

Bishop Selwyn Letters

Discovery of the Letters

Over two hundred letters written by Maori to Bishop Selwyn between the 1840s and the 1870s were rescued by the Anglican Bishop of Auckland from being burned. The Deed of Trust to the University of Waikato states that Bishop Simpkin salvaged the collection of manuscript letters from destruction in the Auckland Public Incinerator. It is very fortunate indeed that this treasure of letters which provide an enlightening new perspective of early New Zealand history was recognised and recovered before they were lost forever.

The Selwyn Collection of Early Maori Documents was found in Auckland by Rt Rev W.J. Simkin, retired Bishop of Auckland who in his retirement restored them and presented them, under a Deed of Trust dated 12 May, 1967 to the University of Waikato.

The letters were accepted by Chancellor, Dr D. Rogers at a function at the university on Friday 16 June, 1967 and reported in the New Zealand Herald the following day (NZ Herald, 1967: 3).

In accepting the collection, Dr Rogers commented that “their worth, sentimentally and historically is beyond calculation.” The documents, most addressed to Bishop Selwyn, were given into his care for delivery to the addressee, or collected by the Bishop during his time in New Zealand, are a record of contact between the Maori and the missionaries in New Zealand’s early days. The letters are written in Maori, some in ink, others in pencil and in some places, one can see where the pencil has been licked and the writer has begun again.

Some of the letters are written by European scholars on behalf of the writer, but most by Maori who were the first to learn to write their language in the English alphabet. Frequently the introduction, indicating the letter was being dictated “mine is that paper to you” meaning I am not writing this letter myself, but this is my letter to you.

Translation of the Letters

Many of the letters were initially translated by Mr M. Raureti and the students from his adult education classes, and were checked by Mr Raureti and other tutors, Messrs S. Renata, J. Milroy and Professor J. Ritchie of the University of Waikato.

Research staff of the Centre for Maaori Studies and Research at the University of Waikato also worked on translation of the Bishop Selwyn letters. Evelyn Stokes’ research report in the Centre’s Annual report 1980 states –

“In July 1980 Moana Raureti moved into the Centre on secondment from Maori Affairs and we began working together on background, translations and annotation of Maori letters in the Bishop Selwyn Collection held in the University Library and Ngati Haua tribal history” (1980:8).

When Mr Raureti began work on translating the letters in the collection it was decided to concentrate initially on the Waikato items, in order to work within one region and one dialect. Because of Dr Stokes’ and Mr Raureti’s interest in Ngati Haua, and the requests from Ngati Haua elders for their history to be written, they began with the letters of Wiremu Tamihana Tarapipipi. The researchers also collected scattered references and other letters from Waikato in the 1850s and 1860s from published sources including Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives and the British Parliamentary Papers. Copies of manuscript letters by Tamihana and others to Archdeacon Brown were also obtained from the Brown Collection at the Mission House, Tauranga. They also undertook background work on Bishop Selwyn and the missionaries.

Dr Stokes’ report states that it was clear that one of the main objectives in working with the Bishop Selwyn Collection and other letters was “to develop a Maori interpretation of social conditions and cultural contact between Maori and missionary in the nineteenth century” (ibid:10).

The purpose of compiling this historical background to the letters has been to fulfil the same objective as Dr Stokes’ and Mr Raureti’s work of the 1980s.

In 1988, Tania Simpson a graduate student from the Maori Department of the University of Waikato undertook translations of the letters and background research into the Bishop Selwyn Collection, which has formed the basis of the current research project to produce a comprehensive biography and historical background to the letters [*requires statement from Tom Roa*].

The collection of 210 letters is dated from 23 February 1842 to August 1872 and in addition there is a copybook for a school child in 1827 containing writing practice in Maori dating from 25 January to 4 May; plus a schedule of funding for Vaccinations and other documents. The collection of letters to Bishop Selwyn centre on the issues of concern of their authors. Some ask for a minister for a district or a teacher for a school, or requests Bibles, prayers books or Psalms and there is a series of letters concerning the establishment of a school at Kohanga, near Taupiri. Some letters discuss the Hauhau movement and its affect on the tribes of the East Coast. There are letters from Wiremu Tamihana Tarapipipi Te Waharoa concerning the Maori King and the war in Waikato; letters from Te Rauparaha, and his son Tamihana Te Rauparaha concerning the Ngati Toa people of the Otaki

region and the imprisonment of Te Rauparaha by the Governor, and there is a letter from Bishop Selwyn to Wiremu Kingi regarding the land dispute at Waitara and Tataraimaka in Taranaki. There are also letters from correspondents in Akaroa in the South Island and the Chatham Islands which the Bishop included on his visitation tours. One letter was written in anticipation of Selwyn's arrival and had in readiness a long list of requirements. Letters dated 1872 were written to other missionaries after the Bishop had left New Zealand in 1868. One of these letters is a tribute to the Bishop and "mother" Bishop from Wiremu Hoete (Jowett), a Maori chief who was one of the Bishop's native assistants and a regular correspondent.

Brief Biography of Bishop Selwyn – Bishop of New Zealand

George Augustus Selwyn¹ was born on 5 April 1809 at Church Row, Hampstead, England, and was the second son of William Selwyn, a noted constitutional lawyer and Queen's Counsel, and his wife, Laetitia Frances Kynaston. He was one of six children, four sons and two daughters. The boys commenced their education at Ealing a primary school for boys. Eton prepared Selwyn for his future career. He began his lifelong friendship with William Ewart Gladstone who testified as to Selwyn's "noble and generous qualities". Selwyn was an excellent diver and an able oarsman. The story is told that Selwyn would deliberately take the undesired "punt-pole" so that his fellow oarsmen would "all be in good-humour". This story illustrates his whole-after-life as he always took the labouring oar in everything'. He was a spirited debater, was always first in everything, and no one ever knew him without admiring and loving him (Curteis, 1889:6,7). Selwyn left Eton in 1827 and went to Cambridge becoming first scholar and later fellow of St John's College. He was accomplished in the classics and mathematics in which he obtained honours at Cambridge. Selwyn graduated with a BA in 1831 and an MA in 1834 and was elected a fellow of his college, a distinction shared with William Martin and Thomas Whytehead, both of whom, through Selwyn's influence, came to New Zealand.

In 1831 Selwyn took an assistant master's position at Eton and was appointed private tutor to the sons of Lord Powis, a position he held for two years. During this time Selwyn made the decision to enter the ordained ministry. He was ordained Deacon on Trinity Sunday, 1833 at St George's Church, Hanover Square and immediately began to help as a volunteer in the parish of Windsor. Shortly after he was engaged as a regular Curate and soon made a very deep mark upon the neighbourhood by his indomitable energy and true spirit of Christian self-sacrifice which he displayed in all that he undertook. He was a peacemaker among his neighbours, and when the parish was in debt and a lawsuit in the air, he relinquished his own salary for two years in order to find a solution (Curteis 1889:11, 12). He nursed the sick, cooked for the poor and arranged for their children to be cared for and fed. His knowledge of cooking was a valuable skill utilised in later years during his travels around New Zealand.

Selwyn married Sarah Harriet Richardson on 25 June, 1839 whose father, Sir John Richardson, was a judge in the Court of Common Pleas. In 1841 the Bishopric of New Zealand was established and the appointment of a Bishop was first offered to Canon William Selwyn, George's elder brother who reluctantly declined. Selwyn offered himself to save the family honour and willingly accepted the appointment. Selwyn was consecrated Bishop of New Zealand at Lambeth Palace Chapel on 17 October 1841 by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops of London, Lincoln and Barbados. He was also conferred the degree of Doctor of Divinity by Cambridge and Oxford.

Bishop Selwyn and his party sailed on the *Tomatin* from Plymouth on St Stephen's Day 26th December 1841. The party consisted of Bishop Selwyn, his wife, Sarah, their baby son, William, Mrs Mary Martin wife of Judge William Martin who had come to New Zealand nine months earlier, the Rev. W. Cotton (later at Waimate and St John's) and the Rev. T. Whytehead (who died at Waimate in 1843), Robert Cole, W.C. Dudley and C.L. Reay (later at Nelson). There were also four students for Holy Orders – Messrs H.F. Butt, W. Evans (whom Selwyn afterwards nursed on his death-bed), Fisher and W. Nihill. There was also a Maori boy Rupai, who was returning to New Zealand, whom Selwyn enlisted to help him learn the Maori language during the voyage. The Bishop learned and taught Maori to all the passengers on board ship and Rupai was able to help with pronunciation. The Bishop worked much harder than his contemporaries at learning the Maori language and was reasonably proficient by the time he reached New Zealand. There were also classes in Hebrew, Latin and a mathematical class for the study of navigation. The Bishop also taught himself the art of navigation and became a very competent sailor. (Evans, 1964:30,31).

The *Tomatin* arrived in Sydney on 14 April 1842 where the Selwyns met Bishop Broughton of Australia who was very favourably impressed with the new Bishop of New Zealand (Evans 1964:32). Unfortunately the ship was damaged in Sydney harbour so Selwyn with his chaplain and other members of the party sailed in the *Bristolian* and reached Auckland on 30th May. He called on the Chief Justice, later Sir William Martin and the following day went to stay with the Governor and Mrs Hobson. Following two Sunday services, the Bishop went with Mr Clarke, the Protector General of Aborigines, and Mr Cotton to the Thames district to enquire into a massacre that had been committed there. The chief Teraia had taken prisoners as slaves and after much debate with the party of Europeans agreed to release the slaves and to behave peaceably in the future (Curteis, 1889:48).

On attempting to return to Auckland by boat the Bishop and his party were forced by a gale to land at a mission station 12 miles from Auckland. The next day was Sunday, and the Bishop preached his first Divine Service in the native language² (ibid:48).

¹ Some biographical information from Dictionary of New Zealand Biography

² Curteis footnotes that – "About seven years ago (writes Bishop Abraham) an old native chief came to Lichfield to see the Bishop's effigy. He knelt down by its side, and shed tears as he recalled his memories of the different features of the Bishop. I was standing by, and heard him say in Maori, 'That was his very chin; that was his forehead; and those were the very nails that I saw him bite in his nervousness, when he preached his first sermon in our language' " (Curteis, 1889:489) This footnote is similarly described again on page 48.

The Bishop established his headquarters at Waimate near the Bay of Islands, where the Church Missionary Society had buildings and a farm available for his occupation. Bishop Selwyn travelled extensively throughout New Zealand, his first visitation journey commenced within two months after his arrival and he travelled for six months through the North Island to Wellington and back up to Waikanae, crossing the island through the Manawatu and Hawkes Bay to the Bay of Plenty travelling down to Rotorua, then up through the Waikato district to Auckland in January 1843. The Bishop noted in his journal that he had travelled 2277 ½ miles, 1180 by ship, 249 by boat, 86 ½ on horseback and 762 on foot (Selwyn, 1847: Letter VI:103). Several months later the Bishop undertook a visitation tour to the South Island and Stewart Island and in April 1844 the Bishop recorded in his journal, "I now have a bird's eye view in my mind of my whole diocese" (Tucker, 1879, 1:164).

It was seven years before the Bishop could feel that New Zealand was suitably cared for in spiritual matters. From Kaitaia in the North to Stewart Island, encompassing over 1000 miles, he had discovered by personal observation that there was not a village in which the scriptures were unknown. Out of a native population of 100,000 more than one half had embraced Christianity and the remainder could avail themselves if they wished to (Tucker, 1879, 1:253).

Of his wife, the Bishop records in his letters that Sarah was highly regarded by the natives, who loved her cheerful eye and friendly manner. They called her "Matta Pihopa" - Mother Bishop, a title of respect and that, "her 'atawai' (grace) is a compliment which she has in common with Mrs Martin, who with the aid of Mrs Smith, wins golden opinions from the Maoris" (Tucker, 1879, 1:146,147).

Sarah Selwyn never wavered in support of her husband, although she had a lonely time. Selwyn was away for long periods, sometimes for as much as 10 months a year. In 1848 William, and in 1853 John, their two sons, went to England to school. Their daughter, Margaret Frances, born in 1850, lived for no more than a few months, Selwyn saw her for only 12 days. Sarah Selwyn suffered a good deal from ill health and had a few close friends including Mary Martin and Caroline Abraham.

After twelve years in New Zealand the Bishop travelled to England in 1854 and returning in 1855. He followed immediately with a Visitation tour throughout Taranaki.³

Bishop Selwyn undertook many visitation journeys throughout the country, including the Chatham Islands, Ruapuke and Stewart Islands. His visitation journals record baptisms, confirmations and marriages of whalers, settlers and sawyers, Maori and Pakeha. He taught and preached in Maori and English, selected church sites, established schools, administered trusts, fostered isolated mission stations and confirmed lonely settlers. His advice was in demand by governors and politicians, Maori elders and teachers. Selwyn's voyages to Melanesia afforded some relief from the heavy demands placed on him. His letters patent defined his northern boundary as Lat. 34 ° N. Whether this was intentional or a clerk's error (as the Bishop sometimes joked), he took his mission to the Pacific Islands seriously. His first Melanesian visit aboard the *Dido* in 1847-48 confirmed his conviction that New Zealand could be the centre of a web of Anglican missionary activity. In 1849 he returned to the islands in the *Undine* and brought back the first of many young Melanesians for education in Auckland. He made 10 such voyages to Melanesia. His Melanesian mission ensured the eventual establishment of the bishopric and in the recruitment of John Coleridge Patteson, whom he consecrated in 1861 as Bishop of Melanesia.

Bishop Selwyn served as chaplain during the New Zealand Wars principally with the Waikato Militia during 1863 and 1864. His involvement with the war in the Waikato was perhaps the most contentious aspect of his career in New Zealand. The Bishop was regarded by the settlers as sympathetic to Maori and not only was he loathed by the Europeans, but now large numbers of Maori saw him as a traitor. Although there were 10,000 Imperial troops in the colony there was no Anglican army chaplain. The Bishop felt it his duty to minister to the men and help the wounded and dying. He wanted to do what he could for Maori, loyal or otherwise, who suffered because of the fighting and he also wanted to protect the few Maori clergymen and catechists in the area (Limbrick, 1983:110, 111).

As General Cameron's army advanced along the Waikato river, Selwyn was constantly active all along the front lines. He usually rode his own horse, carried his own tent and supplies, and liked to be as independent as possible. He tended the sick and wounded, both Maori and Pakeha and held innumerable services with the soldiers. While many of the officers and men were grateful for his assistance, ordinary settlers still viewed him with great suspicion, but the Bishop was used to public scorn. What hurt him most was the bitterness and contempt shown him by Maori in the battle who viewed him as a spy and a traitor due to his association with the soldiers. Rumours spread quickly about Selwyn bearing arms and fighting with the soldiers, especially at Rangiriri and during the attack at Rangiaowhia where Maori men, women and children were gunned down and then burned in a whare (Limbrick, 1983:111).

"About 1882 an old New Zealand chief, with face tattooed in the good old-fashioned style, visited the tomb of Bishop Selwyn in Lichfield Cathedral. He knelt beside the beautiful alabaster effigy, and was overhead to say, in Maori, 'Ah, that is his very chin! and that is his forehead! and there are the very nails I saw him bite, when he could not get the right Maori word in his first sermon' "

³ Rev C.J. Abraham, in *Journal of a Walk with the Bishop of New Zealand*, 1856.

Selwyn did once carry firearms at Rangiriri but only because they belonged to two soldiers who happened to be carrying a wounded Maori to safety⁴ (Tucker, 1879, II:191). Selwyn was rejected by Maori for over two years until the Maori who was wounded stood up at a gathering and testified as to the true story and cleared the Bishop's name. So prevalent were the rumours that a pamphlet of Maori testimony compiled by Maunsell was published as *Nga Minita i roto i Te Whawhai* (The Ministers involved in the war). The pamphlet contained letters written by Revs Heta Tarawhiti, Hohaia Ngahiwi and Hohua Te Moanaroa to Archdeacon Maunsell describing Selwyn's bravery and activities during the Waikato War.⁵

The New Zealand Wars undid much of the good work that had been done over the years by Selwyn and the other missionaries. Selwyn lamented the damaged relationship with Maori the wars had inflicted and felt that "this has thrown me back in native estimation more, I fear, than my remaining years of life will enable me to recover" (Evans, 1964:96). He took comfort from the faithfulness of the Maori clergy and up to 1872, 23 had been ordained (nine by Selwyn himself) and none had failed. Selwyn believed that in spite of everything he did not think that his work with Maori was over.

In July, 1867 Bishop Selwyn sailed to England to attend the Lambeth Conference and was offered the Bishopric of Lichfield. He initially and unreservedly declined, but following pressure from the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Queen of England, reluctantly, and with much sadness, accepted. He lamented that "they don't know how much I love New Zealand" (ibid:62). He was enthroned as Bishop of Lichfield on 9 January 1868 and returned to New Zealand in August 1868 to preside over his fourth and last General Synod on 20 October.

The address to Bishop Selwyn which was signed by all the members of the Synod states, "This General Synod is itself a result and witness of your unwearied efforts for the organisation of the native and colonial Church of New Zealand and of your missionary labour among the islands of the West Pacific Ocean. The native of New Zealand, the English colonist and the Melanesian islander are all represented here. With respect to the native church a Maori diocese has been constituted and Maori synods have been held, 17 native clergy have ministered and do minister faithfully and loyally in different parts of the country, churches and schools have been built, endowments provided, clergymen and catechists maintained and collections have been made for the heathen islanders of Melanesia by our Maori brethren (Tucker, 1879, II:262).

Bishop Selwyn's recommendations for a plan of self-government of the Diocese of New Zealand by means of a General Synod were adopted by the Church authorities in England in 1834. The legal constitution of the Church in New Zealand was passed by Parliament in 1858.

Following the conclusion of the General Synod in Auckland, a farewell communion service in St Paul's began. The final communicant to receive the bread and the wine from the Bishop's hands was the venerable Ngati Hao chief, Patuone.

A public holiday was declared to farewell Selwyn. The press of people in the streets was so great that the horses were taken out of the shafts and the carriage drawn to the wharf by young men. The streets were decked with bunting; steamers sounded their whistles, naval vessels fired their guns. Selwyn and his family sailed for England and arrived on 31 December 1868.

Selwyn was a vigorous Bishop of Lichfield. A number of missionary bishops were recruited from Lichfield for the colonies, including S.T. Nevill, the eventual Bishop of Dunedin, and W.G. Cowie, Selwyn's successor as Bishop of Auckland. The killing of J.C. Patteson, first Bishop of Melanesia, was a cruel blow to Selwyn. His son, John, succeeded Patteson in 1877.

Within his diocese Selwyn devoted himself to pastoral care and especially to the training of the clergy. He twice visited the United States and Canada in 1871 and 1874 playing an important part in the drawing together of the world wide Anglican communion. In 1877 Selwyn became Prelate of the Order of St Michael and St George. Not long before the second Lambeth Conference was due to be held in 1878, Selwyn became unwell. He died at Lichfield on 11 April. It is said that his last words were in Maori and that they meant "It is all light".

The authors of the letters

Many of the authors of the letters to the Bishop were chiefs of tribes or leaders, tohunga, Maori missionaries, lay missionaries and teachers who were well known and highly regarded people. The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography records the lives of many of the authors including Rota Waitoa, Anglican clergyman who was the travelling companion and close friend of the Bishop who ordained him in 1853; Te Rauparaha, Chief of Ngati Toa and his son, Tamihana Te Rauparaha, Ngati Toa chief; Wiremu Tamihana Tarapipipi Te Waharoa, Ngati Haua leader known as the Kingmaker; Waata Kukutai of Waikato; Rawiri Taiwhanga Chief of Nga Puhi; Wiremu Maihi Te Rangikaheke, Chief and leader of Ngati Rangiwewehi; Aperahama Taonui of Nga Puhi; Ihairaira Te Houkamou of Ngati Porou; and many other important leaders throughout Aotearoa. The Bishop wrote one significant letter to Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake, Te Ati Awa leader, concerning the dispute of the sale of land at Waitara and Tataraimaka which was also referred to in other letters written to the Bishop.

⁴ This story is related in detail on page 31.

⁵ Translations of these letters are in J.H. Evans, *Church Militant*, London, 1964, Appendix III

The Maori clergy were regular correspondents with Bishop Selwyn some of whom were ordained by Bishop Selwyn himself. The clergy were Rota Waitoa, Heta Tarawhiti, Henare Wiremu Taratoa, Raniera Kawhia, Hohua (Joseph) Te Moanaroa, Wiremu Pomare, Renata Tama-ki Hikurangi Kawepo and Matiu Taupaki. Other Maori clergy who are mentioned in the letters are Riwai Te Ahu and Rawiri Te Wanui.⁶ Brief biographical information about the missionaries is given in the section “Letters from Maori Ministers” on page 21.

The European Missionaries

There were numerous visits and sojourns of English Missionaries in New Zealand during the first half of the 19th century. Samuel Marsden, though based in New South Wales, made several trips to New Zealand between 1814 and 1838, established Christianity in the Bay of Islands and several churches throughout the North Island. Supported by his assistants and the other early missionaries Marsden lay the foundation of missions and schools for later CMS missionaries who came to New Zealand. Marsden passed away in 1838.

Henry Williams arrived in Paihia in 1823 and he and Marsden established the mission station there. Henry Williams was fortunate to live under the mantle of Te Koki of the Uriongoongo tribe who was the protector of the Paihia mission. He and his wife, Hamu, were of *ariki* status and held great *mana* in the Paihia area. The great Ngapuhi warrior chief, Hongi Hika was also a protector of the missionaries throughout his life.

William Williams joined his brother early in 1826 which made a great difference to the work of Henry Williams and the New Zealand mission. William Williams was also a linguist and quickly learned the Maori language. His aptitude for languages facilitated the study of the Maori language by the missionaries, the translation of scriptures was done with great care, and later the Dictionary of the New Zealand Language was published in Paihia at the mission press in 1844. Five subsequent published editions have been the work of members of the William Williams’ family (Rogers, 1973:63; Porter, 1974: 205).

William Williams spent from 1826 to 1839 in the Bay of Islands. From 1840 to 1850 he was at the Turanga mission at Poverty Bay. This was followed by an interval during which he visited England. He was back at Poverty Bay in August 1853 which ended on 31 March 1854 with the evacuation of the Waerenga-a-hika station due to the Hauhau threat. Williams returned briefly to the Bay of Islands. He moved to Napier in June 1867 and remained there until his death on 9 February 1878. He was appointed Archdeacon of the diocese of Waiapu which included Tauranga, Rotorua and Taupo by Bishop Selwyn in 1842. Henry Williams was appointed Commissary for the District of the Bay of Islands at the same time which effectively gave him the same jurisdiction as the Bishop during his absence (Porter, 1974:205). William Williams was consecrated Bishop of Waiapu on 3 April 1859 (Te Wiremu 1973:294).

Richard Davis (Te Reweti) arrived as a missionary agriculturist in 1824 and was based at Waimate in 1831 where he established a farm for the mission. Following his ordination in 1843 he was appointed to Kaikohe.

The Rev Alfred Nesbit Brown arrived in November 1828 and was in charge of the boys’ school at Paihia for several years as well as sharing in the journeys of exploration to the Thames and Waikato with the other missionaries. In 1835 he opened a mission station at Matamata which was closed in 1837 and in 1838 moved his mission to Tauranga where he remained for the rest of his life.

Sir William Martin⁷ was New Zealand’s first chief justice, officiating from 1843 to 1856. He was closely associated with Bishop Selwyn and St John’s College and was a lay member on the college council from 1850. He was also appointed official inspector of native schools. Due to ill health he returned to England with his wife in 1855 and resigned from his judicial appointments. In 1858 he was awarded the honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Law by Oxford University, and the New Zealand Parliament enacted Martin’s Annuity Act 1858, awarding him an annuity for life. In 1860 he was knighted. On his return to New Zealand in 1858 he devoted himself to the education of Maori students at St Stephens School, to the study of languages and to the life and work of the church. His advice was sought by Members of Parliament on various matters relating to Maori interests.

Sir William Martin (Te Matenga or Te Matene), remained the Bishop’s close friend throughout his life and many of the letters were addressed collectively to the Bishop and his wife, Mr and Mrs Martin, Mrs and Mrs Chapman and Mr and Mrs Abraham at St Johns College at Taurarua⁸ in Auckland. Sir William Martin left New Zealand in 1874 and spent the next four years based in Lichfield where Selwyn was Bishop and was at his friend’s side when he passed away in 1878.

The European missionaries on the whole liked and respected one another and were totally supportive of Bishop Selwyn and his vision of cohesion and unity between Maori and Pakeha (Davidson, 1993:27). Henry Williams had written to the CMS in 1841 stressing the urgent need for a Bishop for the overall control and administration of the Anglican Church in New Zealand.

⁶ A comprehensive list of ordained CMS European and Maori Clergy is contained in Mission and Moko, Biographical Index p 194-219 (Glen, 1992).

⁷ Biographical details from Dictionary of New Zealand Biography.

⁸ Point Resolution and site of Parnell Baths (Simmons, 1987:85).

When Bishop Selwyn arrived in New Zealand, Henry Williams was satisfied that he had found a kindred spirit in the Bishop and their relationship was very agreeable and strong. Bishop Selwyn wrote to the CMS expressing his warmest admiration for the work accomplished by the Mission and the quality of the missionaries (Rogers, 1973:190). Williams totally supported Bishop Selwyn until the Bishop used his authority to attempt to force Williams to accept the proposals of Sir George Grey on the issue of land ownership. Williams had purchased land as trustee for his sons who farmed the land, in order to provide security for his children. Bishop Selwyn was of the view that Missionaries should be missionaries and not land owners. The Bishop's misguided support of Grey who forwarded inaccurate information to the CMS denigrating Henry Williams' integrity, resulted in his dismissal from the CMS which created a rift between the Bishop and Williams which was not healed for seven years.

The 1830s were productive times for the Williams missionaries. Parts of the Bible, the Liturgy and some hymns had been printed, schools and Sunday services were conducted in Maori and attendance was increasing. The mission at Tauranga was well established and the increase of missionaries to New Zealand enabled further consolidation of the mission stations at Kerikeri and Paihia. Maori in the Bay of Islands were changing their attitude both to missionaries and traders and becoming more accepting of their presence and influence and the customs of *utu* and *murū* were gradually being discarded (Rogers, 1973:83).

In 1833 Henry Williams led a team of missionaries to explore the possibility of establishing missions in the Waikato. John Morgan who had arrived in New Zealand that year, was one of the party. They stayed at Puriri Pa on the River Waihou and were amazed at the ability of the people to sing the hymns and recite the prayers as one voice. Three young men from the pa had stayed at Paihia and on their return acted as missionaries. The first Waikato station was settled at Puriri under the leadership of James Preece and John Morgan (Te Mokena). It was, however, badly sited and was closed in 1837. John Morgan later established the mission station at Otawhao, Te Awamutu in 1842.

Robert Maunsell (Te Manihera) arrived in New Zealand in 1835 and went to Maraetai at the Waikato Heads, in 1836 and remained there until 1853 when the station was moved to Kohanga near Port Waikato. He was an able scholar and assisted in the translation of the Bible and the Liturgy (Rogers, 1973:122). For his scholarship he was awarded an honorary doctoral degree (LLD) in 1849.

Benjamin Yates Ashwell (Te Ahiwera) arrived in New Zealand in 1836. He was regarded as eccentric and somewhat odd by the other Missionaries who had a poor opinion of his capabilities, but afterwards became a most successful missionary (Rogers, 1973:157). He settled the mission station at Kaitotehe, Taupiri and was assisted by his deacon, Heta Tarawhiti.

The Bishop of Australia, Bishop Broughton arrived in December 1838 for a pastoral visitation, with Octavius Hadfield (Te Harawera) who was ordained priest at Paihia in January 1839. He volunteered for the new mission station at Otaki and went there with Henry Williams in 1839. Although frail and frequently suffering ill-health he made an outstanding contribution to the history of the Anglican Church in NZ and was consecrated Bishop of Wellington in 1870 and Primate of New Zealand in 1890. (Rogers, 1973:138).

Rev. G.A. Kissling (Te Kihiringi) and Mrs Kissling had arrived in New Zealand in May 1842, the same month as Bishop Selwyn. Kissling rang the Maori School in Parnell Auckland and it was known as Kissling's School (Garrett, 1991:221). Kissling is frequently a recipient of letters from parents and had considerable involvement with the Maori missionaries.

Early Printing of the Bible and Scriptures in Maori

William Colenso and William Wade came to establish the mission printing press at Paihia in 1834. In February 1835 the printing of 2000 copies of William Williams' translation of the Epistles to the Ephesians and the Philippians was completed. By 1836 William Williams had completed a translation of the New Testament and Prayer Book of which Colenso completed the printing in December 1837. An edition of 3,000 copies of the Prayer Book was commenced but the demand was so great that 33,000 abridged copies were printed before the complete Liturgy was published in 1841. When Maunsell arrived in 1835, he began to share with William Williams the task of translating the whole Bible. While Williams concentrated on the New Testament, Maunsell worked on the Old Testament, which he did not complete until 1857, although portions of Genesis, Exodus, Numbers and Deuteronomy were published in 1840. While working on the translation Maunsell's home was burned down and he lost all his translation work of many years and had to start again. As the missions spread southwards, the translations went with them and demand always exceeded supply. The success of the Mission was due to the rapid spread of the ability to read and the printing of Scripture to meet that need (Rogers, 1973:160).

Letter in anticipation of Bishop's arrival

One of the earliest letters, dated 6 February 1842 and therefore written in anticipation of Selwyn's arrival in New Zealand on May 20, 1842 was from Hone, Taiaha and Pokai Heke of Omapere. They put up a strong case against the pakeha shooting pigeons. However, in the middle of the letter they suggested they might settle for certain items. (New Zealand Herald, 1967:3).

Letters asking for a Minister or a Teacher

In letter 1842-3 the Maori chiefs of the school at Hauraki write to the Bishop proposing that 'Te Pirihi be their teacher and minister for the whole of this village.' Hohepa Paraone is one of the authors of this letter and in letter 1848-12 he writes to the

Bishop at the Stone House (the College) asking that his younger brother take care of the children so that he, Hohepa Paraone, can do the work assigned to him by the Bishops.

The first of these letters is similar to many letters written during the 1840s and 1850s to the Bishop by chiefs of various tribes all over the North Island, asking for a named, preferred person to be their minister or their school teacher. Funds were collected or pledged by the community to pay for the salary and keep of the teacher or minister. Suggestions by the authors were often made that if the Bishop agreed, he could ordain that person as a minister for their community. Often several acres of land were provided for the minister's house and to build a church. See 1844-1 Hamuera Taumarua, teacher of Rangitikei; and 1843-1, from the Maori chiefs of Te Kaha providing Mr Kissling with a plot of land on which to build a house for him with an area for cows and fences. Letter 1853-1 from the tribes of the Wairarapa request a minister for their area saying that all the other districts have been provided a minister but not them. They have provided a plot of land at Kaikokirikiri for Te Harawira (Hadfield) to live on. Letter 1856-3 lists the Parishes and tribes of Waikato who have agreed that a minister should be sent to them and lists their pledges.

Letter 1857-6 from Waiapu district asks for a minister to be stationed for Tuparua, Reporua, Whareponga, Akuaku and Waipiro. The letter describes the near completion of the churches and suggests that Raniera Kawhia be ordained as a minister for them. Money is pledged to support him.

Te Wirihana (Wilson) asks the Bishop to send a minister for Whangaroa 1860-3. Ahitana Te Awatiti 1845-10 writing for the people of Ngati Ruanui who want a minister and recommend that he be based at Puketatara, but it is up to the Bishop to decide. The letter says the people of Ngati Kahungunu have Colenso and Ngati Ruanui are keen to have a minister for them. William Colenso following his years as the printer at Waimate became a catechist who was at Ahuriri station until he was dismissed in 1852 for adultery. A relationship had developed between Colenso and Ripeka, the servant girl of William and Elizabeth Colenso which resulted in Ripeka giving birth to Colenso's child. Letter 1857-2 is from the people of the church of Awapuni, Ahuriri, who write to the Bishop of their dissatisfaction with Colenso as a minister and wish him to be removed.

Letter 1848-2 from Hauraki by Eruera Te Ngahue and Reihana Te Tahua request a European for their settlement as they have no minister. Their Minister, Te Tutere has died and the people of the village are like lost sheep. Letter 1858-4 from Tetaumona in Taranaki written by Komene Tupoki agrees to allowing 12 acres of his land to provide for a Minister. He advises that 60 of the people gathered and agreed that the Bishop should provide a minister for them. Misc-17 is from Wairoa Uruhau who wants a European teacher for the people of Te Wairoa.

Letter 1846-5 from Hakiaha in Rotorua describes the difficulties and conflict between the Catholic priest in Rotorua and the Church in preaching to the people of Taupo. He seeks agreement from Te Heuheu and the people there that they must have a Minister for Taupo and appeals to the Bishop to send them a Minister before the Catholics send in a European priest. Hakiaha writes a third letter 1847-3 advising that Catholics have been arranged for Taupo but they will not live there and tells the Bishop that his minister had better hurry up. Misc-21 is an undated letter to Bishop Selwyn which says that Browne has said Taupo was not a good place to have a Minister as it was an evil place. Hakiaha, the author, wonders if this is Browne's idea or the Bishop's. Letter Misc-23 is also from Hakiaha and discusses the findings of the meeting of the Committee of the Church of Taupo. Poihipi 1848-8 also advises the feelings of Iwikau (Te Heuheu) and the people of Taupo district in wanting a Minister based at Hiruharama, Taupo. Letter Misc-22 is from the Bishop, to "my friends Puhipi and others". It is undated but says that Brown would be coming to work for them and he had already been advised by the Bishop to this effect. The letter says that agreement of all the people of Taupo including the chiefs Te Heuheu and Te Paerata will be required if the matter is to be settled quickly.

Letters concerned about the Bishop appointing Ministers to other areas

The Council of Ngati Toa, 1853-2 express their concern that the Bishop is sending Henry Williams to Ngati Kahungunu. As Williams has been their spiritual mentor for many years the Council recommends sending Hadfield instead. The letter comes on behalf of Ngati Toa, Ngati Awa, Ngati Raukawa and Te Paneiri. Letter 1853-3 from the people of Wairarapa also supports the appointment of a Minister for them and asks the Bishop to come to Huangarua to discuss the matter.

1858-1 Tamihana Te Rauparaha is not pleased that the Bishop is sending Samuel Williams to Ahuriri (Napier) and the schools are degenerating as a result. The people want Williams returned to Otaki and another Pakeha appointed to Hastings and Ahuriri.

Letters 1847-16 to 20 written on 22 November are a series of letters from the Gisborne district from the chiefs of two sub-tribes of the area namely, Ngäi Te Aweawe and Ngäi Tawera, and also from the Mahia Peninsula, appealing to the Bishop to allow Mita Hamiora to remain as the minister for the people. Hamiora taught in the Maori language which the people understood, and the chiefs were appealing for him to remain as the preacher for their district.

Letter of request for a teacher for making clothes

Letter 1844-5 from the combined authorship of Eruera Te Wana, Wiremu Kingi Paia, Te Waka Perohaka, Te Wata, Raharuhi Rukupo, Wakaripa, and Hare Tuatahi of Gisborne write to the Bishop requesting a teacher to teach them dressmaking as they are

ashamed of attending church without the appropriate clothing to wear. Rev. Williams had told them that it was up to the Bishop to make the decision.

Two of the above correspondents are recorded in the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography; **Raharuhi Rukupo** was a Rongowhakaata leader and carver. He fought in his people's wars in Taranaki and elsewhere. On the death of his brother, Tamati Waka Mangere, the Ngati Kaipoho chief, Rukupo returned to Poverty Bay having inherited his brother's mana. He became a teacher at the Anglican mission stations at Turanga (Gisborne). He, along with Te Waaka Perohuka, carved the war canoe Te Toki-a-Tapiri and both were in the war fleet led by Paratene Taurangi against Ngati Porou in 1843. He was among the carvers for the church at Manutuke and a house, Te Hau-ki-Turanga, which was a memorial for his brother. Rukupo befriended the missionaries when they first came to Turanga but later became disillusioned with Europeans. He opposed the establishment of a settlement at Poverty Bay in 1851 and sought the return of the land to the people. He acted as a magistrate among his people. Rukupo became a convert to Pai Marire and tried to avert war between the government and Ngati Porou and worked to limit land confiscation. He met Te Kooti in 1868 on his return to Poverty Bay from the Chatham Islands. He spent his last years working on the carvings for the meeting house Te Mana-o-Turanga and died in 1873.

Te Waaka Perohuka, was a tohunga and carver of the Rongowhakaata of Turanga. Perohuka was already a leader when Europeans arrived on the East Coast. William Williams held church services at Perohuka's house and his wife Jane, held her school there. Perohuka's house was the Ha-moko-rau meeting house at Ora-kai-apu pa. Perohuka was also known as Te Waaka or Walker, which indicates that he was baptised. He was one of the carvers of the canoe Te Toki-a-Tapiri along with other principal tohunga, Timoti Rangi-toto-hihira, Wiremu Te Kikiwi, Patoromiu Pakapaka, Natanahira Toumata and Mahumahu. Te Toki-a-Tapiri was later presented to Nga Puhi leaders Tamati Waka Nene and Patuone. In 1851 Perohuka was visited by Donald McLean who discussed the government's land purchase policy. Relations between Maori and the European settlers in Turanga deteriorated and many settlers' properties were stripped of their goods and ships entering the harbour were charged fees for entry, an activity that Perohuka was involved in. Raharuhi Rukupo intervened and was able to keep the peace for awhile. It is thought that Perohuka died in the wars of the 1860s.

Letters requesting Bibles, prayers books and psalms

It was common for the letters to begin – 'Travel on my letter to the Bishop', or 'Travel on my letter to all places'. This meant that the authors personified their letter and treated their letters as a person that was being delivered to the Bishop by a messenger.

Several authors of letters ask for books, either Bibles or Psalms or prayer books, or slates and pens and state that the people have one to share amongst them all. Sometimes letters ask for clothes for the author's baptism, a bell for the church, or equipment like paint to paint the windows or doors, or hinges for the gate – see letters 1842-4, 1845 –14, 1845-13, 1843-4, 1847-1, 1848-2, 1848-15, 1848-17, 1846-7 and Misc-19 as examples.

Letter 1860-1 provides a list of equipment for the church that has arrived with Himiona Te Matau and is an enlightening example of the spiritual guidance in the form of Bibles and prayer books as well as equipment that the Bishop, through the Society for Promotion of Christian Knowledge provided for the missionaries, the churches and the schools.

The Native Schools Report of J.E. Gorst, Inspector of Schools, in 1861 on the Waikato boarding schools (Paetahi boarding school, Rawiri's boarding school for boys, Taupiri and Hopuhopu mission schools), says the provision of books for the children was abysmal – two or three copies of the Maori Testaments or prayer books, none or few English books and broken slates, to be shared around 10 to 30 or 40 children per school (AJHR, 1861:E-4). This report is taken following the commencement of the Taranaki war when many of the parents withdrew their children. The Ngati Haua fathers took their sons with them to Taranaki to fight alongside Wiremu Tamihana.

Responses recorded by the Bishop for books

There are few references in the Bishop's journal of his first visitation tour around the North Island in 1842 to the distribution of Bibles or prayer books or psalms but the following entries indicate that it was normal practice to distribute books to the native settlements. During his visitation tour of the South Island in 1843-44, the provision of Prayer Books and Bibles is more frequently referred to, and that they originated through the generosity of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK).

In his journal of his first visitation tour in 1842 on arriving in Rotorua at 'Lake Roto Atara' a small settlement on an island in the middle of a small lake the Bishop writes –

'the natives, on seeing us, sent canoes to bring us to the island, where we were received with all ceremony, welcomed with speeches and presented with ducks, potatoes and lake shellfish. I made by return, as usual, in Gospels of St Matthew, from the stock supplied me by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge' (Selwyn, 1847, Letter VI:69).

He further comments, 'I never felt the full blessings of the Lord's day, as a day of rest, more than in New Zealand, when, after encamping late on Saturday night with a weary party, you will find them early on the Sunday morning, seated quietly round their fires, with their New Testaments in their hands' (ibid:72).

On this visitation tour the Bishop exchanged gifts of books for baskets of food which were given by the people of the native settlements. He writes that at several small native settlements on the banks at Kaiwītikitiki, 'the chief brought us out a present of 25 baskets of potatoes which I acknowledged by a present of books. At all the places we found a hearty welcome and a great eagerness for instruction' (ibid:67).

The Bishop also gives out books on his South Island visitation in 1844, and there are many references to handing out Bibles, and prayer books. On arriving at Bluff the Bishop found the settlers living at the whaling station and distributed Bibles and children's books. He gave the settlers strong lectures on the subject of the education of their children and "obtained a promise from two best scholars that they would collect the children and instruct them; for which purpose they were furnished with books out of the ample supply provided by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge". On Stewart Island the Bishop also distributed books for which the demand is great but the supply runs out (Selwyn, 1847:III:24).

Letters regarding establishment and building of Churches

As the Bishop was able to visit settlements around the country he purchased land with funds from the SPG and SPCK Societies to buy suitable land to build churches in Auckland, Wellington, New Plymouth and Nelson. Eventually he set up in every settlement an archdeaconry church fund into which all money collected or given to the church was to be paid and out of which each minister was to receive his stipend. A house was to be provided for the minister and Selwyn aimed at keeping the church completely independent of state control (Creighton, 1923:30).

Letter 1857-5, Rota Waitoa advises Mother Bishop that Hemi Tawhera, one of the carpenters is on his way to buy items for the church which is nearly finished. Rota thanks Mother Bishop and Mrs Abraham for the white clothes they sent to him and were acknowledged in previous correspondence to Mr Abraham. He says that Hemi has money to pay for some of the items for the church.

1857-8 The School councils at Orakei have granted two acres to the Bishop who has agreed that Pirimona be instated as the school teacher at Orakei. The council is to consider payment for children to attend school and for the ministry.

1864-1 from Wiremu Pomare in Mahurangi says that they have collected £30 for the building of the church at Mahurangi and suggest that the Bishop supplement it with £30.

Letters regarding children sent to school at St John's College under the care of the Bishop

In the early years of St John's College it was not difficult for the Bishop to encourage parents to allow their children to board at the college to be educated and trained as teachers and missionaries. Some of the children were selected by the Bishop for their aptitude and intelligence for training. Frequently the parents had already been converted to the Christian faith so they believed it was fortunate if their child or children were chosen to attend the College under the care of the Bishop and the other missionaries.

The parents wrote to the Bishop asking after the welfare of their child, or asked that their child be sent home so the parents could see him or her, assuring that the child would be returned. Letter 1844-5, from Makaore Taonui at Utakura asks the Bishop to let him know when he will be sailing to Auckland on the *Victoria* and he will send his three children with the Bishop if he agrees. In Letter 1845-5, Hakaraia Te Reinga's child has gone to Selwyn to attend school and asks that Rota look after him. Letter 1848-7 from Henare H. Ngawaraki in Waikanae, asks the Bishop to write and tell him whether the child Nahona Taramoana is behaving or not. Letter 1845-15, Matene and Pipi write from Otaki concerning their child in the care of the Bishop as his grandchild. They miss him but are thankful that he is under the care of the Bishop's kindness and teachings.

Letters concerning students sent to St John's College but not being returned as teachers to their own people

During the 1850s parents were more wary of the purpose of sending their children away to school. Their sons were learning to be teachers at St John's College and later at St Stephen's School but the people do not approve of them being sent to other areas to teach following their training, and want their children returned to them as teachers for their own area. Some parents were also concerned that the children were made to do manual labour and felt that their time should be spent learning not labouring.

Letters 1859 – 2, 3 and 4 are from the people of Ngati Tahinga, the coastal region between Raglan and Port Waikato to Archdeacon Kissling, concerning their children being educated by Mr Kissling then being sent to other areas to teach. The letters are written from the settlements of Kaawa, Maraetai and Rangikaahu. In particular, the elders of Ngati Pareteuenga write to Mr Kissling about Robert (Rapata) being sent to another Parish by Kissling but will accept this providing they can have Hohua Moanaroa as a teacher for their district. Tamihana Taraho, Ruihana and Paora Pipi write individual letters to Mr Kissling at St Stephen's School, requesting Rāpata and Hohua be returned to them as teachers for their own children.

Letter Misc-7 is undated but is typical of the letter concerned about their teacher staying with the people. Kingi Wiremu of Mangonui who is not happy that the Bishop is sending their teacher, Mr Kepa to Waimate and names all the churches and their

loyal supporters who will be upset and scatter if their minister is sent away. The letter is further supported by Misc-8 which is from the people of Waiaua.

Misc-9 from Hori Kingi writes about Te Koreneho (Colenso) being allowed to stay with the people of the coast.

St John's College

On his arrival in New Zealand Bishop Selwyn lived at the settlement of the Church Missionary Society at Waimate and established St John's College there, until October 1844 when he removed the College to Auckland. The College was considered by the Bishop as the most important part of his diocesan machinery as he constantly speaks of it in his letters as "they key and pivot" of all his operations (Curteis, 1878:17). In its early years the Bishop viewed the College as the only chance of keeping up a supply of clergy when his hopes of receiving candidates from England grew less and less. (Tucker 1:134).

In 1843 the Bishop writes of the college.

We have now nine students in the College and nine boys in the Collegiate school, formed on the basis of the former Mission school. Of the nine students, six are candidates for Holy orders, and are going through a course of Divinity lectures with me, and Greek with Mr Cotton, besides lectures in the native language, medicine and Latin. The Society has provided a means of educating young men for the ministry and the numerous mission families will supply several candidates, who by their intimate acquaintance with the native language will be well qualified to act as mediators and interpreters to smooth down all the little disagreements which occur between the New Zealanders and the settlers (Selwyn, 1847, Letters III:31,32)

Within a few years the buildings have been established and the Bishop gives a detailed description of St John's College, the neighbouring chapelries, the college buildings, hospital, the native school, the printing house, the system of education, the supply of clergy, the religious state and prospects, and the provision of food (Selwyn, 1847, V: 9-31).

Bishop's Library at Kerikeri

At Kerikeri in a stone house which had been the store for the Church Missionary Society and where the missionaries had obtained their supplies, the Bishop was at home amidst his precious books. His diary records on October 5, 6 and 7, 1843 that he cleared the Cathedral Library at the Kerikeri store, dusted and arranged the theological parts on the shelves and piled up all the general literature in one corner ready for new shelves to be made. Several of the Ministers helped him and were rewarded for their work in Gospels of St Matthew in the native language. The next day the arrangement of the library was completed and the following day the Bishop describes as a day of literary luxury where he sat admiring and reading his books (Tucker, 1879, 1:148).

Gluckman in *Medical History of New Zealand prior to 1860* states that Selwyn brought a substantial medical library to New Zealand of about 250 books. These books were often second or third hand and are housed in the Library of the Auckland Medical School. Bishop Selwyn brought a surgeon, H.F. Butts, with him to New Zealand on the *Tomatin*. Butts was ordained in 1843 and spent the remainder of his life in Nelson practising medicine whenever called upon. Christopher Davies was also a medical student who was ordained and became resident surgeon at Waimate. The third student was Dr Purchas and these three men spent most of their lives in missionary activity. The Bishop and Mrs Selwyn themselves were often nurse, doctor and spiritual counsellor for their patients in the hospital at St John's College. Gluckman states that it is unfortunate that such highly skilled medical doctors and surgeons as these spent their lives foremost as Missionaries, providing medical services wherever possible in a land which had a dire need of medically trained men. (Gluckman, 1976:95, 98, 99).

The Bishop answers criticism that Maori parents would never allow their children to attend boarding school away from their homes. The reasons given being -

1. that the parents would not part with their children
2. that the boys would always run away and never come back
3. that the parents would not allow the boys to work, or learn any industrious habits.

He describes the concerns of the parents of one of the boys whom he says are a pattern to all parents.

"Three years ago I selected their son out of a class of seventy on the Manawatu river, and took him with me to embark at Port Nicholson, his aged parents walking with me to see him on board, and resigning him with such a blessing as unbaptized believers can bestow. A year ago [ie.1847] the father sent me a letter of which the following is a literal translation -

'O Bishop with you be the thought to send your child Simeon back to us that we may see our life; and then he shall return to you to work at your joint work. Your dear Friend, Mataku' (Selwyn, 1847,V:18,19).

The above letter from the Bishop is very similar to a letter in the collection, 1847-11 dated July 5, from Te Mataku which says -

Greetings to you and your child living in your home, going about your business. You make the decisions concerning your child. Come here, so we can see you both, and then go back, so I can see my life's blood. Bring his elder brother, Paramena Kino Moerua, too. Let them both come. From Te Mataku.

Further confirmation of the willingness of Maori to have their children educated at the boarding school is recorded in 1845. In arriving back in Auckland the Bishop writes of the confidence of the natives and the journey required to bring them north from Kapiti on his schooner. Four children arrived from Otaki, one of Mr Hadfield's stations. The eldest was 12 years. They had sailed from Otaki to Nelson, from Nelson to Wellington, from Wellington to Auckland, a journey of over 700 miles. (Tucker, 1879, 1:179; Selwyn, 1847, IV:19,20).

Returning from his visitation tour of 1848 to the South Island and the Chatham Islands, a voyage which lasted fourteen weeks, sailing 3,000 miles, and visiting 13 places, the Bishop writes that his party of eleven native boys, who were collected from Otaki, Croxille's Harbour, Waikanae and the Chatham Islands, arriving at the College full of health and good spirits after sailing from 1500 to 2000 miles from their homes (Selwyn, 1847, V:128, 129).

In 1850 Rota Waitoa was in charge of the Maori boys at St John's College and the Maori Cook was Henry Taratoa. Mr Purchas from London joined the school and taught the boys English and Maori, as well as singing, and the chapel services were greatly enhanced by their music. They learnt to sing in parts, assisted by Henry Taratoa who was very musical. Taratoa was also an accomplished Artist and once his duties in the kitchen were finished he would sit on a tub with his sketchbook and sketch. He also learned English well. (Selwyn, 1961:37, 39).

Bishop Selwyn's racially integrative outlook and High Church ideals had led into a whole range of conflicts with CMS policy culminating in the closure of St John's College for a time in 1853. The CMS policy was to use its agents only for work with Maori and not allow missionaries to become involved with ministry to settlers. The Bishop, however, felt he should have jurisdiction over the location of missionaries in their work. The CMS refused to grant the Bishop this authority because the Bishop wanted missionaries to undertake pastoral care of the settler townships. Selwyn responded by refusing to advance missionary catechists toward ordination unless they renounced CMS control. This was difficult for candidates who were pledged to the CMS and dependent upon it for support. A similar problem arose with the Maori catechists employed by the CMS. Under his integrated church policy Bishop Selwyn expected Maori ministers to be able to pastor either Maori or Pakeha settlers. Bishop Selwyn was also unwilling to admit CMS trained men, Pakeha or Maori into orders until they had knowledge of the Greek New Testament. As a result of this policy it was eleven years before the first Maori was ordained (Rota Waitoa in 1853). The CMS proclaimed that this step as the most fatal blunder which Bishop Selwyn ever committed and that it was too idealistic to expect Maori converts to minister in English, let alone master Greek (Glen, 1992:83, 84).

In 1847 Bishop Selwyn and George Grey formulated an education policy which would be supported by the government and outlined a plan of Maori education for the country. Four levels of village and day schools, mission station and central schools, and the Native Teachers Institution were set up. Certain pupils would have their expenses paid out of the public funds, guaranteed by George Grey. The new Education Ordinance was made available to the Synod and suited Selwyn's plans very well. Government funds would be available to the mission schools but only if they were under the control of the heads of denominations, in the CMS case, this meant Selwyn. The English language was to be the medium of instruction providing a policy of 'Industrial training' was adopted. As a result of the new Education policy, the issue of missionary control over racial policy was brought together by Bishop Selwyn and George Grey (Glen, 1992:105, 106).

Mrs Selwyn writes with sensitivity of the circumstances which led to the closure of St John's College in 1854.

By 1852 the character of the college was beginning to change. One reason was the spread of Maori boarding schools in many of the principal Mission Stations so that it was not necessary to bring boys and girls away from their homes and families. At this time Sir George Grey largely promoted industrial work among the people by presents of ploughs and carts and horses. Other reasons which contributed to the change was the 'retirement' of the Bishop for the present from active participation in the College work as he decided to visit England before his own father passed away. Before the Bishop sailed to England he ordained Rota Waitoa who was the first of the Maori Clergy and the first of a 'goodly band' (Selwyn, 1961:47).

Letters from Hakaroa (Akaroa) relating to the sinful acts of lay preachers

The Bishop was regarded as the source for resolution of all problems with teachers, missionaries or their missions. The people wrote concerning their needs, their difficulties and the Bishop was mediator of disputes regarding church matters.

Letters 1843-4 and 1844-2 letters from Hakaroa, on Banks Peninsula relate to the Bishop's First Visitation tour to the South Island in 1843. The first letter is from Tikao Te Onerau who says that Hadfield hasn't sent them any books and this is why all the people are converting to the Wesleyan Faith. One of the authors, Mautai is a chief of Akaroa. It appears that Tikao Te Onerau, their lay preacher has sold their land to Waka despite a prior agreement with the other chiefs that the land would not be sold. Letter 1845-7 from Tawiri also writes about the dishonesty of Tikao and asks the Bishop to come and straighten things out.

The following two letters appear to relate to one another. The first letter, 1849-1 from Poteriwi, near Hakaroa written by Henare, advises that Tamati has sinned by committing adultery with the wife of another man. Letter 1848-14 also from Akaroa from Tamati Pukurau, mentions the people of Poti Riwi and their accusations of adultery against him which he vehemently denies.

Letter 1857-2 from the people of Te Awapuni ask the Bishop to remove the man who is living in the Minister's house and is a bad influence on the people. He is flirting with the women and being blasphemous about the Bishop and the other ministers.

Letter 1845-4 from Hakaraia Te Reinga in Otaki writes in answer to the Bishop's letter about a European who claims he has been attacked by Maori at Karekare in the Manawatu. The people are not aware of the incident and decide that the European is lying.

Letter 1848-3 written from the Tangi-te-roria Mission by Matiu Te Aranui asks for the Bishop's permission to go to the people of Kaipara to preach to them about the word of God. He says that Te Reweti (Davis) doesn't want him to go.

An undated, anonymous letter which was probably written in the 1840s asks the Bishop what the people of Waimate could do about the behaviour of the Europeans living at Waimate. Letter Misc-12 describes adultery, drunkenness and fighting and the Constable not doing anything about it.

The Bay of Islands, particularly Kororareka, was described in the early 1800s as being the 'hell-hole' of the Pacific with the drunkenness of the whalers, escaped convicts and traders and the numerous whore houses in the settlement. The Bishop went on a visitation tour in 1846 to Waimate and visited the abandoned mission station. He records the decay of the buildings, windows broken and filth inside, but he missed the cheerful faces of the 70 native children who greeted him the day after the battle of Kororareka (Tucker, 1879 1:205). In the months following the war with Hone Heke in 1845 and the sacking of Kororareka, the troops of Governor Fitzroy were stationed in and around the Bay of Islands, including Waimate and used the mission house as their headquarters.

Letter 1845-20 is from Henare Matene to Teira (Taylor) regarding misinformation about the work of the Bishop and the Church of England being a bad religion. The letter refers to Martin Luther who was involved a war against Te Rangihaeata and the taking of Pahautanui. Martin Luther aka Matengi Te Wareaitu was captured after resisting arrest and wounding one of the scouts, and he confessed to having been present at the first attack on the British Camp.

A sequel was the trial and punishment of the natives who had been taken at Pahautanui and Wainui. Te Wareaitu (Martin Luther) was charged firstly, with having taken up arms in rebellion against the Queen and resisting arrest and secondly, with having assisted the rebellion and taken part in an engagement against her Majesty's troops on 16 June 1846. To the first charge he pleaded guilty and pleaded not guilty to the second. He was found guilty to the first charge but not the second and condemned to death. The sentence was carried out immediately (on 17 September). His brother Te Rangiatea was similarly tried and found to be insane, confined, he died in custody two months later.

Governor Grey justified this action on the grounds that Luther and Te Rangiatea were persons of consequence, being half brothers of Mamaku, the Wanganui chief who had joined Te Rangihaeata in his murderous attacks on British settlers. (Rutherford, 1961:115).

Letter regarding a betrothal

Letter 1855-2 Himiona Te Matau writes the Bishop concerning Rota's letter to Rawiri about Ani Pätene who was intended as a wife for Te Koro, who resides with Hadfield. The Bishop had approved him as the partner for Ani Pätene and had told Ripia that the Bishop would bring her back. He is disturbed that Pätene was told to write to Hemi and believes, due to this indiscretion, she should leave.

The Turanga journals state that Ani Patene taught at the mission school. She is noted in Jane Williams journal in 1842 as teaching at the pa school in Poverty Bay. Jane Williams sent her friend Ani Patene one of two dresses received from Mrs Neale in England. Arapera is the recipient of the other. Ani and Arapera received writing lessons at Jane Williams' school held at Perahuka's house⁹ (Porter, 1974:206, 208, 228, 231 and 234). These entries are recorded 13 years before the above letter was written so Ani may have been a very young school teacher in 1842.

Letters from Chiefs and Tribal Leaders

Te Rauparaha¹⁰, Ngati Toa Leader. Te Rauparaha was a descendant of Hoturoa of the Tainoe canoe and rose to leadership due to his aggressive defence of his tribe's interests and his skill in battle, and had great muscular strength. The Ngati Toa tribes were constantly at war with the Waikato tribes over the acquisition of land and Te Rauparaha led many war parties into the disputed Kawhia area seeking revenge for chiefs and warriors killed in fighting. Te Rauparaha sought to resettle his people and travelled south to Cook Strait where he learned he could trade for guns from ships coming into the Strait. Many tribal wars ensued in the years to come, with Taranaki, Ngati Raukawa, Nga Puhi, Muaupoko and Horowhenua until Te Rauparaha and Ngati Toa fought for Kapiti and secured the southern part of the North Island for his people. They were joined by allies from Taranaki and Ngati

⁹ See also reference to Perohuka

Raukawa and established themselves over the next decade in the area. Te Rauparaha also took war parties to the south island and fought Ngai Tahu tribes and enslaved the people at Akaroa.

With the arrival of the New Zealand Company in 1839 Te Rauparaha sold land in the Nelson and Golden Bay areas for guns, blankets and other goods but the sales were declared void by Governor Hobson in 1840. Te Rauparaha signed a copy of the Treaty of Waitangi presented to him by CMS missionary Henry Williams. Land disputes continued resulting in resistance by Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata to the survey of the Wairau plains in 1843. Fighting broke out and Te Rangihaeata's wife, Te Rongo, was killed. The settlers and government agents surrendered but Te Rangihaeata killed them to avenge his wife's death. Governor FitzRoy subsequently declared at Waikanae that the settlers had provoked the fighting at Wairau and while the killing of prisoners was deplored, no further action would be taken. Following further imminent assault on Wellington Governor Grey decided Te Rauparaha could not be trusted and he was captured and interred on the naval vessel, the *Calliope* for 10 months then allowed to live in Auckland. He returned to his people at Otaki in 1848, where he remained until his death in 1849.

Tamihana Te Rauparaha¹¹, son of Te Rauparaha, was a chief of Ngati Toa after his father. He was also known as Tamihana Katu. He was the son of Te Rauparaha's fifth and senior wife, Te Akau of Tuhourangi and was born in northern Taranaki while Ngati Toa journeyed from Kawhia to the south. He took the name Tamihana (Thompson) when he was baptised by CMS missionary Octavius Hadfield in 1841 and was thereafter known as Tamihana. He was married by Hadfield to Ruta (Ruth) Te Kapu, daughter of Tawhiri of Ngati Raukawa in Otaki in 1843.

In 1839 Tamihana and his cousin Matene Te Whiwhi went by ship to the Bay of Islands to seek a missionary for the Kapiti area returning with Henry Williams and Octavius Hadfield, of whom the latter stayed permanently in the Kapiti area. In 1843 Tamihana and Te Whiwhi went to the South Island and preached Christianity to Ngai Tahu. The following year he accompanied Bishop Selwyn on his first overland visitation tour of the South Island. Tamihana helped to bring Christianity to the South Island which also helped to end the fighting. He was at St John's College in Auckland and was there in 1846 when his father, Te Rauparaha was arrested by Governor George Grey. He visited his father on board the *Calliope* and writes several letters to the Bishop during this time, which are included in the collection. Te Rauparaha dissuaded the people of Ngati Raukawa from taking revenge for his imprisonment in a planned attack on Wellington and urged them to repay the pakeha only with goodness and goodwill. During Te Rauparaha's detention in Auckland, Tamihana and other Ngati Toa leaders agreed to sell the Wairau Plains to the government for £3000.

Te Rauparaha was released in January 1848 and returned to Otaki where Tamihana welcomed him. Tamihana adopted the clothing and lifestyle of an English gentleman and became a successful sheepfarmer. He owned land in the Otaki and Foxton districts and lived the life of a country gentleman. Tamihana visited England travelling with Jane and William Williams in 1851 and was presented to Queen Victoria. On his return he sought to establish a monarchy for the Maori people and supported the King movement and the installation of Potatau Te Wherowhero as the Maori King.

When supporters of the King joined Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake of Te Ati Awa in his resistance to the government over the land purchase at Waitara in 1860, Tamihana broke with the movement. He opposed the raising of the King's flag at Otaki and opposed the King's influence in the Wairarapa. His letter to Bishop Selwyn on 19 April, 1860 described his fear that the Taranaki war would spread south to Otaki. He wanted Maori and Pakeha to live in peace, health and goodwill. Tamihana and Te Whiwhi used their influence to prevent the wars from reaching the Wellington area and were able to keep it as a zone of peace. Tamihana accompanied the governor, G.F. Bowen, on a tour of the South Island with Wi Tako Ngatata and Mete Kingi Te Rangi Paetahi and by 1864 held the position of senior assessor. He died in October 1876 and was buried at Otaki.

The Bishop's introduction to the Ngati Toa chiefs Te Rauparaha and Rangihaeata and Te Rauparaha's son, Tamihana, came with the Wairau massacre in 1843. As a result of the New Zealand Company's attempts to buy land from Maori but in ignorance of Maori custom of communal tenure, the company's agent, Colonel William Wakefield, had ignored the rights of many of the native owners. Maori would not give up certain areas including land at New Plymouth. A rash attempt by the Nelson settlers in 1843 to occupy the Wairau district in the face of opposition of the Ngati Toa chiefs, Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata, led to a murderous affray in which Te Rangihaeata's wife, Captain Arthur Wakefield and 21 settlers were killed (Rutherford, 1961:75). The Bishop describes the massacre as a calamity and a grievous blow to the infant colony. He was shocked at the killing of 23 government agents and settlers as payment for the death of Rangihaeata's wife in the confrontation at Wairau. Some time later the Bishop is at Otaki and describes this incident in a letter to England. Rauparaha and Rangihaeata attended his classes. Te Rauparaha protested against killing the prisoners taken at Wairau and although the Bishop allowed Te Rauparaha to join his party, he would not admit Te Rangihaeata (Tucker, 1879, 1:141-145).

The following year, 1844, the Bishop undertook a visitation tour to Otago and was accompanied by Tamihana Te Rauparaha. He was very pleased with Tamihana describing him as a good hearted and earnest youth whom the Bishop would welcome at Waimate (ibid 1:158).

In 1845 the Rev Hadfield was ill and the Bishop returned to Waikanae to maintain peace between Te Rauparaha and the English settlers following the purchase of land by the governor at 'Heritaonga' (Hutt River) from the chiefs Te Rauparaha and

¹⁰ Biographical details from Dictionary of New Zealand Biography

¹¹ Biographical details from Dictionary of New Zealand Biography

Rangihaeata. Rev Hadfield's station was well established and was claimed as the key to tranquillity in the district. The Bishop says that Te Rauparaha's son Tamihana and his cousin Matene Te Whiwhi were good students of the gospel and they wanted to go to the Bay of Islands to ask for an English preacher to be stationed among them, which they did. The old chiefs objected to their plan but eventually Rev Hadfield offered himself as their minister at a new station at Waikanae. At the request of Mr Hadfield, Tamihana and Matene undertook a missionary voyage of more than a thousand miles to the South Island voyaging in an open boat and returned after 14 months, having catechized and preached at every native settlement in the South Island and Foveaux Straits. The Bishop had visited the South Island the previous year and took Tamihana with him. Tamihana was "a pleasing contrast to the father who was the terror of the settlers of Port Nicholson and the son was engaged with me in evangelizing the heathen" (Tucker, 1879, 1:178; Selwyn, 1847, IV:17,18).

The following month the Bishop writes from aboard the 'Victoria' that the hatred of the English settlers to the natives is paramount and it was peaceful to be out of the reach of turmoil of Wellington. He states that he was denounced for having brought 'Te Rauperaha' into the town and harboured at the parsonage. He acknowledges his unpopularity with the settlers but is more concerned with their un-Christian attitudes and language (Tucker, 1879, 1:198).

Letters from Te Rauparaha and his son, Tamihana

Letters 1844-1 and 1844-3 and 1845-2 from Te Rauparaha and Tamihana express their love for the Bishop and his wife and ask the Bishop to visit them and their people in Otaki.

1845-3 is from Tamihana who has put two pigs aboard the *Bristolian* and twenty bags of potatoes to go with the two pigs, and two bags for the ship.

1845-11 from Port Nicholson, Te Rauparaha wrote to Taraea, a Ngatimaru warrior chief of the Ohinemuru district. This letter was translated by Pei Te Hurinui Jones of Taumarunui, who said that 'in the light of the knowledge of the character of Te Rauparaha, one might be pardoned for thinking he had his tongue in his cheek when the postscript concerning the fighting at Wairau was being written. Te Rauparaha was trying to prevent Taraea from joining forces with Te Heuheu, of Taupo who, it was rumoured at the time, was seeking revenge for the defeat at Patoka Pa in Waitotara in 1841' (NZ Herald, 1967:3).

1845-16 from Te Rauparaha dictated this letter to his son for the Bishop advising of the death of Te Rere Tawangawanga. He asks the Bishop comes to visit so that they can discuss a new minister and wants him to write to the governor and tell him that he, Te Rauparaha, is not planning any trouble. He and his people only show kindness to the Europeans in Port Nicholson. Some of the people were in awe of Te Rauparaha and so have gone to Wanganui. In letter 1845-17 from Port Nicholson, the next day, Tamihana Te Rauparaha, writes advising similar information.

Letter Misc-3 dated March 17, written from Wellington says that word had just been received that Te Rauparaha was to be sent off the shore by the government. The governor said, "To keep the peace on the land, we believe that 'Paraha should be sent off the shore, so that there will be no trouble on the land.'" This letter would have been written in 1846.

Letter Misc-3 dated March 17, written from Wellington says that word had just been received that Te Rauparaha was to be sent off the shore by the government. The governor said, "To keep the peace on the land, we believe that 'Paraha should be sent off the shore, so that there will be no trouble on the land.'" This letter would have been written in 1846. Letter Misc-5 is also from Te Rauparaha to ? similar advising what the governor has said and the confusion that resulted.

A series of letters written by Tamihana and other authors describe their efforts to have Te Rauparaha released from incarceration by Governor Grey. Letter 1847-8 from Hakaraia on behalf of the elders of Otaki, advises that the people asked the governor to return Te Rauparaha to shore but that the Governor has refused. Letter 1847-9 from Otaki, is unsigned but is probably from Tamihana who says he saw Te Rauparaha who is wearing European clothes and looking very smart. They want Te Rauparaha returned to shore but the Governor wanted Porirua and Wairau in return.

Letter 1847-10 from Wellington is from Tamihana who writes to the Bishop to advise that he and Mātene went aboard the *Victoria*. They are jubilant at last as the Governor has announced that Te 'Paraha is being brought back to shore. Tamihana says that Te Rauparaha will be going to Auckland, to the Bishop and asks that he look after him and lift his spirits.

Following Te Rauparaha's release attention is focussed on the development of the region with the opening of schools and a mill at Otaki. Letter 1848-1 from Tamihana Te Rauparaha recommends Porirua is a good place for the school as he has much land there and confirms that arrangements have been made for the mill at Otaki.

Letter 1848-7 by Te Katene Kori dated September 6th, says that peace has been declared between governor and Te Rangihaeata. The letter is written from Hadfield Town (Otaki was known as this for a short time, but the name did not stick).

Letter 1848-8 dated 14 September, from Tamihana is written in the captain's cabin of the warship *Taite*. There is peace between Mokau¹² and Kawana. He asks the Bishop to come and see the church at Otaki when it is finished and that the work on the college is under way.

Letter 1860-2 from Otaki, Tamihana wrote about Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Ruanui murdering Pakeha in Taranaki. He and his people are living congenially with their Pakeha in Wellington. He asks after the Waikato tribes and for news from the Bishop, and comments on the folly of Wiremu Kingi.

After the Bishop has returned to England in 1868, Tamihana writes to Naylor in 1872 that the governor and officers of the man-of-war came to Otaki in their huge ship and that peace has been made by the governor and Mokau.¹³

Wiremu Maihi Te Rangikaheke¹⁴ was a leader of Ngāti Rangiwewehi who also known by his baptismal name of Wiremu Maihi or William Marsh and also Wi Maihi. When Thomas and Anne Chapman set up a CMS mission at Te Koutu in 1835 Te Rangikaheke would have learned to read and write. He was an adherent of the Anglican church in later life. Te Rangikaheke's dealings with the government were through Governor George Grey with whom he worked closely and taught him Maori language and customs. Te Rangikaheke lived near to the Governor in Auckland and by 1854 had produced 21 manuscripts (nearly 800 pages) about Maori culture, language, genealogies, legends, history, customs, laments, political commentaries and autobiographical material. He also contributed to Grey's manuscripts of songs and proverbs, myths and tribal history, and Grey's works, *Ko nga moteatea me nga hakirara o nga Maori* and *Ko nga mahinga a nga tupuna Maori* (Polynesian Mythology) without acknowledgement from Grey.

Te Rangikaheke's account of Maori mythology and history is very comprehensive, beautifully written and his writing is very clear and lively. It includes genealogies, analogies, digressions and the brilliant use of dialogue. Te Rangikaheke returned to Rotorua and became a government official and later an assessor in the Native Land Court, serving the government for 18 years. Te Rangikaheke's tribe, Ngāti Rangiwewehi supported the Maori King during the land wars of the 1860s but he was opposed to the King movement and felt it was time that Maori to align themselves to the Queen. He was the first Maori to stand for election in a European parliamentary constituency – the East Coast in 1875-76. He was a brilliant orator who was acknowledged by Maori and Pakeha.

A letter 1857-9 from Wiremu Maihi Te Rangikaheke asks the Bishop for permission to cut flax at Wanganui and Waiparera and asks for a quick reply. The letter also recommends that pakeha and their families come to settle in Rotorua to develop the teaching of trades and farming, and suggests a plan for subdividing the town while ownership is retained by Maori.

Topeora, Rangi Kuini Wikitoria¹⁵ was a Ngāti Toa leader, peacemaker and composer of waiata. Topeora was the mother of Matene Te Whiwhi (cousin of Tamihana Te Rauparaha), whose father, Te Rauparaha was her uncle. Te Rangihaeata was her brother. She was a respected leader and a woman of great strength. She had considerable control over property and land and with her son Matene Te Whiwhi owned land near the mouth of the Otaki river. She also signed a copy of the Treaty of Waitangi which was taken to Kapiti by Henry Williams. She was a leader, an orator, a singer and poet and an important figure amongst her people. She was baptised by Bishop Selwyn at Otaki and took the name Kuini Wikitoria (Queen Victoria) and was later known as Queen of the South.

A letter from Toperoa 1847-4 from Otaki, asks the Bishop to return her grandchild Te Wirihana so she can see him and then she will return him to the Bishop.

It is interesting that letter 1847-7 from Paora Amohau of Maketu asks the Bishop to send Matene's child, Te Wirihana, back to his aunt Rakapa who is Matene's full sister. The parents miss him and want him back and protest that the child is doing manual labour. If they had known this they would not have given the child to the Bishop, and ask for him back 'lest he fall sick'.¹⁶

Paora Te Amohau was from a rangatira family and was appointed the Assessor for Ohinemutu in December 1861. He is listed as one of thirtynine Te Arawa men who fought alongside Captain Mair at Te Koutu following a battle against the Hauhaus in 1867 and in 1875 submitted his name to be the school teacher for the children at Pukeroa Hill in Rotorua. (Te Arawa, 1967:359, 418, 514).

Wiremu Kingi and land disputes at Waitara and Tataraimaka, Taranaki

¹² Another name of Te Rangihaeata (Sinclair, 1957:229).

¹³ Mokau is referred to in Misc-5 as the nephew of Te Rauparaha. Mokau was another name of Te Rangihaeata (Simmons, 1957:229).

¹⁴ Biographical details from Dictionary of New Zealand Biography

¹⁵ Biographical details from Dictionary of New Zealand Biography

¹⁶ The DNZB states that Topeora's husband, Te Wehi-o-te-rangi, of Te Arawa, was the father of her daughter Rakapa Kahoki, who, like her mother a notable composer. Te Wirihana could therefore be Matene's son and Rakapa's nephew as the letter indicates.

Tania Simpson in her proposal from 1988 refers to letter 1862-7, from the Bishop to Wiremu Kingi over land at Waitara and Tataraimaka. The Bishop outlines the different understanding of land ownership between Maori and European and recommends that Wiremu Kingi take the matter to the Native Land Court where the matter will be made clear.

This letter is in reference to a well known historical grievance in Taranaki. In March 1859 at a tribal meeting, Teira offered to sell 600 acres on the south bank of the Waitara to the government. Governor Browne consulted McLean and decided to accept the offer if Teira could give satisfactory title. There upon Wiremu Kingi rose in indignation. "Listen governor," he said, "I will not permit the sale of Waitara to the Pakeha. Waitara is in my hands and I will not give it up, I will not – I will not! The sale went ahead and consequent war broke out. Wiremu Kingi was joined by warriors from Taranaki, Ngati Ruanau, Ngatauru, Ngati Maniapoto, Ngati Raukawa and Ngati Haua. Eventually they agreed to let the matter be settled by the court. The court found Wiremu Kingi's claim to be quite valid. (Background notes by Tania Simpson 1988; Morrell and Hall, 1957).

Another letter, 1862-8, regarding this matter was written from Waikanae, by Wiremu Tamihana Te Neke, wanting transcripts of the Bishops speeches at Peria, Waikato, and refers to those sent to Riwai Te Ahu. He agrees with the Bishop's views regarding the land at Waitara and Tataraimaka being dealt with by the court and asks for copies of these reports also. Te Neke has written to Wiremu Kingi regarding the message told to him by the governor in Wellington to take the Waitara case to court to determine Kingi's ownership and had received a reply from Kingi stating that he did not agree to taking these land cases to court.

A letter written from Tapurau, 1863-5, from Henare Matene Rehurehu describes the events involving Wiremu Kingi at Onukukaitara and his men who had stood firm against the soldiers. Kingi Manukorihi, Peroa and Hohaia had burned down soldier's barracks. Rehurehu travelled to Wanganui and met the survivors at Tataraimaka whom he names. He also names the chiefs who had died and the people with whom he discussed the recent events.

The Hauhau movement

Letter 1865-2 signed by the Pai Marire prophet Patara Raukatauri warns the Bishop not to sail his ship to Opotiki but carry straight on to Tauranga. The letter is a complicated set of arrangements regarding Grace who has been captured by the Hauhau and Raukatauri's advice to the Bishop regarding the delivery of Grace to Auckland. Tania Simpson writes a background to this letter.

Pātara was the founder of the Hauhau movement, but used Horopapera Te Ua from Taranaki as his front. Williams explains some events relating to this letter. "When the notorious Pātara came from Taranaki with a large party of Hauhau in 1865, through Taupo to the Bay of plenty, news was brought to Waerenga-a-hika on March 1st, that Mr Grace's house at Taupo and Mr Volkner's house at Opotiki had both been plundered by the Hauhau. Four days later a man came through from Opotiki with the news that... Mr Grace was a prisoner in the hands of the hauhau at Opotiki...the possibility of effecting his rescue was discussed with the result that two chiefs of this district left by the *Eclipse* to go to Tauranga, if necessary to get the assistance of Hori Tūpaea in procuring the release of Mr Grace.....On March 27th news was received with thankfulness that Mr Grace had been able to escape from Opotiki in a small vessel which had called there" (Williams, 1939:196-203).

In Taranaki in 1862 a new faith arose amongst the Maori people known as "Pai marire". This faith was a mixture of Old Testament morality, Christian doctrine and primitive Maori religion. The name 'Hauhau' arose from some of the rites conducted by a priest when followers cried "Pai marire, Hauhau". The fanatical followers of Pai Marire became known as Hauhau and through them the resistance to the settlers became more implacable and savage. It was the Hauhau movement which caused so much unrest amongst the settlers in the late 1860's and early 1870's between Alexandra (Pirongia) and Cambridge. They were also the reason for the difficulties caused when the government wanted to open Kawhia as a port (Te Awamutu Historical Society, 1997, 18:9).

A paragraph of letter 1864-5 from Heta Tarawhiti to Rev. Benjamin Ashwell (Ahiwera) describes the new religion that Maori were taking up. "They hold prayer service and then they go to the base of a pole called a Niu. There are 60 men and women with their arms out stretched to the sky and faces upturned in a bid to receive the sacred spirit.¹⁷ They are saying that they possess the Holy Spirit. They use many languages, Hebrew, French, German and English. They have their own scriptures".

Letter 1865-7 from Ruitene Ahunuku in Gisborne says that the Hauhau were in Te Aitanga-a Mahaki but now Rongowhakaata have changed to the Hauhau religion because of Anaru's, Wiremu Kingi's and Tamati's anger toward Europeans and Queen's Māori.¹⁸ Tamihana Ruatapu and Ahunuku held a meeting due to concern for their European friends and recommended to them that they leave. Those who still hold fast to their faith were Ngāti Tahupo, Ngāti Rangiwhao and those of Hirini Te Kani's group. All the Europeans and Queen's Māori attended the meeting. The Hauhau were prohibited from attending. The fact that Rongowhakaata has turned to this false God had angered Ngāti Porou.

¹⁷ Could be translated as holy spirit, but William Greenwood in his book 'The Upturned hand', (1942) says "When there were candidates eager to initiated into the new faith, these would be arranged around the Niu and bidden to gaze steadfastly at the top of the pole. This gazing must be kept up until such time that the spirit from the pole had entered the initiate (Tania Simpson's notes).

¹⁸ Māori supporters of the Queen.

Wiremu Tamihana Tarapipipi Te Waharoa¹⁹ was a Ngati Haua leader and teacher. Tarapipipi was the second son of Te Waharoa of Ngati Haua. In August 1836 Tarapipipi interceded on behalf of two CMS mission workers and led them to a place of safety when the mission premises were destroyed by Ngati Whakaue. Tarapipipi came under the influence of Christian teachings when the Reverend A.N. Brown established a CMS station near Matamata pa in April 1835. Within six months Tarapipipi had learned to read and write in Maori and was writing letters on behalf of his father. The fighting in 1836 led to the abandonment of the Matamata mission, but in January 1838 Brown took over the Tauranga mission station, including Ngati Haua within his parish. Early in 1838 the missionary printer, W.R. Wade visited Matamata and described the son of Te Waharoa as ‘a fine clever active young man, one of the most forward in knowledge and most desirous to know’. In the absence of missionaries he used to take the lead in all school matters. During 1838 Brown also noted Tarapipipi’s eagerness to discuss spiritual matters and encouraged him in the idea of setting up a separate Christian settlement.

Te Waharoa died in September 1838 and Tarapipipi found himself with a new leadership role among Ngati Haua. He inherited his father’s mana and was given an opportunity to exercise his powers of diplomacy at a meeting of Tauranga and Ngati Haua people to discuss relations with Te Arawa. Tarapipipi’s leadership and his efforts to abide by Christian ideas prevented a major battle. On 23 June 1839, Tarapipipi was one of the first converts to be baptized by Brown at Tauranga. He was given the name of Wiremu Tamihana (William Thompson) and embarked on a life of teaching and preaching in the Tauranga and Matamata districts. Edward Shortland, who visited Waikato in 1842 commented that Tarapipipi was “the most influential young chief of the tribe’.

During the late 1850s Tamihana became involved in the establishment of the Maori King. For this he was given the title “kingmaker” by Pakeha. The Bishop became aware of Wiremu Tamihana in 1857 when, as an observer, he attended the conference which had preceded the election of Te Wherowhero as Maori King. In October 1862 a national meeting was held at the Ngati Haua settlement of Peria to which invitations had been issued several months earlier. The Governor had been invited but it was the Bishop who decided he would attend “having no fear of harsh words” (Tucker, 1879, II:181). Wiremu Tamihana preached unity and brotherhood under the Maori King to the assembled people. The Bishop heard the sermon and asked permission to conduct a service in the afternoon. The next day he was invited to address the assembly and referred to himself as a mediator for New Zealand, of having lived communally with and alongside Maori and tried to suggest a common ground in law and a solution to Tataraimaka as well as Waitara. The Bishop’s arguments convinced several of the chiefs present but did not alter the general resolution of the meeting (Tucker, 1879, I:181-184).

Letters from Wiremu Tarapipipi Te Waharoa

Letter 1844-7 From Waitemata, Wiremu Tarapipipi Te Waharoa writes of the great sickness of his tribe thought to be either measles or influenza. Tarapipipi wrote to Bishop Selwyn seeking a doctor to help stem the death rate among Ngati Haua and advised that 100 of his people, men, women and children, have died.

Letter 1845-14 is written from Wharekauri by Wiremu Tamihana Karewa and the content relates to an invitation to the Bishop to come and see the settlement and the people and also asks for a bell. The letter also acknowledges a letter from the Bishop and asks him for a Minister to teach the word of Christ to the people who are like lost children. Evelyn Stokes (1999:38) records this letter as being from Wiremu Tamihana Tarapipipi and the request for a bell is closely aligned with Tarapipipi’s letter of 1848. The Index to the Maori Letters in the Grey Collection in the Auckland Public Library refer to a letter written by Wiremu Tamihana Karewa. It is doubtful that Wiremu Tamihana Tarapipipi ever needed to go to the Chatham Islands. There may be another place called Wharekauri, or a house made of kauri. Karewa could be the Karewa at Kawhia.²⁰

Letter 1848-10 Wiremu Tarapipipi advises the Bishop that he will be coming to his house in Auckland to talk about a book for him and a bell.

Aperahama Taonui,²¹ was a Ngapuhi leader who was also a prophet, historian and teacher of his people. Taonui emerged by the mid 1860s as a major prophet who founded Te Kotahitanga movement which evolved into the Maori parliaments of the 1890s. He was baptised Aperahama (Abraham) by the Wesleyan missionary William White in 1833. He is thought to have signed the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 as ‘Abaraham Tatoru’. He helped the Wesleyan missionary John Hobbs translate the Book of Job which was published in Maori in 1843. Taonui became friendly with Governor George Grey and attended the new Wesleyan Native Institute in Auckland in 1846-47 and learned to read and write in English – he had an outstanding ability with languages. He taught at Utakura, Mangungu, and Waima. He wrote down the history of the Hokianga ancestors for John White who compiled the *Ancient history of the Maori* (1887-90). During the 1860s Aperahama Taonui became known in the north as a prophet. His most well known prophecy relates to the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi which was placed on the Union Jack and not a Maori cloak. This was an ill omen to Aperahama. He was involved in the opening of the whareniui called *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* at Te Tii marae, Waitangi in 1881. His predictions have been adopted by the Ratana movement and the families who followed him at Oturei where he is buried, became Ratana believers after the First World War.

¹⁹ Biographical details from Dictionary of New Zealand Biography

²⁰ Notes by Tom Roa.

²¹ Biographical details from Dictionary of New Zealand Biography

In letter 1843-3 from Owae, Aperahama [Taonui] sends his regards to the Bishop and says that he has come to Whangarei to preach the prophecies and give inspiration to the Maori people.

Te Iharaira Te Houkamou,²² Ngati Porou leader. In the early 1800s the people of Ngati Porou gathered in several large pa in the Waiapu Valley to resist the raids of the Nga Puhī. When peace came in the 1830s Te Houkamau settled near Te Kawakawa and came into contact with Christianity and extended hospitality to the missionaries William Williams and William Colenso when they visited the area in 1838.

In 1840 William Williams sought signatures of Maori in the east coast to a copy of the Treaty of Waitangi. Te Houkamau was wary and would not commit himself and avoided becoming too closely associated with the missionaries. In 1848 he was finally baptised along with his second wife he taking the name Iharaira (Israel). Te Houkamau had opposed the appointment of Rota Waitoa, the first Maori deacon to Te Kawakawa (Te Araroa) in 1853 because he considered it inappropriate that a man of Ngati Raukawa should exercise power in Ngati Porou territory. Later he became a strong supporter of the church and also a supporter of the government. When the Pai Marire movement became strong in the Waiapu area Te Houkamou moved to the north end of Hick's Bay and built a new pa, Makeronia (Macedonia). He couldn't prevent Patara Raukatauri from entering Waiapu but with arms and ammunition from Donald McLean, the provincial superintendent, and support from government troops, he was able to drive the Hauhau off and achieved victory for the Waiapu area. He sought to regain tribal lands and encouraged the building of roads into the Ngati Porou district, which provided income and improved conditions for local Maori. He had three wives and his son, Te Hatiwira fought the Hauhau alongside his father. Te Houkamou fought with government forces in Poverty Bay, the Urewera and commanded a company of Ngati Porou in Taranaki against Titokowaru. He died at Te Kawakawa in January 1875.

Letter 1860-4 is written from Wharekahika by Te Iharaira Te Houkamou and others, concerning the confrontation at Taranaki and the fear of it spilling over on Ngati Porou. They have written to the government requesting Pakeha of good disposition to come and trade with them and do not want unscrupulous Pakeha coming into the district.

Letters from the Maori Ministers

Rota Waitoa,²³ Ngati Raukawa, Ngati Maru and Te Arawa. Rota was an early convert of the CMS missionary Octavious Hadfield and received his religious instruction at Hadfield's mission at Waikanae and took the name Rota (Lot) when he was baptised by Hadfield in 1841. He very early adopted Bishop Selwyn as his mentor and accompanied him on his visitations throughout the North Island. From 1843 he attended St John's College in Waimate continuing in 1844 when the college moved to Auckland. He became master of the Maori boys' junior school, scholar and catechist. He was described as "a man of integrity and exceptional intelligence, possessing a warm and generous nature". He married Te Rina Hinehuka of Ngati Porou in 1848 and had three children, of whom their second son, Hone became an Anglican clergyman. Rota was the first Maori to be ordained into the Anglican church at St Paul's Auckland, by Bishop Selwyn on 22 May 1853. Tensions had built up between the CMS, Selwyn and the Maori people. The CMS were dissatisfied with the theological instruction at St John's and condemnation as to the Bishop's reluctance to ordain Maori. This was one of the causes of the college closing down for some years.

Following his ordination Waitoa became the minister to the CMS station at Te Kawakawa. Rota's appointment was in timely need as many Maori were losing their faith in Christianity and the increasing contact with European traders and settlers was seen as a dangerous influence. Opposition was also initially forthcoming from Te Houkamou of Ngati Porou as Rota was from another tribe and not from Ngati Porou. Later, Te Houkamou was baptised by Waitoa. Rota built St Stephen's Church at Te Araroa and possibly St Barnabas' at Hick's Bay. Rota returned periodically to St John's to study and renew his friendship with Bishop Selwyn while preparing for ordination to the priesthood. He was priested by Bishop William Williams on 4 March 1860, and stationed at Kawakawa in the Waiapu diocese. Rina died in 1857 and in 1858 Rota married Harata Tiarete of Te Kawakawa and they had two children. He continued his work during the East Coast war in 1865 although he was forced to abandon Te Kawakawa mission at one time. In 1866 he was injured in a riding accident and returned to Auckland at the Bishop's invitation where he died on 22 July 1866.

Mrs Selwyn writes of Rota Waitoa in her reminiscences.

He was a lad when he came to us unkempt, and Maori in his habits for a time, and he was not of the better looking half of his people, who have straight features and smooth hair. He had an African cast of feature and woolly hair, but a countenance betokening the much good there was in him. He had passed up through several steps to this last great step, pupil, then College Butler, then Master of the Junior Maori department at St John's and after this he went to be teacher at the Mission Station, Mr Kissling, our German friend had been obliged to leave for health's sake. You always felt so sure about Rota and he never did fail, intelligent and good, so open and simple was he. He was now to return to the same place in Holy Orders. There he worked an excellent element among his own people and most highly respected also by the remnants of the whaling men scattered up and down the coast. They would bring their difficulties and differences to the Reverend Rota, as they called him, and abide by his judgement. He used to pay occasional visits to St John's College to Bishop Abraham, or to his old Bishop saying "his bag was empty, he had sown all it had contained, and now he wanted more seed", i.e. further instruction (Selwyn, 1961:47).

²² Biographical details from Dictionary of New Zealand Biography

²³ Biographical details from Dictionary of New Zealand Biography

Rota Waitoa, writes several letters from various parts of the North Island

Letter 1845-1 to the Bishop in Wellington advises that Rota's two children were the only ones attending school. Other children from Ngati Paro [Porou?] were attending but were unhappy so were sent back to their parents.

Letter 1847-6 from Te Henui (New Plymouth) says there are major problems regarding the land with the Governor giving the boundary at Waitara but the Maori people do not agree. Rota wants the Bishop to advise when or whether he can go back to Otaki.

Letter 1849-4 is written from the college to the Bishop while he was away on a visitation tour and advised that everyone at the college was well. Rota was sad that the Bishop had not left a message for him before he left. Rota is concerned about a letter that Henare Taratoa wrote to one of Kissling's daughters and that the Bishop and Kissling should discuss the matter on the Bishop's return. Also, Te Rina's [Rota's wife] brothers had arrived to take them to Whaiapu to visit.

Rota Waitoa's letters from Kawakawa (Araroa, East Cape)

In letter 1857-10 Rota writes that Ngati Porou at Waiapu are worried about their Minister, Te Peka [Baker], who has left, as the people did not look after him. The chiefs have agreed to £100 per year for the minister, and that the minister's home, which is being built, will be at Manutahi. The letter outlines the fundraising that has been done, the amounts raised and by whom and the need for books and equipment.

Letter 1857-5 is to Mother Bishop advising that Hēmi Tawhera, one of the carpenters, is coming to buy items for the church, which is near completion. Rota also advises that his wife is very ill.

Letter 1858-2 is written from St John's, Taurarua. Rota Waitoa, having been at Te Kawakawa where he received a letter from the Bishop is sad to learn that the Bishop will be arriving home in Auckland after Rota has left. The people of Te Kawakawa have collected £19 for Rota's keep. He is concerned about the rebels of the area and is reluctant to come back if the trouble continues.

Letter 1862-3 is from Te Kawakawa. Rota sends his regards to the Bishop, his wife and to William Selwyn (Bishop Selwyn's son) whom has heard has arrived in Auckland. He has moved into his new house, and reminds the Bishop that the builder, Hare Poai of Te Araroa, needs to be paid. The cost was to be divided between the local people £25 and himself £25. Rota advises that he has married a young lady from Te Kawakawa.

Henare Taratoa

Henare Taratoa was a Maori chief who had been educated by the Bishop at St John's College from about 1845 to 1853. While he was regarded as a very clever thoughtful youth, he was excitable and could not be depended upon. Bishop Selwyn would not bring him into the ministry for this reason. (Tucker, 1879, II:204).

Taratoa was the cook at St John's College in the 1840s to 1850. Five years later in 1855, Henry Taratoa was assistant to Mr Hadfield in Otaki and writes to the Bishop (1855-1) describing the school at Otaki and the work he is doing under the tutorship of Archdeacon Hadfield. However, the children at the school are diminishing in number but they were making an effort to teach the remaining children well. He names the teachers who have been and gone and tells the Bishop of his marriage to Rahapa, while the Bishop was in England in 1854, and that he and his wife now teach at the school with Rev and Mrs Hadfield.

The story is related that at the battle of Gate Pa, Henare Taratoa was killed by the English and when his body was searched, the "orders of the day" were found on him in the form of a prayer and ended with the words (in Maori) 'if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst give him drink'. A few days before, several English officers had got inside the Maori redoubt and were left there severely wounded. One dying of his wounds was tended all night by Henare Taratoa. The dying man asked for water. There was none inside the redoubt, but there was water inside the English lines at the foot of the Gate Pa and Henare Taratoa crept down amongst the fern within reach of the sentries and filled a calabash with water which he successfully carried back to refresh the parched lips of his enemy. The English Officers told this story in answer to the taunt frequently thrown at the missionaries about the value of the supposed conversions to Christianity (Tucker, 1879, II:205).

There is a sequel to this story relating to a stained glass window in the Selwyn Chapel in Lichfield where Bishop Selwyn's tomb is located, which depicts water being brought to King David from the well at Bethlehem. This was to commemorate the heroism of Henare Taratoa in 1864 (McLean, 2002:203; Purchas, 1914:219).

Rev. Heta Tarawhiti²⁴ of Waikato was at St Stephen's College, where he was appointed catechist. He was deaconed by Selwyn on 4 March 1860, priested 23 September 1866, and stationed at Taupiri with Rev. Benjamin Ashwell.

Letter 1862-2 Heta writes from Hopuhopu to Martin (Sir William) of his wife's illness which has now lasted seven months and asks that they continue their prayers for her.

²⁴ Mission and Moko, the CMS in NZ 1814 – 1882, Biographical Index p 217 (Glen, 1992).

From Taupiri, Letter 1866-8, Heta writes to the Bishop reporting on the events of Christmas Day and the gathering for Christmas service and supper. He writes of a coming meeting for neutral Maori probably with the Kingites. The letter refers to the war in the district and that Heta will stay due to not having made any arrangements for his land. Heta refers to a book the Bishop wrote regarding values of land at Hopuhopu. Herangi's judge said it was inaccurate as it was concerned with values for buildings only, not the land. He asks the Bishop to send some strong hinges for the gate.

Letter 1867-2 is also from Taupiri concerning a letter he received from Eruera Te Ngara and a discussion with Rawiri who had supposedly written to the government. Heta advises that he and his wife will leave Taupiri in April but in the meantime he will be going to Tamahere, then coming to see the Bishop.

Letter 1872-1 Heta Tarawhiti forwards a copy of a letter to him from the Native Minister, Hon. McLean (Makarini) concerning the school at Taupiri and the government's annual allowance for children and orphaned children.

Rev. Heta Tarawhiti worked alongside Reverent Benjamin Ashwell (Te Ahiwera). At the time the above letters were written, Ashwell was stationed at the Kaitotehe mission station on the west bank of the Waikato River, opposite Taupiri mountain. Ashwell was assisted by Tarawhiti and his wife Pehira (Priscilla). Heta belonged to Ngati Mahuta and the principal pa, Kaitotehe, was close to the mission station at Taupiri, one of the homes of Te Wherowhero to whom Tarawhiti was related. During the rise of the King Movement, Tarawhiti remained faithful to his adopted Christian religion.

When the war came to Waikato, Ashwell was in Auckland and returned home to Taupiri where he was advised by Tarawhiti that he had attended a meeting of the Waikato tribes and had been assured that Ashwell would be protected from Ngati Maniapoto who had evicted Gorst and Morgan from Te Awamutu. However, by June 1863 Ashwell was advised by Tamihana and other local chiefs that he should leave. Heta Tarawhiti, however, remained at the Mission Station even when General Cameron and his troops invaded the Waikato and commandeered the Mission Station as headquarters for the river fleet under Commodore Wisman. At the end of the war in Waikato, Tarawhiti remained loyal to Ashwell and continued to teach and minister to the few remaining Maori at Taupiri and the surrounding district (Te Awamutu Historical Society, 1997, 18:9).

Letter 1864-5 to Rev. Benjamin Ashwell (Ahiwera) declares the people will not partake in Waikato War. The letter also discusses the construction of a new building at the base of Taupiri and needs Ashwell to bring down some boards, some oil for the paint and paint for the doors.

Te Ahiwera, Benjamin Ashwell was a very dedicated, humble and brave missionary who was based in the Port Waikato area (Maraetai at Waikato Heads, Kaitotehe at Taupiri, and Paetai). He suffered many hardships and personal tragedies as did most of the early missionaries of the 1840s to 1860s and often put his own life at stake to defuse imminent war between tribes. He also was doctor, teacher, preacher and provided spiritual counselling and guidance to the people of his area both before the Waikato war, during and afterwards. Although Ashwell taught Christian faith and life, due to not being ordained he was unable to baptise converts and admit them to confirmation. He sought ordination from Bishop Selwyn several times and finally was permitted to prepare for Holy Orders in 1848 and was ordained Deacon in December 1848 and priest in 1853, 11 years after his first application (Tagg, 2003: 24).

Ashwell established boarding schools in the Waikato area where formal school work was taught, which included both native and English grammar, geography, history, writing, arithmetic and singing. The afternoons were taken up with sewing for the girls and farm work for boys where they learned to plough and provided garden produce for the school children. The school at Kaitotehe was considered one of the finest in the country. Before the Taranaki war broke out there were boarding schools on the Waikato at Kohanga (Dr Maunsell), Taupiri (Rev. B. Ashwell) Otawahao (Rev. J. Morgan) Paetai near Rangiriri, (Roka Tarawhiti, Heta Tarawhiti's daughter) Rauwhitu (Rawiri Motutarata), Tamahere (Philip Matewha) and Horotiu near Hamilton (Tagg, 2003: 20, 70).

1861-6 Roka from Paetai writes to the Bishop requesting an assistant for the school at Paetai, namely Heta Tarawhiti. She is very ill and unable to cook or look after the school.

Letter 1862-3 is written from Te Kawakawa by Rota who describes the troubles of Waikato and the divided support of the people.

Letter 1863-9 from Mr Morgan to the Bishop refers to a letter received by Mr Wallis from Hami Wakatari in Raglan. Mr Wakatari advises that Waikato does not trust the ministers and will kill them. However, the King says the lives of Mr Wallis and Rev. Rira will be spared as they have withdrawn their people from fighting. The letter from Mr Morgan tells the Bishop that Maunsell's life is too precious to be uselessly sacrificed. He asks the Bishop to recommend that Maunsell leave immediately. Morgan has full confidence that Waata Kukutai and his supporters, would protect Maunsell if he remained at Kohanga or Taupari, but the situation could be grave for Waata.

The above letter was written on October 19, 1863. Mrs Maunsell's diary of September and October 1863 documents the stressful time that Rev Robert Maunsell and their group were under, due to the threat of the outbreak of war in the Waikato region. Early in October the steamer Avon came down to Kohanga and brought letters from Bishop Selwyn, and Mrs Kissling, Ashwell and

Kempthorne, all urging the Maunsells to return to Auckland. They were eventually evacuated by Major Greaves on the steamer *Pioneer* in the middle of October (Wily and Maunsell :160-164).

A pleading letter from Aihepene Kaihau 1863-3 of Waiuku to the Bishop outlines the plight of the people of Waiuku who are left unprotected from the soldiers. There are 65 women and 80 children in Waiuku who have been abandoned by their men who have gone to Waikato to fight with the Queen. They are afraid that the pakeha soldiers will kill them and were relieved when Mr Morgan arrived and learned that Mr Maunsell would be at Taupari. They fear they have no way to turn and face death from Maori because they supported the government as well as from the pakeha soldiers.

In letter 1863-7 Mohi Te Ahiatenga of Rauwhitu writes of being pursued by the pakeha from Te Kirikiri, to Paparua and then to Rauwhitu where he is now staying. Mohi Te Ahiatengu is noted in Tamihana as a chief of Ngati Tamaoho (Stokes, 2002:338).

After the battle of Orakau in 1864 Heta Tarawhiti and Te Hohua Moanarua were placed in charge of the Maori mission for the lower Waikato. Moanarua's area was between Raglan and Manukau Harbour. Maori who remained in the lower Waikato or returned to their homes were able to receive spiritual guidance and instruction from Rev Hohua Te Moanarua (Te Awamutu Historical Society, 1997, 18:8,9).

Hohua Te Moanarua of Ngati Tipa, Waikato, was trained at St Stephen's College Auckland. In 1857 he was a catechist for Robert Maunsell at Kohanga, and was deaconed by Bishop Selwyn on 4 March 1860. He accompanied Selwyn during the land wars after which he was placed in charge on the coast from Manukau to Raglan. Moanarua was priested by Bishop Cowie on 8 February 1873, and remained ministering there until he died at Ngaruawahia 24 July 1898²⁵.

Letter 1860-7 is from Moanarua to Kissling concerning a Pakeha named Rarawera, a Catholic minister from Rangiaohia who was writing to Matutaera concerning the chopping down of the flag at Ngaruawahia and the possible attack of Whaingaroa by Ngati Maniapoto which Matutaera was able to intervene and stop.

Letter 1861-3 Te Moanarua advises the Bishop of his intended travels to Kohanga, then to Wairoa, to Waiheke and return.

Letter 1865-1 is to Dr Maunsell, about the school at Rutataka. Te Moanarua is considering sending children there. He has four children but can't afford to pay for them to attend school.

Letter 1866-9 speaks of a letter from Rota Waitoa, whose Māori garment²⁶ Moanarua brought back for Te-Ao-o-te-Rangi and Miriama. He has been waiting for them to pay for it - £4 which they have now paid and Moanarua would send the money to the Bishop to pay to Rota.

(Rev) Matiu Te Huia Taupaki of Ngati Waiora, Te Rarawa was born in 1827. He was baptised on 20 February 1842 and trained at St Stephens, Auckland in 1856. Taupaki was deaconed by Bishop Selwyn on 25 December 1861. He was priested by Cowie on 23 September 1866 and stationed at Kaitaia then (out of his tribal territory) at Paihia, Bay of Islands.²⁷ In 1868 Rev Matiu Taupaki presented the address to the Bishop from Maori of Waimate and the Bay of Islands prior to the departure of the Bishop back to England (Curteis, 1878:41).

In letter 1866-3 Taupaki writes to his son, Hoani, whom he assumes is attending St John's College at Auckland. His father was glad to hear he is working on printing press and going to night classes with Mrs Chapman. But he not pleased to hear he has left the printing to go to carpentry at Houata's house. Taupaki disapproves and urges son to go back to his original work, and wishes the Bishop's and elders arrange some work within the church. He asks his son to write to him.

Letter 1867-3 to the Bishop concerns the affairs of Nga Puhi and Te Rarawa people being destroyed by alcohol. The letter mentions many districts, the attendance of people at church and names those who lead them in prayer.

Waata Kukutai,²⁸ was a Waikato leader, farmer and assessor. Kukutai was converted to Christianity by the CMS missionary Robert Maunsell who set up the mission station at Maraetai at Waikato Heads in 1839. He took the name of Waata (Walter) Later he also used the name Pihikete. Kukutai moved his whole tribe to Kohanga in 1853 and build a church on his own land at Kohanga. At the great meeting of Maori leaders at Paetai, near Rangiriri, to discuss proposals for a Maori kingship in 1857 Kukutai led a contingent which paraded under the Union Jack. Kukutai was a faithful supporter of Rev Maunsell particularly when the threat of war in the Waikato was imminent. To Maunsell, Kukutai was a tower of strength in whom Maunsell had complete confidence. Kukutai took the oath of allegiance to the Queen and was given the rank of Major in the Colonial forces (Wily & Maunsell, 1938:146).

²⁵ Mission and Moko the CMS in NZ from 1814-1898, Biographical Index p 214 (Glen, 1992).

²⁶ cloak?

²⁷ Mission and Moko the CMS in NZ from 1814-1898, Biographical Index p 217 (Glen, 1992).

²⁸ Biographical details from Dictionary of New Zealand Biography

Waata Kukutai wrote eight letters to the Bishop between 1865-9 and 1867-1 from Taupari near Kohanga, Port Waikato, regarding the urgency of establishing a school with their own teacher. He informs the Bishop of the Rules for attendance which the School Committee have set up, funding issues and the difficulties in securing a teacher. The letters extend over many months.

His letter in 1865-9 may be the first formal correspondence between Kukutai and the Bishop whom he greets with 'dear sir'. He has received the Bishop's letter that he is seeking a capable teacher for the district. He stresses the urgency of getting the children into school and out of mischief. See also 1865-10 and the letters 1866, 1, 2, and 5 to 8. Letter 1866-7 Kukutai has received the Bishop's letter of 27th September with the good news of finding a school teacher. However, Mr Kukutai's wife, Mihi Kukutai is very ill. 1866-8 expresses his grief over his wife's passing, and acknowledges letters from the Bishop and Dr Maunsell. In letter 1867-1 Ngati Tipa write to Bishop to advise of passing of Waata Kukutai. They invite Bishop to come and see them and says the teachings of their elder will be upheld.

Rawiri Taiwhanga²⁹ was a Ngapuhi leader, farmer, missionary and teacher. Taiwhanga was one of Hongi Hika's warriors and participated in the first Nga Puhi expedition to the Bay of Plenty in 1818. He began work at the Kerikeri mission station in 1821 as a foreman for John Butler. Taiwhanga became efficient in preparing the land and getting it ready for planting and his skills in reaping, mowing and threshing encouraged other Maori to gain similar experience. Between 1822 and 1824 Taiwhanga spent a year and a half with Samuel Marsden in New South Wales, expanding his knowledge of European farming methods and skilled trades. He returned to New Zealand in 1824 and worked with another missionary, Richard Davis, and later as a sawyer at the Paihia mission. Taiwhanga's four children were baptised before him in the same ceremony as a child of William Williams, which was the first public baptism celebrated in the Maori language and it made a great impression (Williams, 1867:103-104; Rogers, 1973:79). He became a proficient gardener producing a variety of vegetables, some fruit trees and wheat. He became an able letter writer in the 1820s and was a monitor at the Paihia mission school from 1830 to 1834.

Taiwhanga was baptised Rawiri (David) in 1830 preaching frequently and vigorously at settlements in the Bay of Islands, Hokianga and Whangaroa. He accompanied Thomas Chapman and Henry Williams to Tauranga and Rotorua and helped establish Christianity in those areas. He established a thriving farm on the east side of Kaikohe where he remained until his death. For a time he ran a school but his main efforts went into building up the farm. He made his own plough and made butter and was New Zealand's first commercial dairy farmer. He aligned himself with the missionaries and supported the Treaty negotiations, signing his name, Rawiri, on the Treaty of Waitangi. When Bishop Selwyn was stationed at Waimate he encouraged Taiwhanga to seek his support for his local school following the war in the north. Taiwhanga's son was called Tamati Hirini.

Taiwhanga in 1848-4 writes from Kaikohe sending his son, Hirini, a message asking the Bishop to guide his son at Christ's school. He does not approve of his son's friends who have come to join the elders and have distorted the teachings for their own purposes. He asks the Bishop for five books of the Psalms of David as Te Reweti (Davis) does not have any.

Letter 1846-6 describes his sadness for the people in his area as they don't know, or do not wish to know of Christianity and only a few have the faith. He asks the Bishop for the Psalms of David when the Bishop can find a day to come.

Letter Misc-14 is undated as to year but writes of death and the time for one's passing being decided by the Lord. Taiwhanga declares his faith in Jesus Christ.

Letter 1850-1 from Kaikohe, is written by Rawiri [Taiwhanga] regarding the girl at Davis' school. He has arranged with his son, Hirini, for the girl to stay with the Bishop providing the Bishop agreed, as this would make her mother happier. This letter was written in anticipation of Hirini's impending marriage to the young lady concerned.

Pineamine [Benjamin] Hapurau

The Bishop notes in his visitation journal in 1848 that he arrived alone and unannounced at Otaki and found a party of 300 men, guided by the old chief Te Rauparaha, raising the pillars for the support of the roof of their new chapel. There was a joyous shout of welcome from the whole party when the Bishop came in unexpectedly. His old friends and scholars all crowded around, one of whom was Benjamin Hapurau, a volunteer teacher at the village school of 150 children (Selwyn, 1847,V:82, 83).

Later that year, in letter 1848-6 Pineamine Hapurau writes from Otaki that he would like to come and see the Bishop but because he has so many children to care for he is unable to. He states that the Governor came to Otaki and had a fierce argument with Te Rangihaeata. Pineamine was so embarrassed he left.

Raniera Kawhia was stationed at Waerenga-a-hika in 1857. He was trained at St Stephen's College in Auckland, then a catechist and native teacher at Waipapu. He was deaconed by Bishop Williams on 17 February 1860 and priested on 22 December 1861. He was stationed at Whareponga and opposed the Hauhau views.³⁰

In letter 1857-6 the people of Rangitukia suggest that the Bishop ordain Raniera Kawhia as their minister.

²⁹ Biographical details from Dictionary of New Zealand Biography

³⁰ Mission and Moko, The CMS in New Zealand from 1814-1882, Biographical Index p214 (Glen, 1992).

Wiremu Pomare was a rangatira in Ngapuhi and a teacher at Te Karetu, He was deaconed by Bishop Cowie on 18 October 1872, and priested on 29 November 1874. He was stationed at Bay of Islands, but his connection with the CMS closed on 1 January 1885.³¹

Letters 1864 -1 and 4 from Mahurangi (the channel near Warkworth) relate to the building of the church at Mahurangi. The people have collected £30 and say that the Bishop can supplement it with £30. Pomare advises that the name of the land will be Te Mauri o Tarariki. The Mission has agreed that land may be permanently retained for church.

Rawiri Te Wanui (Ngati Raukawa) was a catechist at Otaki from about 1850. He was deaconed by Bishop Hadfield on 22 September 1872 and stationed at Otaki under the supervision of McWilliam in 1872. He was priested on 28 October 1877.³²

In letter 1867-4 Te Wanui is the Church of England school teacher who wrote to the Bishop sending him a letter to be translated and sent to the Queen of England. Reference to these letters is on page 31.

Riwai Te Ahu (Te Ati Awa) was converted through Mataatua, and as a catechist was stationed at Waikanae in 1841. He trained at St John's College, Auckland in 1855, and was deaconed by Bishop Selwyn around 1856. He was stationed at Otaki in 1859 and died on 8 October 1866.³³ Riwai Te Ahu is not an author of a letter but is mentioned in the letters (1862-8).

Letters from individual people

Wiremu Hoete (William Jowett) wrote five letters to the Bishop over a span of 30 years, from 1842 to 1872.³⁴ Three of the letters related to the cutting of wood for building, fences or firewood, planting potatoes and asking the Bishop to visit. Misc-11 advises that fences which the Bishop commissioned are ready and waiting on the shore for the Bishop's ship to sail.

In letter 1842-2 Wiremu Hoete writes from Walton stating that the rooms of his house are not quite finished but he invites the Bishop to come to visit his people at Waitemata, but to let him know when he will be coming.

The above letter relates to the following entry in the Bishop's journal from 1842. On July 16, the Bishop went in one of *Tomatin's* boats to Putiki, in the island of Waiheke, to the house of a most valuable native chief, Wirimu Howeti (William Jowett). He has just built a house divided into rooms, one for dining, one for sleeping, one for cooking and one for a study. From his study he wrote the Bishop a very polite invitation which led to the Bishop's visit. Mr Maunsell, of the Church Missionary Society, accompanied him. The entry describes the service held on Sunday and the teaching of classes to "fine tall men, chiefly in English clothes, reading the New testament, verse by verse, with great accuracy: and afterwards repeating a whole chapter by heart without missing many words. William Jowett himself has the natural good breeding of a true gentleman" (Selwyn, 1847, Letter III:38, 39).

Lady Martin describes William Jowett as being their great friend, a huge tall man, whose people followed him into Christianity as soon as he had been baptised. She said Jowett and his relations were very hospitable and kindly people and great favourites with the townspeople. They had all made themselves learn to read and write (Martin, Lady, 1970:17).

Letter 1872-1 is written after the Bishop leaves New Zealand. Wiremu Hoete writes to the Bishop pledging his devotion to him and his wife and seeking his guidance and forgiveness as a sinner, as he is an ill man and may not live.

William Hau

William Jowett and William Hau were first pupils of St John's College in 1843 and Sarah Selwyn refers to them as "the most civilized of our natives" (Davidson, 1993: 35).

Letter 1845-1 is from William Hau in Kororareka to the Bishop regarding Heke and the mischief he is creating amongst his people and turning them against the Governor. Heke threatens to raise the flag and says his mischief will only cease if he is given a ship. Hau reports on an argument with Heke and suggests that Heke pray for peace and the restoration of his people from their sins.

The above letter is dated 15 January 1845. On 8 July 1844 Hone Heke, the Ngapuhi chief, instigated the cutting down of the flagstaff at the European settlement at Kororareka. He believed that the British flag being flown on any territory was a sign that the land belonged to the British Queen and that the Maori people would become slaves. Government Fitzroy sent in troops to restore and protect the flagstaff, but on 9 January 1845, Hone Heke and his warriors surprised the troops and cut the flagstaff down again. Kororareka was evacuated and was looted and burned by Heke and his warriors. Fortunately, the chapels and the missionaries' houses were left untouched (Buick, 1926:61ff; Limbrick, 1983:84).

³¹ Mission and Moko, The CMS in New Zealand from 1814-1882, Biographical Index p216 (Glen, 1992).

³² Mission and Moko Biographical Index, p 219 (Glen, 1992).

³³ Mission and Moko, Biographical index p 217, (Glen, 1992).

³⁴ The Turanga Journals state that *Reverend* William Jowett was the clerical secretary of the CMS (Porter, 1974:162n).

In 1844 Mrs Selwyn writes in her reminiscences that the Bishop went up with the chief and teacher at the Waimate, William Hau, to mediate between the two “warring” tribes of Ngapuhi. She says “both sides were very civil to the Bishop and came to listen on Sundays. Wi-Hau greatly enjoyed himself in the outing saying, ‘The War will end when all the food has been eaten’. Mrs Hau brought her husband’s letters to read to me and to hear mine – from mine” (Selwyn, 1961:26)

William Hau writes to the Bishop again from Waimate (1846-4) saying that he and his wife and children would like to come and visit the Bishop and his family “on a sailing ship without oars”.

K. Roihi Te Rangipuaoho’s letters from the Chatham Islands

In letter 1863-6 Te Rangipuaoho writes to the Bishop advising of the drowning of Mr Wallace (Te Warihi) on 23 August. He advises that his three sisters and brother have also passed away and expresses his own grief and of all the people on the island.

Letter 1864-2 expresses the concern that the Bishop will never return to the people on the Chathams. Te Rangipuaoho sends his condolences on the death of Mr Wallace [the Minister?]. The people have collected £70 for a minister. The author wants to come to see the Bishop and do his bidding and acknowledges the Bishop’s letter in reply to his own.

In letter 1865-11 Te Rangipuaoho still wants to visit the Bishop before returning to the Chathams. He has asked Captain Thomas³⁵ to allow him to go, but the Captain has said he must find a replacement while he is gone.

Letter 1845-14 is from Wharekauri in the Chatham Islands, Wiremu Tamehana Karewa writes to the Bishop to come and see the people and see how the settlement is getting on. Karewa asks for a bell if the Bishop himself is not able to come soon. He has received the Bishop’s letter and asks him to come and see them.

Wiremu Keepa from Waipapa

Letters 1865-4, 5, & 6 were all written in June 1865 from Wiremu Keepa relate to their wish to return to their land at Maramarua but they are afraid of the soldiers stationed at Tuahu and Maiapu and Te Kawa. They seek the authority and protection of the Bishop for their safe passage. They also want some potato tubers to plant as the soldiers have eaten all their potatoes and pigs. Tiemi Make³⁶ is the government’s representative to whom Wiremu Keepa has also written and asked for a leader and some tubers.

Ahipene (Aihepene) Kaihau³⁷ was a Ngati Te Ata chief who also had tribal affiliations with Ngati Urupikia, Ngati Kahukoka and Ngati Tipa. Aihepene Kaihau was superintendent of police for the King movement runanga in 1858, and between 1862 and 1880 was a Native Department assessor at Waiuku.

Letter 1863-3 concerns the assets of the settlement of Ihumatao the destruction of the canoe, Taiaroa, and the fear of the people in being able to return to their land. He asks the Bishop’s advice.

Letter 1863-8 seeks the comfort and guidance of the Bishop for the people who are in despair for their wellbeing and their lives. The parents are not caring for the children as Kiripuai³⁸ would have done. He feels the people have no way to turn and asks the Bishop for help.

Ahipene was strongly against his people taking part in the war but desired to live and die on friendly terms with the Pakeha. He was a rangatira but his relatives were engaged in a life and death struggle. It is recorded in a biography of Maunsell, that one night every Maori village from Maioro to Orua was evacuated, only a few aged men and women remaining. The people left quietly and inoffensively and stole away into the forest. Few of Ahipene’s people survived who returned to settle at Waipipi under Henare Kukutai, Ahipene’s son (Wily & Maunsell, 1938:146).

Himona Te Mataku

Letters 1853-5, 1855-2 and 1865-8 are written by Himiona Te Mataku. In the first one he is ill and writing of his fear for his health and whether he will live. He understands spirituality but not the workings of the body. In the second letter he has regained his health but refers to Rota’s letter to Rawiri concerning Ani Patene being a wife for Te Koro. In the third letter, Hori and Himiona are coming on the *Tawera*.

³⁵ Captain Thomas is the Resident Magistrate of Chatham Islands from 1863.

³⁶ Tiemi Make may possibly be referring to J.S.Macnamara who was a messenger for the native land court, appointed late in 1865. However in June 1865 he was office keeper for the land court. James Mackay (Native Land Commissioner) [Researcher’s notes].

³⁷ Father of Henare Kaihau in Dictionary of New Zealand Biography

³⁸ Kiripuai – a chief of ancient times who was exceedingly benevolent and kind hearted. He wept over those who met untimely deaths or were killed in war. His descendants are proverbially called, “The sacred, the priceless red feathers of Kiripuai.” (Tregear, 1891:150). [Researcher’s notes].

Renata Te Kawepo³⁹ is a Ngati Te Upokoiri and Ngati Kahungunu leader and missionary. As a young man Kawepo witnessed the longstanding disputes between the tribes of Heretaunga. The people of Ngati Te Upokoiri were defeated at the battle of Te Whiti-o-Tu and took refuge in Taupo and occupied the island in Te Roto a Tara. They were again defeated there and taken by Nga Puhī as captives to Nukutaurua on the Mahia Peninsula where they stayed for more than 10 years. Te Kawepo retained his chiefly rank among his people.

About 1837 he was taken to the Bay of Islands and lived at Waimate for some years where he was converted to Christianity and baptised Renata (Leonard). In 1842 and 1843 Kawepo is said to have accompanied Bishop Selwyn on his first visitation tour of the North Island. In 1844 Kawepo accompanied missionary William Colenso to Hawke's Bay and from 1845 was the Maori teacher, travelling and teaching in the Patea, Tarawera, Tangioi, Te Hawera and the Manawatu and Wairarapa areas. On his missionary journeys Kawepo successfully persuaded many of his people to return to Heretaunga, some settling with him at Pokonao, upriver from the mission station at Waitangi, south of Ahuriri (Napier). During 1849 his relationship with Colenso deteriorated and finally broke in January 1850.

Te Kawepo was involved in land sales and disputes over the next 15-20 years and was greatly respected by European administrators and his opinions were often quoted, as he sought the facts and his judgments were fair to both sides. His open-mindedness, honesty and intelligence received praise but he did not take the government's stance. He sympathised with Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake of Te Ati Awa and the King movement due to the mistrust of the government with regard to Maori title. He helped establish industry and the school at Omaha in 1867 and was closely involved in the Te Aute Trust and established the Church of St John at Omaha.

Letters 1847-12, 13 and 14 written from Hawke's Bay, state that the people of this area insist that they go inland to Patangata. The area has suffered consistent flooding over three years and the water is contaminated by the salt water. The people want Colenso to move to Patangata because of the flooding.

Sir George Grey and the Waikato Wars

By the end of 1858, New Zealand was no longer the wild uncultivated country over which Bishop Selwyn had travelled on foot or around whose coasts he had sailed in his little craft. It was rapidly becoming peopled with English immigrants, Maori were proving their fitness for Holy Orders and the Church was firmly taking root (Tucker, 1879, II, 78.79).

Peace was tolerably well kept between the two races during the first period of Sir George Grey's governorship. He was a man in sympathy with native character and much interested in their history and language and he also co-operated with the Bishop and missionaries in all matters that related to the welfare of Maori. In 1853 his term of office ended and with his departure New Zealand became possessed of an independent and representative government. Sir George Grey had been not merely the Governor, he had been the protector and friend of the natives, now they found themselves under a government in which they were not represented, and bound by laws in the enacting of which they had no voice.

The Treaty of Waitangi of 1840 had never been fulfilled by the government and the responsibilities of sovereignty had never been observed. No adequate steps had been taken to educate Maori in the affairs of ordinary social life, or for the exercise of political rights. The Bishop found little sympathy among the missionaries, and still less from the colonists, in his efforts to provide industrial training for Maori (ibid, 159, 160).

Sir George Grey returned to New Zealand in September 1861 to resume his Governorship. Maori regarded Grey as a man of resolution and power but mistrusted the troops at Auckland. The Waikato people kept silence and waited for the governor to make the first move. He met the chiefs face to face and proclaimed a policy of justice to both races but thought the King movement was a mistake.

The Governor built a road at Hunua as a means of transporting the troops and at the end of the road he built the Queen's Redoubt. The Governor was preparing for war and the Bishop was labouring for peace under extreme difficulties. The Bishop's unpopularity was at its height. The colonists bitterly resented the Bishop's advocacy of native rights and was unsympathetic with those who were unacquainted with the language and feelings of Maori. He was received with groans when he arrived on the beach in Taranaki and challenged the English mob to look him in the face and tell him their grievances—which they did and he managed to win some of the people over. He travelled through Ngati Ruanui talking with the natives and hearing their views (ibid, 175).

The Bishop did all in his power to promote peace and claimed that the rights of the New Zealanders as British subjects should be regarded as identical with those of the English and that the rights of Maori to the soil of New Zealand should be fully recognised. His conscientious advocacy of the rights of his fellow citizens was denounced as a political interference and he was told that he had no right to interfere between Her Majesty's government and her native subjects.

³⁹ Biographical details, Dictionary of New Zealand Biography

Sir George Grey although he was preparing for war was as anxious as the Bishop that peace should be restored. In 1861 he published a proclamation in Maori which was widely circulated amongst the natives for the establishment and promotion of peace between the races.

Mrs Selwyn writes of the New Zealand wars and the attitudes of English and the Maori people.

Open war in New Zealand was beginning to make itself felt. The desire and impatience of the English to possess land, the ignorance on both sides of each others' feelings and customs in the matter, the mischief made by ignorant or unprincipled men prevailed at the outset. As time went on, things grew worse, the English judged the Maoris by their own standard, and the only recently converted natives, not having had so many centuries of Christianity and growing civilisation, naturally – under the impression that they were not justly dealt with, reverted to their former habits, which were, no doubt, in some cases, barbarous. So they did evil things, very evil, - then the English retaliated in their way and so it went on and the public feeling ran very high. The Bishop had much obloquy thrown on him. He could not justify the doings of the natives, still less, the justice or wisdom of the line taken against the Maoris, and he could not class them all together, the well-affected and disaffected alike. Neither did Sir William Martin and those who well understood the native character. We were all highly unpopular, though it was only George who had real as well as abusive stones thrown at him (Selwyn, 1961:63).

The missionaries felt themselves not to be safe as there were increasing numbers of armed natives gathering round their King. Schools were broken up and congregations dispersed, so they left their stations to the Maori clergy, who would be safe, and who remained faithful to their trusts throughout (ibid:70).

With 10,000 troops invading Waikato the Bishop did what he believed to be his duty and joined the army as chaplain and at the same time protected the Native Teachers and their flocks. He lived in camp, pitching his own tent with skill which was the envy of the soldiers, he was dry while the soldiers were soaked (Tucker, 1879, II:186,187).

Mrs Selwyn describes how compact and efficient the Bishop's travelling equipment had become on his journeys in later years. The Bishop provided the pattern for the little tents and the officers used to find them far better fitted to keep out rain than the Regulation tent which they got wet in. His, which they used in after days to congregate in, had a natty little apse at either end, which held personal effects. The indispensable waterproof sheet stretched under the dry fern with a blanket folded into three lengths and sewn at the sides was the bed (Selwyn, 1961:69).

The story is related of the Bishop while serving with the troops was heading towards the swamp and the Colonel was returning to his quarters in the evening. He called to the Bishop asking him where he was going. The Bishop replied that he was going to look for the wounded to which the Colonel replied that there were many good natives in the swamp to look after them. The Bishop replied that he didn't know that and tramped on towards the swamp. The officer could not let the Bishop go alone so accompanied him to the scene of the action. The Bishop led the way and called out in Maori, Any wounded man here? And was replied to with rifle fire. He went into the other part where the firing was hottest and called Any wounded man here? To which came the reply, '*Tenei ahau*'. They made their way towards the man picked him up and carried him off the field. They had several miles to go before they could reach the Redoubt and get his wound attended to. As they were going they met two soldiers making their way towards camp and got them to take turns occasionally in carrying the man, while the colonel and the Bishop carried the men's rifles. Some natives saw the Bishop carrying a rifle and spread a report that he had fought against them. This poisoned their minds against him for two years or more. At last on the occasion of a great meeting of natives some speaker denounced the Bishop as one of their foes, when up got the wounded Maori and told his people the true story; and then all their bitterness and hostility turned to admiration and gratitude. Tucker comments that all the Bishop did for both races during that disastrous period of the New Zealand wars will probably never be known (Tucker, 1879, II:191). The Bishop spent the years 1863 and 1864 with the military.

Letters to Queen of England from Ngati Raukawa of Otaki

Three letters under 1867-5 which were similarly written were sent to the Bishop for translation by him and to be sent to the Queen. The letters plead with the Bishop to be sympathetic of the Maori people in their troubles in appealing to the leaders of England to honour the treaty of their Queen. The signatories to these letters are Parakaia Te Pouepa of Ngati Raukawa; Pumipi Te Kaka of Ngati Raukawa and Ngati Kahoro; Hare Hemi Taharape of Te Mateawa and Ngati Raukawa; and Rawiri Te Wanui the Church of England School Teacher for Otaki.

Letters and testimonies as to Bishop's courage and character

Bishop George Selwyn acquired in his own lifetime the sort of mana of which myths are made. His reputation was that of a dynamic and rugged individualist, able to command respect, adulation and personal loyalty, but seldom praised for his ability to attract and lead a capable team.

Selwyn's main legacy to New Zealand was a fully fledged colonial Church organized as an ecclesiastical Province and self governing in its polity. It was a remarkable achievement in which his sense of order and gifts of organisation did not fail him.

He was a man of action and was often at his best when he laid aside his theological principles and simply did what he believed to be right. His pragmatic approach to the faith was refreshing in a time of theological extremism (Limbrick, 1983: 20).

The Bishop was criticised by the colonists for spending so much time away at sea and at a distance from his diocese proper and people did not hesitate to criticise his doings whatever they were. During the first ten years of his episcopate the Bishop was most unpopular in Wellington, though later on there was no place where he was more highly esteemed. It did not bother the Bishop whether he was popular or not.

Landing late in the evening in a little dinghy he heard two men on the beach talking about his schooner and one of them asked "What's that schooner that has come in this evening?" to which the other replied "Oh that old fool the Bishop's. Just then the dinghy grounded on the shore and rubbing his hands and chuckling, the Bishop jumped out of the boat saying, Yes, and here's the old fool himself" (Tucker, 1879, 1:281).

Rev. S. Blackburne who was the head of St John's in 1859 testified as to the character of the Bishop, his work both in New Zealand and Lichfield.

Bishop Selwyn I always regard as the greatest man this age has produced. A king every inch of him he would rule by a look, but stoop to perform the most menial office without the slightest loss of dignity. What I most admired in him was his keen sense of duty and his grand simplicity of character.

Soon after we had cast anchor in Auckland harbour the captain told me that the Bishop was pulling off to the ship. As he came on board all were struck with his appearance and showed great respect. He spoke in such a kind and fatherly way to all. He had arranged a month beforehand to devote the day of our arrival to welcoming us, and settling us at the college. One instance of simplicity he soon gave us. I was busy with boxes etc getting them ready for the boat when the Bishop came up and said, are these yours? And he took a large box in each hand and carried it to the gangway, much to our astonishment and that of the captain, crew and passengers. He looked grand when he was doing porter's work.

Bishop Selwyn had a love of work, and great power of endurance. I have heard of his taking eight services in one day. When 10,000 soldiers were landed in New Zealand with only one chaplain (and he a Roman Catholic), the Bishop felt that it was his duty to provide for them; so he constituted himself chaplain, started a number of services and held Bible Classes with the men. The soldiers were enthusiastic about him. He knew exactly how to adapt his language to them. It was amusing to hear the officers speak of him. They not only admired him as a Bishop but they discovered in him great power for taking in the details of military life. They used to say that it was a shame that he was not a general. They all agreed that he would have made a first-rate admiral. He was good all round. He would have taken the lead in any profession.

Those who have seen much of the Bishop must have been struck with his wonderful acquaintance with Holy Scripture and the aptness of the portions which he chose for special occasions. When the Bishop read a lesson, he did not read it, he spoke it, he knew it off by heart (Tucker, 1879, II:79-82).

The Bishop of Quebec in 1878 praised Bishop Selwyn as a person of gracious charm and influence. At a missionary meeting in New York which he attended, the Bishop held his magnificent audience under the spell of his oratory and clarity of thought. He was a great man, great in feeling, great in intellect, great in will, and great throughout (Tucker, 1879, II:231).

Limbrick writes that George Augustus Selwyn was remarkable man of his times. His passing at Lichfield was noted in glowing obituaries in England and the United States, Australia and New Zealand, in the secular press, Church reviews and in dissenting journals. As Bishop of New Zealand from 1841 his forceful ministry and dominating personality influenced and impressed thousands (Limbrick 1983:12).

The Maori people of Waimate and the Bay of Islands were unable to come to Auckland for the farewell service to the Bishop at St Paul's Church in Auckland in October, 1868, but sent the Rev Matiu Taupaki, to deliver their address. They sent their greetings to the Bishop and "Mother" Bishop declaring their affection and grief at not seeing the Bishop again. The people would be with him in spirit and would see him in "the assembly of the saints we shall see each other face to face one fold under one shepherd". The general Maori address said that the Maori people of this island would love and remember the Bishop always (Tucker, 1879, II:266).

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