was full, when it was closed and tabooed until wanted to be opened. This hill was covered completely with the flax plant which is called Coradé Mauvre*, and which grew in great luxuriance. On our return we passed through the Potatoe ground where numbers of natives were at work superintended by the Chief's niece. The village consisted of about 100 huts and seemed very populous—much more so than the villages about

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* *Korari maori : korari* is usually the tall flower-stalk of *harakeke* (*Phormium tenax*), but is in the North sometimes used to designate the plant itself. Here McCrae uses the word *maori* in its original sense signifying "normal, usual, ordinary." Not until long after this time did the word come to mean what Europeans assume it actually means, and in which the Natives themselves now acquiesce—that is, the name of the people, the New-Zealanders. It had no such meaning in the minds of the Natives until a comparatively recent date, nor was it apparently so used by them to any extent until about 1850, though Wakefield and other English writers had begun the use some years before. In earliest times *tangata maori* did not mean man of the Maori race, but human being as opposed to supernatural being; *wai maori* was fresh water; *whetu maori* inferior stars (*see* Williams, *Dictionary of the Maori Language*). Cook spoke of the inhabitants of New Zealand as Indians: early European writers as natives, or New-Zealanders.

the Bay of islands. Beyond were huts scattered on the Banks of the river. These were a remarkably fine race of people and had abundance of food which is not the case at the Bay of Islands and which accounts for their superiority. On Sunday Mr. Mardsen read prayers and asked the Chief and his people to attend, which they did, but of course not understanding what was said, they were soon all asleep. Mr. Marsden said however that he had never seen a more orderly Congregation and that they were anxious to profit by what they heard, which appeared to me a most singular instance of self-deception and I thought that if the other missionaries are not more successful in their efforts than Mr. Marsden (which there is no reason to think they are) years must elapse before they can claim the credit of a single convert. After prayers (with the assistance of Tooi a native who had been in England and could talk English tolerably well) Mr. Marsden explained to them the creation of the world. They listened very attentively, but when he had finished, they told him he was quite mistaken. Mr. Marsden assured them he was not, as the story of the Creation had been handed down to him through Centuries by his ancestors. They then remarked that that might be the way amongst the Pakeha (or white men) but with them the belief was that their God had fished up New Zealand from the bottom of the Sea with three fish hooks made of Poenaniamiou* a green serpentine and that some of their people had seen one of them a long way to the Southward. The Priest joined in the conversation and told us that the winds and waves which he had power over were confined in a great cave on the shore which he afterwards showed us. He said that his father had given him this power at his death and that his son should have the same when he died. We spent some time conversing with the natives on different subjects and I remarked that they always reverted with pleasure to the advantages to be derived by them from the visits of Europeans, though blaming them for giving the New Zealanders the character of being treacherous—alleging that they never were the aggressors in quarrels with Europeans. Amongst other curious Questions the Priest asked me if King George had ever heard of him—a simple enough question—but an indication that these people are by no means free from that self love which whilst it makes us satisfied with ourselves leads us to imagine that we are of sufficient importance to become objects of Inquiry to others. In the evening the Chief's daughter made me a present of a very handsome carved box with feathers in it for dressing the hair and in return I gave her a small Tomahawk. As the naval gentlemen wished to examine the Harbour a little more minutely we staid with these kind people another day.

Tues., 13th Mar.

On the afternoon of the 14th March we left Mewenna, who gave us abundance of provisions—20 baskets of potatoes, 500 mullets and 3 large pigs for which he got in return some axes and fish hooks. Moodywy who had been with us the whole time returned with us.

Wed., 14th Mar.

On the 15th we reached Mooto Kraka one of Moodywy's Pahs and remained there all night tormented with the sandflies.

Thurs., 15th Mar

Next morning we left Mooto Kraka and went up a Creek to see some timber which the natives told us was very fine and which yielded a quantity of excellent rosin—we remained there until evening waiting

* The confused spelling of *pounamu* is reproduced.

for the tide and a Canoe came up for some of Mewenna's people who had accompanied us. A Ship was seen off Shooke Hanga. At Dusk the tide being favourable we started and passing Mooto-itte reached Moodywy's village after dark—the natives lighting reeds and grass to shew us the way. The old Chief and the pigs spent the night in the woods—It was very rainy and uncomfortable.

Fri., 16th Mar. Next morning 17th March it was still very wet and the naval gentlemen who were knocked up, staying behind till next day to recruit. Mr. Marsden and I went on with a couple of natives—I was nearly drowned in getting Mr. Marsden out of a stream we had to cross and into which he had fallen.

Sat., 17th Mar. March 18th—The rest of our party joined us and we continued our journey until we reached the Ship.

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During our absence the officers report that they have made several fruitless attempts, the Master proposed taking the Ship round, but first wished to ascertain whether it was possible to get a cargo at Bream Bay about 30 miles to the Southward. For this purpose he sent the Schooner with the proper officers to examine it, during the time they were absent, about 3 days, the Cumberland S. Sea whaler arrived from England—this turned out to be the ship which was seen by the natives at Shooke Hanga, having been driven on that coast by bad weather—

The officers on their return reported that there was not a sufficient depth of water in the harbour they had visited and in the morning we sailed for Shooke Hanga—When abreast of Kora Kora's Pah he and Tooi came off in a Canoe—Tooi was dressed in his native clothing for the first time since we had known him—As it was thought Tooi would be of use as an Interpreter, he was prevailed upon to accompany us together with a man of his own tribe—he was unwilling to go with us as his people were not on very good terms with the Shooke Hanga tribe — Kora Kora now left us after having harangued the Shooke Hanga Chiefs in speech more noisy than eloquent but from what we could make out was favourable to us, recommending them to deal fairly and to put confidence in us, that whatever we promised would be performed. He was saluted on leaving us with one gun which greatly delighted him and his Brother and gave him a sort of consequence in the eyes of the other Chiefs of which he was not a little proud—during this day and the 3 following the wind being contrary we were beating about off the N. Cape and finding it impossible to

Wed., 29th Mar. double it with the wind in this quarter, we put back on the 29th and in the afternoon anchored inside of an Island that lies about 3 miles off the harbour of Whangeroa the scene of the destruction of the Boyd. One of the boats went in the evening with an officer and reported that the harbour was good—but it being nearly dark before he got in he returned immediately—In the morning 2 Canoes came off but at first the natives were afraid to come near, owing to an idea that we were come about the Boyd—at last Mr. Marsden recognized a Chief whom he had seen before and asked him to come on board, which he did tho' evidently very much afraid.

The 3 harbours that I was in were the Bay of Islands, Whangeroa and Shooke Hanga. The first is very large and easy of access, and the anchorage is in the small bays and behind the Islands good and commodious.

The 2nd is also a very good harbour and when once inside is remarkably safe, being landlocked. Shooke Hanga is on the West Coast Lat. — and Long. — * and good anchorage for ships of moderate size might be found here, there is a bar of sand off the mouth of the river and at low water there is only 3½ fathoms, the rise here is 8 feet.

Polygamy may be said to be universal among the New Zealanders† limited only according to the inclination or circumstances of the individual. A Chief who from his riches or abundance of food can maintain a numerous family has generally from four to ten wives while an inferior person from the contrary cause can only support one or at most two.

In a Chief's family the first woman that he marries is looked upon as superior to the rest, she is invariably the daughter of a Chief and her children always succeed to the Father.

The rest of his Wives or more properly Concubines are the daughters of inferior Chiefs or women of distinction taken prisoner, if their friends cannot or will not ransom them they generally live with their captors.

1st May—Left the ship for Kede Kede in a Canoe paddled by 3 women, on our way up called at Temoranghe's Pah to allow the people to rest a little, the Brother of Temoranghe was there and showed us the Pah—On leaving it we met Temoranghe himself going to the river Thames with the chief and his family who had been visiting him—About three we arrived at the Missionary Settlement Kede Kede—In the afternoon Paraheekoo came up to make friends with Tariha one of Shonge's chiefs—Anger of the people— Mon., 1st May

Walked over with Mr. Marsden to O Coola a village of Timorangi —report of war with Tenogonga)

Went to Mr. Shepherd's house—Came for the little boy—dead child—Shongi came—

Fine ground about O Coola—Moughana carved posts at door of Paraheecoo's hut—Whangoroa people going to Wymatte. Thunderstorm—

3rd May. Left Kede Kede for the Wymatte, the residence of Shonge's chief having heard that there was a great assemblage of Chiefs met there to consult on the expediency of going to war with a tribe at Kyperra called Matewhatua—Met a number of people on their way there, nearly 2,000. So troubled by the curiosity of these people that we were obliged to ask Tariha for a house to be out of the way which he at once gave us, a very good one—not allowed to eat our dinner in it until we got leave from Tariha's Father who was a Priest.— Wed., 3rd May

Assembly of Chief's children—Clarke the American—Great tract of very rich land, get to Shonge's house—find his eldest son, wife and family.—

Apology for assaulting Mr. Butler.‡—

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* 35° 33′ South and 173° 28′ East.

† This statement is not borne out by subsequent writers.

‡ The recently published (1928) journal of Rev. J. Butler says nothing about this. On 3rd May, however, he notes, "The agricultural plough was for the first time put into the land of New Zealand at Kideekidee, and I felt much pleasure in holding it after a team of six bullocks brought down by the Dromedary."

Mock battle—Shonge's eldest daughter and Rewa's wife. Arrival of Rewa and his brother Atua—Leave Wymate, meet Kookoopa and wife, get to Pookaudi, Ko E Rookoo Chief—

Go to the top of the hill, view of the Bay of Islands, shown the ground where the late battle was fought. Leave Pookaudi for Tainu —pass a village burnt by Shonge's people pass thr' Cowa Cowa get to Tianu, get a large house, the largest I had seen in N. Zealand— upward of 8 feet high and between 30 and 40 feet in length.

Next day went to the Wy Whero a fine tract of cultivated land— Peaches—Taroo Flax, Meeroo—return to house,—

Sunday—Evrai dying.

Monday—Set off for deserted plain—History 5 Pahs—meet a party of strangers—as we approach the coast uneven country.

Twilight get to O Coola. Sleep at Mr. Shepherd's, told by Timoranga's people that the Schooner had gone up to Shooke Hanga, that one of her men had killed a boy, a Grandson of Mowwhawha—get to the Ship.

[LIST ATTACHED TO McCRAE'S JOURNAL WHILE ON BOARD.]

BAY OF ISLANDS.

Matowhai.

Pomarré	Rungateeda no te Kaaingha.
E Wharré	Whaheené no Pomarré.
Poaka	Tamyté no Pomarré.
E Teeké	Tamyté no Pomarré.
E Po	Koeteedo no Pomarre Whaheene no Tenana.
Te Ou Shou ..	Takoo Whaheené Koeteedo no Pomarré.
Gnahooia ..	
E Hooe ..	
E Ou	
Murrewheea ..	
E Hoonga ..	
Te oure o Macaréq	Wyatoo no Takoo Whaheené.
Keadeedé doto rā	
E Hooe E Caré kee te ty bōūdé	
E ah hă hā kakewah kakewah	
Kakewa kewa	
Te ooré kamami tekke wa	Wyatoo no Murrewheea whaheené no Shookehanga.
E hu wa Ehee wa eh ..	

BAY OF ISLANDS.

Superior Chiefs.

Shunghé Eeka ..	Te Keddé Keddé.
Temoranghé hé Eeka	Ó Coola.
Pomarré	Matowhai or Cororadica.
Koro Koro ..	Paroa.

BAY OF ISLANDS.

Inferior Chiefs.

Te koké	Py hea and Cowa Cowa.
Whewhea ..	Wycaddé.
Towé	Ranghehoo.
Bené	Paroa bay near Onéroa.
Showrakke ..	Teekooranghe.

WHANGEROA.

Superior Chiefs.

Te porré	Motoo.
Te Poohai ..	Kamimé.

Inferior Chiefs.

Matapo	Mottoo uncle of Teporré.
Towwheetoo ..	Do. relation to Do.
Tarra or George ..	Brother to Tipoohé.
Ehoodoo	Do. Do.

BREAM BAY.

Tengangha	..	Bream Bay.
Kookoopa	..	Do. do.

MOODEWHENOOA.

Shunghe ..	..	Moodewhenooa or N. Cape.
Porro ..	..	West side of the N. Cape.

CAVALLE ISLANDS.

Ó Keeda.

TYHAMMY.

Kyterra ..	..	Thyammy subject to Temoranghe.
Tawheero	..	Do. Do.

POOKANUÉ.

Korookoo	..	Pookanue subject to Temoranghe.

TE WYMATTE.

Tarriha ..	..	Wymatte subject to Shunghe.
Rewa ..	..	Do. Do. Do.

COPIED FROM FRAGMENT OF TORN PAPER.

Parts of New Zealand visited—On the East Coast Bay of Islands. Harbours Whangeroa Bay. Harbour.

On the West

Shuke Hanga Harbour and river.

The distance betwixt Bay of Islands and Shuke Hanga between 70 and 80 miles Went once from Bay of Islands to Shuke Hanga and once from Whangeroa to Shuke Hanga Distance betwixt Bay of Islands and Wharero betwixt 60 and 70 miles. New Zealand not remarkable for High Mountains tho hilly and which grow less in the interior*. The native name of the Western branch of the Shuke Hanga of which I was the first European who ever went up it is Manga Mooka. The River itself runs North and South. The Shukehanga navigable for vessels of small burthen about 20 miles and may extend to about 35 miles from its mouth where it divides.

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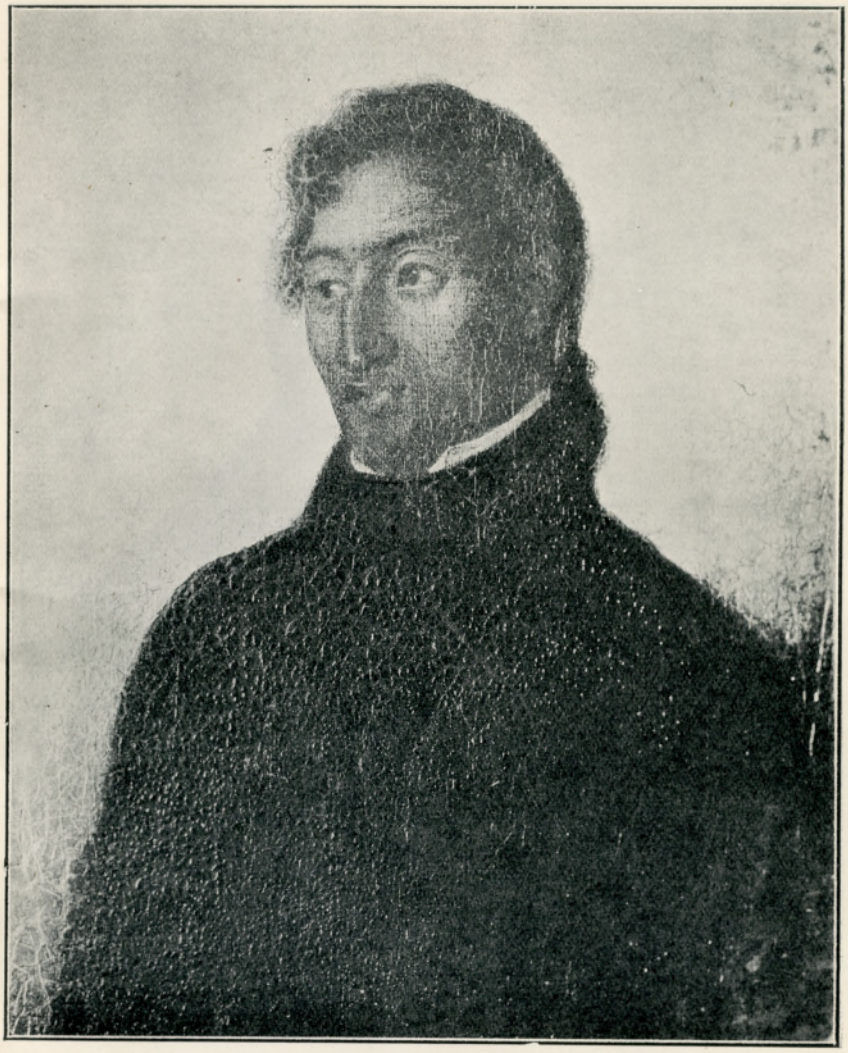
* This, of course, refers only to the interior of this northern district. Farther south, and in the South Island, the interior is very mountainous.



Tooi (Tuai), painted by James Barry, Oct., 1818. Picture now in Alexander Turnbull Library.

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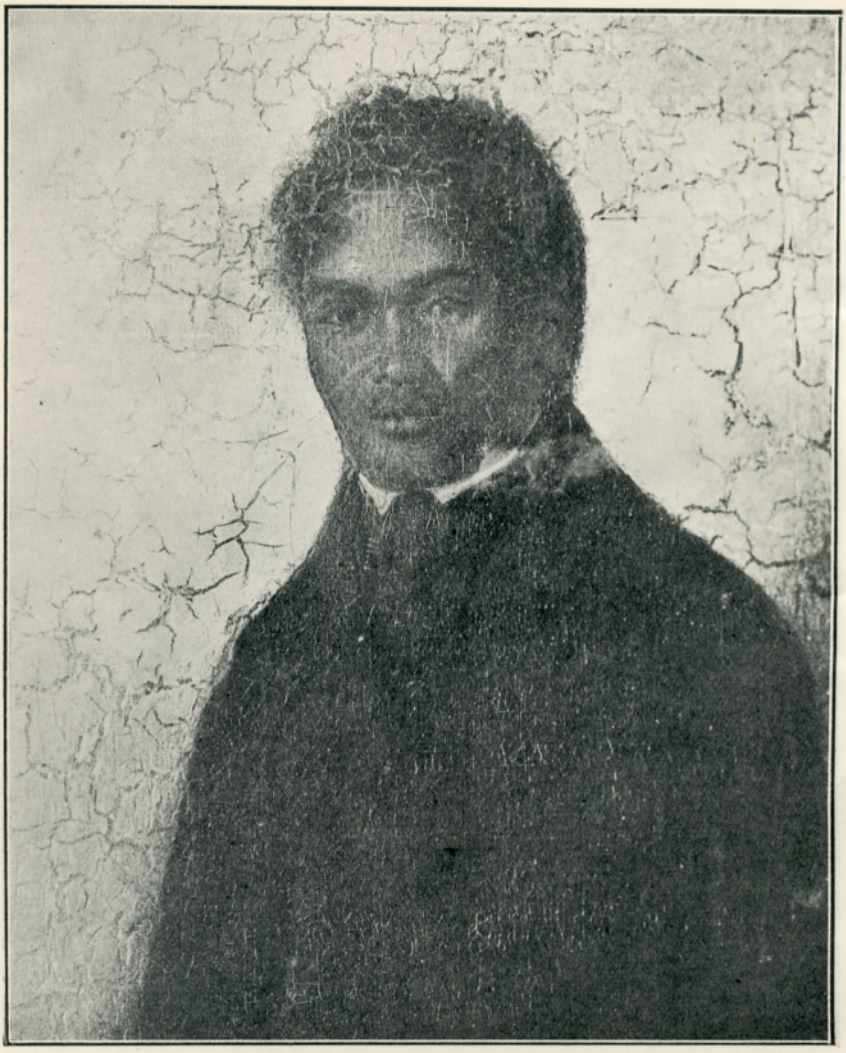

TEETERREE (TITERI OR TITARI), painted by JAMES BARRY, Oct., 1818. Picture now in Alexander Turnbull Library.

WAIKATO (on left), HONGI (centre), and THOS. KENDALL (on right). Photo of picture, now in London, painted by JAMES BARRY, 1820.

The chiefs both have *taiaha*, each has a *mere* and is wearing a fine cloak as a kilt, Hongi having a feather cloak. The three white feathers spring from some support in the hair, and, whilst the ornament is a strange one, it is in the picture. Waikato is much less tattooed than Hongi, having no centre upper forehead pattern, no cheek or jaw spirals, and no upper lip pattern.

NOTES ON THE MAORI NAMES.

A few observations on the orthography of the Maori language will be of interest. The first scientific attempt to fix the orthography was made by Dr. Samuel Lee, of Cambridge. Thomas Kendall, one of the lay missionaries chosen to accompany the Rev. Samuel Marsden to New Zealand in 1814 to lay the foundation of the christianization of the Maori, had made an attempt to commit Maori to writing, and a manual* of 54 pages by him was printed in Sydney, 1815, but he confessed to the need of experienced assistance, and rightly so. In 1820 he was accordingly sent to England, together with two chiefs Shungie (Hongi) aged forty-five, and Whycato (Waikato) aged twenty-six, who were eager to see England after the adventurous voyages of Duaterra (Ruatara), nephew of Hongi. They left New Zealand in the New Zealander on the 2nd March,† and reached London on the 8th August, spending about four months in London, two being spent at Cambridge. Here they furnished Professor Lee with the particulars that enabled him to compile the *Grammar and Vocabulary of the Language of New Zealand*, published by the Church Missionary Society the same year, 1820. They returned to New Zealand, in the Westmoreland, in July, 1821. Other material had been collected in 1818 from Tooi (Tuai)‡ and Teeterree (Titeri or Titari), two young Maori who visited London then, but who, like most of their countrymen, were unable to endure the climate and had been obliged to return to the more congenial air of New Zealand. The information given by them had been sent out to Kendall, he added very largely to it, and with the accumulated material was able to give Dr. Lee enough information for the production of the very creditable grammar referred to. Part of the issue was on thick strong paper, for the use of the Maori; part on ordinary paper, for ordinary use. Differences in the make-up, however, show that there was more than one issue, if not more than one edition. The objects in completing the book "were, in the first place, to make it useful to the New-Zealanders themselves; and in the second, to their teachers—the Missionaries and Settlers," and the English alphabet is given in full. The vocabulary of just a hundred pages reveals the sounds most definitely heard by these recorders of a hitherto unwritten speech, and these sounds, with two exceptions, are the ones finally adopted. The sound represented by the letter *r* had two forms—one the sound as represented by our *r*, the other as represented by our *d*. The vocabulary contains over forty words beginning with the *d* sound, and there are a great many where the *d* sound is medial, or both initial and medial, including *dimu* for *rimu* (five), *didi* for *riri* (anger), and so on.

A third sound of *r*, an approach to *l*, common in the south, was apparently not heard so much in the north. The appearance of *būka būka* for pukapuka (book), (p. 67), would suggest that the *b*

* *A korau no New Zealand; or, the New Zealander's First Book.*

† It is to be remembered that this was leap year; details of the ship's going are given (see pp. 13, 17).

‡ Tooi is often said to represent Tui; but it rather represents Tuai, and McCrae himself has it Tooai on 2nd March.

sound was sometimes heard for *p*, as it was later when the land was settled, whence *bukatea* for *pukatea* (the tree), *bunger* for *ponga* (the silver tree-fern), &c. But *b* finds no place in the vocabulary, and *bùka bùka* was evidently regarded as a Maorization of the word "book," though *pukapuka* is genuine Maori. The adoption of the new meaning was no doubt partly from the similarity of the sound, partly with the underlying idea of a flat surface. (See Williams's *Dictionary*.)

Later orthographies make it clear that there were two sounds represented by the letter *r*. In one of these the tip of the tongue approached nearer the palate than in the other: so that words like *riri*, containing the *r* sound twice, often appear as *ridi*, as in *puridi*, for *puriri* (the tree), *Waimakaridi* for *Waimakariri* (the river)—and even Wy McReedy! As, however, the two sounds were not distinct, or not constantly distinct, the second *r* not sounding exactly like *d* or not doing so invariably, but rather as if it were a slovenly *r*, the *d* sound was wisely ignored in the committing of the language to writing. This was done principally in the printing of religious matter, such as the Lord's Prayer, the first three chapters of Genesis, and a Catechism, before 1827. In 1830 the first fragmentary Bible translations were printed in Sydney, under the superintendence of the Rev. R. Yate, who also saw parts of the New Testament through the press there in 1833. The first complete New Testament was printed in 1837, the translation being the work of the Rev. W. Williams, assisted by Messrs. W. G. Puckey and J. Shepherd. Definiteness was being arrived at, and the work of translation enabled a start to be made on the printing of Williams's Grammar and Dictionary in the year 1837.* To the Rev. W. Williams and the Rev. R. Maunsell are due the first grammars of Maori as now accepted.

Maunsell, who published his *Grammar of the New Zealand Language* in 1842, remarks on the letter *r*, "*R* has two sounds: (1) rough; as in *rain*, *river*, &c.; *e.g.*, kahore, *ro*rea, roro, *r*oto. (2) The second more soft, and is formed by a gentle jar of the tongue against the palate; so gentle indeed is the vibration, that most foreigners pronounce it like *d* or *l*, as in *r*aro, ru*r*u, *r*imu, pou*r*u, pa*r*i, mu*r*i, ma*r*iri, koi*r*i, ko*r*iko*r*i, kou*r*u, ma*r*u."†

Further, he admits *wh* only as a variant sound of *w*, which letter he says "Has two sounds, one simple, as that in wind, &c.; *e.g.*, wai, *water*, waka, *a canoe*, ware, *a plebeian*. 2. An aspirated *w*, as in when, where, &c.; whai, *follow*, whare, *a house*, &c." He feels that this is insufficient, for he adds in a footnote, "The reader will observe

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* For full details of these early publications see Herbert W. Williams's *A Bibliography of Printed Maori to 1900*: Wellington, 1924.

† Though Maunsell is definite enough, it should be noted that the Rev. W. Williams was in New Zealand ten years before Maunsell, and his son W. L. Williams, born six years before Maunsell's arrival, spoke Maori from his infancy; but neither Williams makes any mention of two sounds in the letter, which is voiced by a single application of the tongue to the palate, without any trill. This is pointed out by the Ven. Archdeacon H. W. Williams, editor of the last *Dictionary of the Maori Language* (1917), who also observes that Nicholas uses *d* somewhat freely, but Lee and Kendall in their vocabulary confine it almost exclusively to the use before *u* and *i*, and very rarely use *r* with either of those vowels, this suggesting the thought that there was something in the quality of those vowels that led the early missionaries to lean to the *d* interpretation when the vowel following was *u* or *i*.

that the author has deviated from the established usage, and occasionally introduced the *wh* into his pages. The fact is, he had not proceeded far when he found the simple *w* very inconvenient. There are multitudes of words in the language very diverse in meaning, spelt in the same way, and yet distinguished in speaking by the aspirated *w*. In some of the Polynesian islands to the northward, this sound is denoted by *f*, and such a practice is well worthy of attention. As for the remark that the simple *w* is desirable for simplicity, the author would observe, that, if by simplicity, be meant jumbling together things that are totally different, then Maori has to acknowledge its obligations to such a plan, for not only *poverty*, but *simplicity*. In a language so contracted in the range of its consonants as Maori, our object should not, the author conceives, be to abridge, but to enlarge. Indeed, as the organs of speech, as well as knowledge, of the aborigines improve, there is little doubt but that an addition to our present characters will be necessary."

In the first edition of Williams's *Dictionary of the New Zealand Language* (Paihia, 1844), whilst words beginning with the ordinary and the aspirated *w* are mixed together, those aspirated have an inverted comma prefixed, as *Wai* (water), 'Wai (a fish), as if the sound were *hw* rather than *wh* ; and if the speaker will listen as he says the word *where*, he will find that the *h* really does precede the *w*. However, this aspiration being shown in the dictionary reveals the fact that the idea was becoming definite that the *wh* was not a mere modified *w*, but a separate individual sound. This idea is more clearly shown in the second edition (1852), where words beginning with *wh* are all together, but still under *W*, between *We* and *Wi*. In the third edition (1871) *wh* has a place by itself, after all other words in *W*.

In Maori, the *wh* has really nothing to do with the letter *h* ; it is not a combination of *w* and *u* or of *h* and *w*, but is a definite sound, unrelated to *h* but related to *w* in the same way that *p*, *t*, and *k* respectively are related to *b*, *d*, and hard *g*—that is, it is the " voiceless " cognate to the " voiced " *w*.

It has not been found necessary, as Maunsell thought it might be found, to add to the characters to represent the Maori sounds of speech : *b*, *d*, and *l* have been definitely rejected, and *wh* has become established. There is only one sign given for the sound represented by the letter *w*, in Lee's book ; the sound represented by *wh* is ignored. The commonest and oftenest-used word beginning with that sound, the causative prefix *whaka*, is spelt *waka*, the common prefix *Whanga*, in place-names, being similarly spelt *Wanga*. A difference in pronunciation was, however, noticed, for in the vocabulary the causative is printed *Waka*, the canoe *Waka*, and it is still observed that when the causative particle precedes a word, the causative has no accent, any accent there may be being placed on the syllable following, as *whakatū* (to cause to stand).

There has been some confusion in the actual sound of this *wh*, partly because it has been said to be like the sound of our *f*. It is, however, only like *f* in so far that in sounding it the lower lip approaches the upper teeth ; but it only approaches them—never touches ; and the lips keep their broad position, not puckering as in our *which*.

There has also been much controversy over the sound of *sh*, said to have sometimes been heard in words like *Hongi*, which appear as *Shongi*. A remark in one of the editions of Lee's *Grammar*, however, in a way explains the sound. "There is one peculiarity in the pronunciation of the New Zealand language which should here be noticed, and which could not be marked in the Alphabet. When two vowels concur, the combined sound becomes that of the English *sh*; ex. gr. *E ongi, A salute*, is pronounced *Shongi*; and so of every other combination, in which the indefinite article *e* precedes a vowel. This appears to me a phaenomenon in the history of speech; and, as the introduction of *sh* in such cases, either in the Dialogues or the Vocabulary, would have brought with it great confusion, it has been thought proper to omit it, and to mention it here." It was evidently a prevalent sound, at any rate in the north and as far south as Auckland, or little farther; but it was not a widespread sound, for it is absent from Cook. He has several instances of words beginning with a vowel preceded by the article (*he*, not *e*), as "*a chief*," Eareete (*he ariki*); "*fish*," heica (*he ika*). Again, wisely, Williams and Maunsell disregarded the sound. It was really not a sibilant at all; it still persists with some of the Ngapuhi, and the Ven. Archdeacon Williams considers it to be an abortive *i* after the *h*, the cheeks being drawn in laterally during pronunciation; thus for Hoki, Hihoki, and so Shoki.

The sound *ng* also seems to have caused some trouble; for whilst it is recognized in the sign of the plural, *nga* (p. 9), and also medially, as in *kanga* (a curse), the common tribal prefix *Nga* is given as *na*, as in *Napui* for *Ngapuhi*. The English tongue seems to find a difficulty in pronouncing the initial *ng*, though it should find none, for it uses the sound often enough, in words like sing*er*; and when the direction "sing 'ah'" is given, the sound *ngah* is the very sound beginning the word Ngapuhi. For a time, in printing, special signs were used for the sounds *ng* and *wh*; but they did not take on, and have been dropped. In Samoan, Tongan, Mangarevan, Tuamotuan, the sound is represented by the letter *g*, the sound of *g* not occurring in these or other Polynesian dialects. It is a pity that one sign cannot be adopted throughout Polynesia for the one sound; and as *g* is already associated with a certain English sound, and *ng* with another, which is also the same sound in Polynesian, *ng* seems to be the sign that should be adopted, representing the English *ng* sound in sing*er*—not in fing*er*.

Bishop Pompallier, in his *Notes Grammaticales sur la Langue Maorie ou Neo-Zelandaise* (Lyon, 1849), includes *g* in his alphabet as well as *ng* (he also includes *wh*); but as he gives no definition of the sounds of the letters, and as his lists of words contain none where *g* occurs apart from *n*, it is to be assumed that he did not hear the *g* sound separately, though words do appear in other early writers where *g* is used.

These early writers spelled the words they heard as phonetically as they were able; some made very good attempts, especially among French writers; some attempts are deplorable. The present writer, McCrae, makes a very fair attempt. It is to be remembered that in transliteration there are always three factors to be dealt with; the ability of the speaker to give the correct sounds, the ability of the

writer first to hear those sounds, then to write them as he hears them. No wonder we have many variants of particular words. The letter *c* often takes the place of *k*, as in *cowrie* for *kauri* (*c* appears useless in English, except in combination as in *ch*), where *ow* also takes the place of *au*. The broad sound of *i* is often represented by *ee* or *ie*, *u* by *oo* or *ou*, and *ai* by *y*.

With these notes, it is easy to see the correct forms of the following :—

Wymatte..	Waimate.
Kyperra	Kaipara.
Moodywy	Muriwai.
Kookoopa	Kukupa.
Rookoo	Ruku.

To those who are interested the names are fairly easily identified ; to those who are not interested identification is of no importance.

In old transliterations, the Ven. Archdeacon Williams notes in Nicholas, a typical early writer (1817), that the present sounds adopted are as follow :—

Present	*a*	is represented by	*a*, *e*, *o*, *u*.
,,	*e*	,,	*e*, *a*, *i*, *ee*.
,,	*i*	,,	*e*, *ee*, *ie*, *u*, *i* (only when short).
,,	*o*	,,	*o*, *ou*, *a*.
,,	*u*	,,	*oo*, *u*, *ow*.
,,	*ai*	,,	*i*, *y*.
,,	*ae*	,,	*i*, *y*.
,,	*ao*	,,	*ou*, *ow*.
,,	*au*	,,	*ou*, *ow*, *aou*, and rarely *au*.
,,	*ou*	,,	*o*, *oo*.

But McCrae frequently approximates very closely to the modern spelling ; in particular, he often writes *wh* correctly, and sometimes *ai*.

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JOHANNES C. ANDERSEN.

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