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Geoff Park (2006)

‘The Enchanter’s Wand’: The Transformation of Whenua in pre-1840 Bay of Islands

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The document which follows is a draft that was produced for TOWRU by Dr Geoff Park as part of the unit’s contribution to a research programme, Te Paeatatu, supported by the Marsden Fund. The document was researched and written to provide archives-based background information for Te Paeatatu researchers based in Northland and elsewhere. Dr Park intended to do further work on the drafts, after they had been circulated, discussed and examined in relationship to other evidence (archival and non-archival, oral and written) on the subject of ecological history in the rohe of Ngati Hine. This intention remained unfulfilled on Dr Park’s premature death in 2009.

I spoke with Dr Park shortly before he died, and he expressed a wish that eventually the texts should be presented publicly in some form for consideration and debate. Since then, there have been enquiries about his work on ecological history in Northland in general, and specifically that on land transformation in pre-1840 Bay of Islands. Accordingly, the Treaty Research Series editorial team decided to consider ‘The Enchanter’s Wand’ for online publication. It concluded that the draft was of sufficient significance and quality to be released, essentially with only the lightest of editorial intervention. The editing has focused on clear errors of typing and fact, and some slight alteration in the thrust of the arguments therein to take into account Dr Park’s subsequent thoughts as conveyed to TOWRU.

Te Paeatatu’s administration kindly authorised publication, while stressing – along with the editorial board for the Treaty Research Series – that this is very much a draft that remains unfinished (as one result, the footnotes are perfunctory and indicative; Dr Park was intending to later complete the footnoting through consulting his extensive notes). Despite this, we hope that readers will find it an interesting and thought-provoking text. It should be borne in mind that Dr Park’s brief was to explore specific types of pakeha-generated documents, and that his conclusions are necessarily influenced by that. Our primary intention in publishing this paper is that it will stimulate further discussion, and hopefully this will include the consideration of evidence from other sources. Needless to say the views expressed in ‘The Enchanter’s Wand’ are Dr Park’s alone, and not those of TOWRU, Te Paeatatu or members of the editorial board. Finally, the board and Te Paeatatu would like to thank the Marsden Fund for its generous support of Dr Park’s research.

Richard Hill,
TOWRU, June 2013.

‘The Enchanter’s Wand’: The Transformation of Whenua in pre-1840 Bay of Islands

Part I: Kupu whakataki

After having passed over so many miles of uninhabited useless country, the sudden appearance of an English farmhouse, and its well-dressed fields, placed there as if by an enchanter’s wand, was exceedingly pleasant ...

All this is very surprising, when it is considered that five years ago nothing but the fern flourished here. Moreover, native workmanship, taught by the missionaries, has effected this change: - the lesson of the missionary is the enchanter’s wand.¹

With the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in the Bay of Islands in 1840, and settlement by Europeans, inhabitable lowland New Zealand was rapidly transformed from a Maori whenua of fernland and village gardens amid forest and swamp into a prevalingly agricultural landscape, becoming the most British of all the lands that Europeans colonised between the 16th and 20th centuries.

The transformation did not commence with the Treaty of Waitangi however. It had four precursors, all of them in the preceding half-century, and all of them being initiated in the Bay of Islands. Firstly, the earliest European visitors to the Bay, recognising New Zealand’s landscapes’ great potential for agriculture, introduced ‘better’ plants and pigs that greatly impressed Maori. Secondly, Maori discovered that by using new species, they could trade with the growing number of Europeans, not least for the firearms with which they dramatically transformed their own political landscape. Thirdly, the missionaries to whom they granted entree to the Bay of Islands in 1814, introduced the idea that agriculture would lead Maori to civilization and God. Fourthly when missionaries combined this prospect with their own need for agricultural products, they established a farming estate, undertaking a succession of land purchases to acquire the most fertile of Bay of Islands whenua.

By 1835, Bay of Islands Maori were telling the naturalist Charles Darwin that the children of the pakeha, not theirs, would inherit the land. Visiting the Church Missionary Society (CMS) farm at Waimate in the middle of the missionaries’ land purchasing, he described the landscape’s rapid change from fernland to farm as though an enchanter’s wand had been swept over it.

Waimate is the place where Darwin was most descriptive of the New Zealand landscape and the dramatic changes he experienced it undergoing in 1835. By the time he wrote his famous book, *The Origin of Species*, in the late 1850s, New Zealand had been settled by British colonists for almost two decades, and he was well aware of the biotic and landscape changes the country was undergoing. But it was what he had seen with his own eyes at Waimate, five years before the Treaty of Waitangi was signed, that led him to write of New Zealand as he did to illustrate his theory of ‘natural selection’ as the means by which species originated:

¹ Charles Darwin, commenting on Waimate, December, 1835: see his *Journal of Researches*, 1839.

From the extraordinary manner in which European productions have recently spread over New Zealand, and have seized on places which have previously been occupied by the indigenes, we must believe that if all the animals and plants were set free in New Zealand, a multitude of British forms would in the course of time become thoroughly naturalised there, and would exterminate many of the natives....Under this point of view, the productions of Great Britain stand much higher in the scale than those of New Zealand.²

In Darwin's book, the 'endemic productions of New Zealand' were 'perfect one compared with another'. But they were otherwise 'not perfect'³, 'rapidly yielding before the advancing legions of plants and animals introduced from Europe'.⁴ The situation he saw, and so admired, at Waimate in 1835 was, he believed, a microcosm of this.

Darwin's enthusiasm for what he saw at Waimate could be explained in part by the fact that what had been metaphorically conjured up by an enchanter's wand was what, by Christmas 1835, he was missing most: the English countryside. His captain, Robert FitzRoy, too, saw it the same, even if it were only twenty acres amidst a countryside of fern. 'After so long an absence from every similar sight...the sudden appearance of three English houses, surrounded by outhouses, gardens, and cultivated fields, was striking and beautiful; I looked at it as a fragment of Old England, small indeed, but apparently genuine'.⁵ Even in the early 1840s, when the missionaries' agricultural dream had faded, Bishop Selwyn could still exclaim on arrival how Waimate's great charm was 'its English appearance'.⁶

It was a view of Waimate commonly expressed in those years when its oak and orchard trees, its gorse hedges, neat pastures, cottages and church stood out from the rest of the landscape. It attests to the degree to which Waimate did appear as a striking transformation from the fern-covered country from which it had been created. And to any locals looking on, it represented what their whenua could so quickly become once Europeans took hold of it. But it was no happenstance. Indeed, when Waimate's 'very rich land...well adapted for cultivation' was first envisioned as a missionary agricultural station, when the Rev. Samuel Marsden tried to obtain it for this purpose from Hongi Hika in 1823, it was with the object of making 'Kiddee Kiddee and Wymattee like England'.⁷

Darwin himself said it was more than just the English appearance of Waimate that impressed him. Its metaphor was in the mill where 'a New Zealander may be seen powdered white with flour, like his brother miller in England'. When Darwin looked at 'this whole scene', he thought it admirable:

² Darwin, *Journal of Researches*.

³ 'Not perfect' is the term that Darwin used in the index of *The Origin of Species*, 1859.

⁴ Darwin, *Origin of Species*, p. 163

⁵ Robert FitzRoy, *Narrative of the Surveying Voyages of His Majesty's Ships Adventure and Beagle Between the Years 1826 and 1836*, Vol II, 1839, p. 601.

⁶ Cited in Enid A Evans, 'Reminiscences by Mrs Selwyn, 1809-1867', 1961, typescript in Auckland War Memorial Museum Library.

⁷ Samuel Marsden, cited in Fergus Clunie, *Historic Bay of Islands*, 1998, p.11.

It was not that England was vividly brought before my mind; yet as the evening drew to a close, the domestic sounds, the fields of corn, the distant country with its trees now appearing like pasture land, all might well be mistaken for such. Nor was it the triumphant feeling at seeing what Englishmen could effect: but a thing of far more consequence; the object for which this labour had been bestowed, the moral effect on the native inhabitant of New Zealand.⁸

The surprise to Darwin's sensibilities that antipodean summer day at Waimate in 1835 echoes through *The Origin of Species*; the sheer speed of the ecological transformation from native fern to English farm, evidence as profound as Galapagos finches. And to Darwin's mind, as evidence of progress. New Zealand, he considered, 'the wonderful progress of which has interested me greatly', was 'a country destined, as I believe, to be in the future the Great Britain of the Southern Hemisphere'.⁹

Charles Darwin's 1835 observations of Waimate whenua are chosen as the theme around which the narrative of this paper is developed, because Darwin is one of few writers about the Bay of Islands in the pre-Treaty period who described landscape change *per se*; a major figure in the ecological history of the European colonisation of the Southern Hemisphere; and a huge influence on the ideology of settler governance through the late 19th century when the great constitutional losses of Maori land took place. Darwin is a most debatable figure viewed from the indigenous cultural perspective, but as an accomplished observer and recorder of nature and life in the landscape and the period of history of this study, he is a most valuable one.

To Darwin, Waimate was 'the one bright spot' in a country for whose native landscape and people he had little regard.¹⁰ 'If the state in the Fuegians [ie. the now-extinct native people of Tierra del Fuego] should be fixed on as zero in the scale of governments', he wrote in his journal on leaving the Bay of Islands, 'I am afraid that New Zealand would rank but a few degrees higher, while Tahiti, even as when first discovered, would occupy a respectable position'.

Central to this was the landscape he saw transformed, as though by an enchanter's wand, at Waimate. He saw it first from the deck of the *Beagle*, as the 'smooth outline' of the hills rolling inland while the ship waited becalmed at the mouth of the Bay of Islands. But what appeared from the bay to be 'coarse pasture' was, 'in truth, nothing but fern'; the result, he quickly learned, of the fern having been, until less than a decade earlier, the staple food of the people of the bay.

Ashore Darwin attempted to go walking to see the lie and life of the land, but it proved impracticable in country whose 'hills are all thickly covered by tall fern', so little of it cleared or cultivated. A few days later, with the help of James Busby, the British Resident, he was taken to Waimate by Maori guides, via the Waitangi River. The path, one of the old trails linking the inland cultivations and the sea-coast, led through undulating hills, the whole – other than the trees fringing the river – 'uniformly clothed as before with fern'.

⁸ *Charles Darwin's Beagle Diary*, edited by R.D.Keynes, Cambridge, 1988, p. 389.

⁹ Charles Darwin, letter to Thomas Hocken, Feb 21, 1881, Hocken Library: F & J-Vol.05, No. 119.

¹⁰ Darwin, *Journal of Researches*.

Darwin recognised the fern, *aruhe* (*Pteridium aquilinum*), as kin to the bracken fern that grew on the poor, over-grazed soils of the commons he knew from his hunting youth in southern England. It was this, perhaps, that caused him to say ‘the sight of so much fern impresses the mind with an idea of useless sterility’, and to talk of ‘useless country’.¹¹

After seeing the missionary agricultural evidence that the country was far from useless, he changed his mind: ‘whenever the fern grows thick & breast high, the land by tillage becomes productive’. As the artist Augustus Earle observed in 1827, a herd of fat cattle ‘having nothing else but this fern to eat...gave as good milk, and were in as healthy a condition, as when they grazed on the rich grasses on Lincolnshire’.¹²

The Waimate fernlands were of such huge extent because of the significance of fern root in the Maori diet prior to the arrival of European crop plants. ‘The roots of the fern with which the whole country abounds’, Darwin wrote, ‘if not very palatable, contain much nutriment’.¹³ Moreover, the soils which, in the Waimate district, were committed to growing fern – the friable clays, and clay and silt loams of volcanic origin – were some of the best soils in the Bay of Islands district.¹⁴ As such, the Waimate area was an important cultivation area for kumara, and later, potatoes, as well as a major fern-root production area.

As Darwin observed: ‘Nature had designed the country for forest land...; ‘all this extensive open country was once covered by forests...it had been cleared in ages past by the aid of fire...The natives had an evident motive in thus clearing the country, for in such parts, the fern, formerly so staple an article of food, best flourishes’.¹⁵

Darwin found the absence of grasses throughout the Waimate fernlands remarkable, and deduced from it that they had been forest not long before. The palaeo-historical evidence, from swamps near Pouerua and Puketona, is that a sudden rapid clearance of inland forest began about AD 1400, following initial forest clearance on the Bay of Islands coast at least 400 years prior.¹⁶

Early European explorers sometimes misjudged fern root’s role, describing it as a seasonal stop-gap while sweet potato crops were growing, or as rations for people under stress of warfare, or as a miserable substitute for starchy crops in regions unsuited to Maori gardening.¹⁷ But fern root was the preferred choice for the many groups such as those inhabiting the Waimate area prior to European settlement, whose seasonal fishing and fowling activities, and dispersed gardens, required regular movement within their

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Augustus Earle, *A Narrative of a Nine Months’ Residence in New Zealand in 1827, 1832.*

¹³ Darwin, *Journal of Researches.*

¹⁴ C F Sutherland, J E Cox, N H Taylor, A C S Wright, *Soil Map of Whangaroa–Kaikohe Area* (Sheets P04/05), North Island, New Zealand. New Zealand Land Inventory, NZMS 290, 1980.

¹⁵ Darwin, *Journal of Researches.*

¹⁶ Pamela Chester, ‘Forest Clearance in the Bay of Islands’, M Sc thesis, University of Auckland, 1986.

¹⁷ H M Leach, ‘European perceptions of the roles of bracken rhizomes (*Pteridium esculentum* (Forst.f.) Cockayne) in traditional Maori diet’, *New Zealand Journal of Archaeology* 22 (2000), pp. 31-43.

tribal territories. Fern root was light when dried, and provided it was kept dry, lasted months, or even years compared with the heavy and bulky tubers of sweet potato or corms of taro, both of which were difficult to store and transport.

What Darwin observed of ‘the extraordinary manner in which European productions had recently seized on New Zealand places’ in the small scale of Waimate was observed in the large scale too. Ngati Hao chief Tamati Waka Nene reminded his fellow chiefs of it at Waitangi in 1840, just before the treaty was signed; how their whenua had become ‘*all covered with...strangers, foreigners – even as the grass and the herbage – over whom we have no power?*’¹⁸

One aspect of this, of which anyone who lived in the Bay of Islands through the 1830s was aware, was what the CMS missionary at Waimate, Richard Davis, called worriedly (in 1839) ‘the diminution and destruction of the Native Tribes’. Davis could ‘only ascribe it to the hand of a merciful yet an allwise God’. But there was no question that ‘the inundation of Emigrants, and the manner in which land had been purchased’, were factors. Under such circumstances, he said (explaining why he, a missionary, had brought so much of some of the best Bay of Islands’ land), ‘the only chance which appeared for them was that we should buy some tracts of country on which they may live’.¹⁹

Two years before, the British Government, or at least its officer on the ground in New Zealand, had set out ‘the diminution and destruction of the Native Tribes’ as an issue in the process leading up to the Treaty of Waitangi. Twenty years before Darwin articulated it in *The Origin of Species* as natural selection, the British Resident at the Bay of Islands reported on ‘the rude justice of nature’ with which the depopulation of the country been going on, ‘till district after district has become void of its inhabitants, and the population is, even now, but a remnant of what it was in the memory of some European residents’.²⁰

If he was rightly informed, wrote James Busby:

the whole coast line....including the noble harbour of the Bay of Islands, and extending as far as Wangaroa, forty miles northward of the bay, has, with trivial exceptions, passed from the possession of the natives into that of British subjects....Most of the forests of the interior have changed their ownership; and on the western-coast an extensive territory is also claimed by British subjects’.²¹

¹⁸ William Colenso, in ‘Memoranda of the arrival of Lieut. Govr Hobson in New Zealand; and of the subsequent assembling of the Native Chiefs at Waitangi; the residence of James Busby Esq on Wednesday Feby 5 1840, for the purpose of meeting His Excellency [Holograph, Alexander Turnbull Library: MS papers 1611; later published in 1890 as *The Authentic and Genuine History of the Treaty of Waitangi*, and cited as such hereafter]

¹⁹ Richard Davis to Rev William Jowett, May 25, 1838; and letter to Rev D Coates, Church Missionary Society, London, February 8, 1840, ‘Letters & Journals 1824–1863’, MSS PC–0066, Hocken Library, Dunedin.

²⁰ James Busby to Colonial Secretary, New South Wales, June 1837, published in *Great Britain Parliamentary Papers* [GBPP], ‘Colonies, New Zealand’, Vol 3, Sessions 1835–42.

²¹ *Ibid.*

Speaking to Bay of Islands rangatira on his arrival in New Zealand in 1833, Busby expressed the prospect of the changes that were soon so impressing Darwin at Waimate: ‘when wars shall cease among you, then shall your country flourish. Instead of the roots of the fern, you shall eat bread, because the land will be tilled’.²²

The following year, Busby, while fully aware of the ‘vastness of the change that has taken place’, was telling the Governor of New South Wales that ‘of the natives I have the strongest hopes’.²³ But by 1837, as the momentum built towards the Treaty of Waitangi, Busby was saying that Maori of the Bay of Islands believed ‘the God of the English is removing the Aboriginal inhabitants to make room for them; and it appears that this impression has produced amongst them a very general recklessness and indifference to life’.²⁴

It was this sense of a landscape in rapid transformation that would be total unless some mechanism was in place to protect Maori whenua, which James Busby took to the task of drafting the Second Article of the Treaty of Waitangi.²⁵ It was almost too late for Bay of Islands’ whenua, even as early as 1837, but if anything of New Zealand was to survive the changes that the Bay of Islands was undergoing:

...certain districts should be fixed in perpetuity in the native proprietors, and...it should be enacted that all claims to the possession of such lands by foreigners, howsoever acquired, should be absolutely null and void...

Only months later, Darwin’s master on the *Beagle*, less ill-disposed towards Bay of Islands Maori than his gentleman naturalist, was putting the same prospect to the British House of Lords Select Committee inquiry into ‘the state of New Zealand’. Robert FitzRoy had actually been instrumental in promoting the inquiry, on his return from the *Beagle*’s voyage. He too had seen Waimate during his week at the Bay of Islands in December 1835. But where Charles Darwin was impressed by the sudden appearance of an English farm among the fern, FitzRoy had admired the brisk passage of canoes up and down the Taumarere part of the Kawakawa River, loaded with firewood, vegetables, and pigs for trade’. Concerned that the way in which Bay of Islands land was being acquired by Europeans might soon make it no longer possible, and the prospect of British governance bringing about a ‘System of Colonization...that could prevent the Access of the Natives to the Seas and the Bays’, he sought to address the Select Committee on the need for ‘Reservation of Land for the Natives’.²⁶

‘The Natives’, he told the Select Committee, ‘live almost entirely upon the Sea Coast...the part of which is immediately around the Harbours, which is also the Part

²² James Busby, ‘Address to the Chiefs of New Zealand’ [in English & Maori], May 17, 1833, in Appendix II of Wm Marshall, *A Personal Narrative of Two Visits to New Zealand, in His Majesty’s Ship Alligator, A D 1834*, 1836.

²³ James Busby to Governor Arthur, from Bay of Islands, August 16, 1833, in qMS-0352, Alexander Turnbull Library.

²⁴ Busby to Colonial Secretary, NSW, June 1837, GBPP.

²⁵ This is set out in the paper *Spars, of the largest dimension, easy to procure, close to the water’s edge* [follows in this series – eds].

²⁶ Robert FitzRoy, evidence of May 21, 1838, in *Report from Select Committee of House of Lords appointed to inquire into the Present State of the Islands of New Zealand, and the Expediency of Regulating the Settlement of British Subjects Therein*, GBPP.

which will be of most Use to Settlers'. It might be difficult therefore, said FitzRoy, 'to preserve Land for the Natives which would be of real Value to them'.

FitzRoy's explanation was that 'in all other Countries where the Natives have been displaced from the Coast they have had wild Animals or something to subsist on in the Interior'. But in the Bay of Islands:

...the Natives cannot...retreat inland; if they are driven from the Sea Coast their Subsistence is taken away from them entirely; they have no Means of providing for themselves in the Interior, as has been the Case in all Continents which have been colonized.

Asked why they had 'no Means of providing for themselves by the Occupation and Cultivation of Land in the Interior', FitzRoy said that 'as yet they have not learned to cultivate the Land sufficiently: some of them have cultivated Potatoes since they have had them from Europeans...But their chief Subsistence is derived from Fish; and, as they have no wild Animals in the Country, they would have no Means of Subsistence if driven inland, except the Fern Root, which is found throughout the Islands.'

The Select Committee wanted to know whether British Resident Busby's 1837 Report on New Zealand was 'an exaggerated or true Statement of the Condition of the Country?' FitzRoy answered that 'the general Opinion when I was there was that the Population was decreasing very fast'. He went on to say that 'the Natives themselves said so, adding that 'their common Expression was (in their own Language), the Land is not for us; the Land is for the White Men.

When the Select Committee on New Zealand reported on its inquiry, the uncontrolled purchasing of land, including by missionaries, was a major concern. Under such a system, it concluded, 'it was hardly to be expected that any portion of the land purchased would be reserved for the use of the natives. It will accordingly be found that some tribes have been induced to alienate in one sale the whole of their lands; a proceeding by which the difficulty of civilizing and preserving that interesting race is materially decreased...' It concluded that:

Your Committee are of opinion that a plan of reserves...would be attended with the most beneficial effects to the native race in New Zealand, and affords the best prospect of securing to them the benefits of civilization.²⁷

Waimate whenua was not alienated in one sale. But as Charles Darwin conveyed with amazement in 1835, where he saw a farm that could have been in England, 'five years ago nothing but the fern flourished here'. It had been alienated very quickly, and no less quickly ploughed and planted.

One of first rangatira to sell Waimate whenua in 1830, and one of the more repeating sellers, was one of the rangatira who spoke most vehemently to William Hobson when he met with the northern chiefs at Waitangi on February 5th 1840. 'This country is ours', exclaimed Rewa, 'but the land is gone':

²⁷ *Report from the Select Committee on New Zealand*, House of Commons, 1840: in GBPP 'Colonies New Zealand', Vol 1, Sessions 1837-40.

Let my lands be returned to me which have been taken by the missionaries – by Davis and by Clark, and by who and besides...I have no lands now – only a name, only a name. Foreigners come; they know Mr Rewa, – but this is all I have left – a name!...What? this land to become like Port Jackson and all other lands seen [or found] by the English? No, no!²⁸

Along with the words of Te Kemara, the tohunga of the ariki Kawiti, who famously told Hobson how his land was ‘gone – gone – *all* gone, – the inheritances of my ancestors, fathers, relatives, all gone, stolen – gone – with the Missionaries’, Rewa’s words to Hobson are some of the very few records we have of how the chiefs at Waitangi in February 1840 felt about what had been happening to their whenua. And we only have them because of missionary printer William Colenso’s ‘deeming them to be...of a colonial, if not a national, importance, especially in days to come’ and recording them ‘on the spot while fresh in memory’.²⁹

Te Kemara and Rewa’s ability to speak about land and the missionaries as they did obviously had something to do with their belief that the land they had sold was, in their minds, still theirs, and that the missionaries had made it too much of their own. Robert FitzRoy referred to the prospect in his evidence to the 1838 House of Lords Select Committee’s inquiry into New Zealand, by which time he had been to Waimate and seen the dramatic changes that the missionaries’ agricultural imperative had made to acres that five years prior had been fernland.

The chiefs of the Bay of Islands, said FitzRoy, viewed their land-selling as ‘a Sort of conditional Sale’, such as ‘[w]e sell them to you to hold as long as we shall permit you’.³⁰

‘*What would become of a Tribe who had disposed of all their Territory?*’, the Select Committee asked. FitzRoy’s answer was very much shaped by what he had discerned at Waimate in 1835:

They must remain upon the Territory; I see no other Course. Large Purchases have been made by the Church Missionary Society for Farms, and the Natives have been allowed to remain upon them; that Transfer has not interfered with their Right of Common.

‘*You are not aware whether Members of the Church Missionary Society consider that the Sovereign Authority still rests with the Tribe of which they purchased their Land?*’

I know that they do so consider.

‘*The Church Missionaries consider that they hold their Lands purchased on Sufferance?*’

‘Yes’.

²⁸ Colenso, *Authentic and Genuine History*.

²⁹ Colenso, in preface to *Authentic and Genuine History*.

³⁰ FitzRoy evidence of May 21, 1838, *Report from Select Committee of House of Lords*.

'From which you believe them to contemplate the Possibility of their being taken away?'

Decidedly; and I apprehend they consider that they hold their Property entirely at the Mercy of the Natives; that their Tenure in that Country depends solely on the Goodwill of the Natives.

'Do you conceive at the Time that the Purchase is made there is not an Understanding between the Missionaries and the New Zealanders, that the Land is entirely given up for a positive Consideration?'

The Use of the Land is certainly; but as the Missionaries have never wholly taken away Ground from the Natives, but always allowed them the Run of the Land, the Right to Common as it were, I do not think they at all apprehend at present, that a Day will come when they will not be allowed to go about the Land as they have hitherto done; they consider it their Country while it is not transferred from them to the Sovereignty of another Power.

'Are you aware that the Missionary Society in all their Arrangements speak of the Land as a Possession in Perpetuity, and that they recommend to the Missionaries to purchase such Quantities of Land as a Provision for their Children?'

Yes, I am quite aware of that; what I have meant is that they have a Right to hold that Land, or to make any Use of it for their own Benefit; and that they may act as they please upon the Land as long as they acknowledge the New Zealand Chiefs as the Authorities under whom they hold it.

It was this belief that enabled the Ngai Tawake rangatira Rewa to speak as he did at Waitangi on February 5th 1840: 'Let my lands be returned to me which have been taken by the missionaries – by Davis and by Clarke, and by who and besides.

Some 170 chiefs traded their Waimate whenua between 1830 and 1840, the very great majority of it to the missionaries Richard Davis and George Clark and their children.³¹ Along with his brothers Warerahi and Moka, Rewa was one of the principal sellers.³² They moved to Kororareka and Paroa in 1830 at the same time they and other chiefs made the initial sale to the CMS missionaries. But the famous 1831 petition of the Chiefs of New Zealand to King William, while headed by Warerahi as 'Chief of Paroa', identifies Rewa as still being 'Chief of Waimate'.

Rewa's right to sell land was an indication of his status. Of the principal Bay of Islands chiefs in the 1830s, he is one of the most frequently and favourably mentioned by the missionary leader, Henry Williams.³³ He held and sold land at Kerikeri, Kororareka and Paroa as well as at Waimate. Rewa's name is on seven of the 87 Waimate deeds, the last of them in 1837. Only his brother chief, Warerahi, made more sales in the Waimate district in the pre-Treaty period.

³¹ The precise number is difficult to determine because of different spellings of chiefs' names in the land deeds; see the Appendix to Part II of this paper.

³² The details of the Waimate land transactions are set out in the Appendix to Part II of this paper.

³³ Ormond Wilson, *Kororareka & Other Essays*, 1990, p. 95.

By 1839, before he exclaimed to William Hobson that his land had gone to the missionaries and he had none left, he was apologising to the visiting Rev J D Lang for not offering him the customary present: he was ‘a poor man now. I have sold all my land’. As a result, said Lang, Rewa, by the time of the Treaty, was residing among the anarchic crews of whalers in Kororareka, while his daughter was living with the master of one of them.³⁴

This historical landscape of northern New Zealand has been described as a crucible of ecological and cultural change of a depth and rapidity ‘perhaps unparalleled anywhere on the Earth’.³⁵ In the process, between James Cook’s first visit in 1769 and Te Tiriti’s signing in 1840, whenua and the customary systems that were part of it were transformed by incoming western influences.

Of the changes to the whenua and customary systems that occurred in pre-1840 Bay of Islands, two of the most profound were the loss of timber from the forests in the vicinity of the tide to the spar trade, and the establishment of agriculture with its accompanying portmanteau of competitive, alien species.

A parallel paper (*Spars, of the largest dimension, easy to procure, close to the water’s edge*) deals with changes in forests and timber. The present paper examines the establishment of agriculture, which it sees as background to the formulation of the Second Article of the Treaty of Waitangi – guaranteeing to rangatira, as it did, ‘full, exclusive and undisturbed possession of their Lands and Estates, Forests, Fisheries and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess’.

New Zealand contains many ‘transformation landscapes’ in which the indigenous vegetation has been completely eliminated in favour of the introduced species of agriculture; as though (to repeat Charles Darwin’s phrase) an enchanter’s wand had been swept over the land. Waimate, where Darwin used the analogy, was the first place where it happened.

Tamati Waka Nene, also a seller of Waimate whenua to the CMS missionaries, is said to have turned the tide, from rejection to acceptance of the Treaty of Waitangi, at the February 5th 1840 debate between the northern chiefs and William Hobson. Before telling Hobson to stay, and that he ‘must preserve our customs, and never let our land to be wrested from us’, he asked his fellow rangatira: ‘Is not the land already gone? Is it not covered, all covered with men, with strangers, foreigners – even as the grass and the herbage – over whom we have no power?’³⁶

The rangatira’s fear at what was being lost of their whenua had already been dramatically conveyed to Hobson by the Taiamai chief Tareha, and like Rewa, whose words he reiterated, a seller of Waimate acres to the missionaries. In perhaps the most graphic opposition to British governance he thrust a waka paddle and a twist of fern root at Hobson to signify the customary landscape for which he was so apprehensive.

³⁴ Rev J D Lang, *New Zealand in 1839*, 1839.

³⁵ Alfred Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism*, Cambridge, 1986.

³⁶ Reported by Colenso in *Authentic and Genuine History*.

No place represented the situation better than Waimate where 10 years of English farming had ploughed up the hundreds of acres of *aruhe* fern they acquired from Tareha, Rewa and some 170 other chiefs, removing their landscape of fern root forever and replacing it with wheat and pasture.

Waka Nene's words became immortalised in the wake of the treaty, and the root of the Darwinist settler belief of 'the passing of the Maori' that prevailed through the nineteenth century. The anthropologist Raymond Firth wrote in the 1920s of 'the oft-quoted saying, *'As the pakeha rat drove out the Maori rat, as the introduced grasses drown out the Maori fern, so will the Maori die out before the white man'*, as having its origins in Maori themselves thinking in such terms³⁷; the belief that, as Busby told the Colonial Secretary in 1837, 'the god of the English was removing [Bay of Islands Maori] in order to make way for the newcomers'.³⁸

Firth described the situation as being 'admirably explained by Elsdon Best – whereby they believed that by forsaking the ancient system of *tapu* and adopting the ways of the white man, they had degraded the sacred vital principle of their race and were therefore bound to lose their hold on life'.³⁹

The missionary Richard Davis commented on such matters in 1832, soon after the transformation of Waimate began, and the chapel he had just built was being crowded by converts wanting baptism:

At this time the influence of the Gospel is extending fast over the minds of many of the natives which are not converted, and there seems to be an appearance of a division amongst them, viz. those who hold to their old customs plead for them, but it is such evident that even this party think their cause a weak one, while the other party unite themselves with those few who fear the Lord and endeavour to walk in his ways and think little or nothing of their old customs. Superstition is evidently losing ground and dying away and even some of the old superstitious Chiefs say that they consider their *tapu's* [sic] will be quite [extinct] in the next generation.⁴⁰

Two years later, he wrote of the 'poor diminishing natives' of the Bay of Islands; that 'there are not more than two thirds of the natives in this part of the Island that were to be found here two years ago!!!'.⁴¹

³⁷ Ferdinand von Hochstetter, it would seem, first wrote it, in his 1867 book *New Zealand*. Walter Buller was one who repeatedly quoted it through the late 19th century as evidence of 'Darwinism', and H Guthrie-Smith and Te Rangihiroa (Peter Buck) cited it in the 1920s as a jaded, discredited belief.

³⁸ Busby to Colonial Secretary, NSW, June 1837, GBPP.

³⁹ Raymond Firth, *Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori*, London, 1929, p.467.

⁴⁰ Davis to Coates, Nov 10, 1832, 'Letters & Journals 1824–1863', Hocken Library.

⁴¹ Davis to Coates, Nov 11, 1834, 'Letters & Journals 1824–1863', Hocken Library.

The poet-historian Kendrick Smithyman has expressed the change in our times in his poem *Ngarara*:

Older people carried sadness like a kit
 too heavy for them. They felt like strangers
 on their own lands. There, those who were turning away
 from gods who'd served pretty well,
 new sicknesses old fashioned healers could
 not cope with, too many wars
 where too many suffered. Only look around,
 pakeha didn't do too badly no matter how
 they broke tapu. It wasn't worth kicking –
 the youngsters could have the country
 if they wanted it, they could fit it up pakeha style
 and welcome to it. Hill after hill,
 winds blew over, but tall trees dried, and died.

Even the rats, now, anyone could tell
 kiore were going under, ship rats were taking over.
 And swamp hens, pukeko, since pakeha started planting
 how many more of them!
 If kids wanted to like swamp hens, good luck to them.
 While it lasted, but it didn't really matter.
 Some coughed, some sweated.
 The bad lizard ngarara was eating away their guts.⁴²

As Smithyman's bad lizard appellation and his references to tall trees drying and dying, kiore going under, and inedible pukeko increasing in parallel with pakeha numbers allude, it was ultimately an *ecological, ecosystemic* change; a change in the *nature* of things, a human situation but one, to 'older people', beyond their human ability to control or rectify.

Writing a century ago, from oral recollections like William Colenso's 'authentic and genuine' observations of events at Waitangi on 5-6th February, 1840, Lindsay Buick observed that 'the thing which proved the determining influence in the negotiations – more than the inducements offered by the Crown, or the persuasions of the Missionaries – was that the chiefs had acquired a clear grip of the primal fact that, whatever it took from them, the treaty left them in secure possession of their lands'.⁴³ This was undoubtedly a consequence of the alterations to the Treaty that were made when William Hobson met with the former British Resident, James Busby, and the missionary leader, the Rev Henry Williams in the days prior. Informing the alterations were the dramatic changes that the customary Māori resource base in northern New Zealand was undergoing, and the imminent prospect of further loss.⁴⁴ Without these, it has been

⁴² Kendrick Smithyman, *Atua Wera*, 1998.

⁴³ Lindsay Buick, *The Treaty of Waitangi*, 1916, p. 228.

⁴⁴ Judith Binney, 'The Maori and the Signing of the Treaty of Waitangi', in Department of Internal Affairs, *Towards 2000: Seven Leading Historians Examine Significant Aspects of New Zealand History*, 1990, pp. 25-26.

suggested, the northern chiefs who first signed the Treaty of Waitangi would never have done so.⁴⁵

If we look at the matters of whenua and land to which rangatira spoke when William Hobson met with them on February 5th 1840 to debate the proposed treaty, we see two primary issues:

- The charges laid by Te Kemara the Ngati Rahiri rangatira and tohunga of Kawiti, of Ngati Hine, and the Ngai Tawake rangatira Rewa, that their land was ‘all gone, stolen, gone with the missionaries’.
- The Ngati Hao chief Tamati Waka Nene’s description of the great transformation their whenua had undergone since Europeans had entered it, the irreversibility of the changes it had wrought, and the fact that if it was to have been stopped, it should have been when it began, ‘in the old times’.⁴⁶

Although to Waka Nene ‘the old times’ were when ‘the traders and grog-sellers came’, the historical evidence suggests that the transformation of the whenua of the northern harbours that he described actually began earlier with the first European explorers’ introductions of the plants and animals of agriculture in the late 18th century. Indeed, Waka Nene allowed this fact in his asking the chiefs ‘whose potatoes do we eat?’ In this sense, the chiefs’ korero about whenua, collectively, convey a trajectory from these first seeds of agriculture to the transformation of Waimate that Darwin compared to the work of an enchanter’s wand.

This paper tracks a trajectory leading up to the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in four chronological components.

The first component concerns the evidence of the initial introduction of European agricultural biota beginning in the 1760s and Maori responses to these species’ presence in their whenua. The second concerns the recognition by Bay of Islands’ Maori between the late 18th century and the 1820s of the value of breeding and cultivating the new biota in order to have a resource that could be traded with pakeha for muskets and other commodities. The third is the missionary introduction of the plough and the use of agriculture as a means of converting Maori to Christianity in the wake of the musket taua of the 1820s and early 30s.

The fourth component concerns the sales of land to missionaries from the early 1830s to the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 in which Bay of Islands Maori were dispossessed of their best agricultural acres. This, the major part of the paper, is interpreted on the basis that the selling of Waimate whenua, and the processes its landscape underwent in the 1830-1840 period, made Waimate central to the loss of whenua of which the rangatira Te Kemara, Rewa and Tareha spoke at Waitangi on February 5th 1840, and the whole transformation of the Maori world of which Tamati Waka Nene spoke.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Reported by Colenso, *Authentic and Genuine History*.

The first three components are summary in form and are built principally from secondary evidence. They serve mainly to indicate when and how the processes that led to the situation with respect to whenua and land at the signing of the treaty developed. The issue of missionary land purchasing is more substantial. It focuses on the Waimate area and examines primary evidence of two kinds: the land sale deeds identifying the chiefs selling land and the missionary buyers; and the missionary record about the period, notably the correspondence of Richard Davis, the principle purchaser of Waimate whenua. An analysis of the Waimate land deeds is included as an appendix to Part Two.

Part II: Waimate and the beginning of the agricultural transformation of the New Zealand landscape

1. ‘New plants...sowed everywhere’, 1769–1803

...the explorers, like so many visitors later, were convinced that random sowing of Old World seed could only benefit botanically depauperate New Zealand, and they sowed with abandon...

The new weeds and crops ... impressed the Maori, an insular people unused to the idea of “new” plants – probably impressed them even more than the Europeans, a nascently industrial people, were attuned to notice.⁴⁷

‘Whose potatoes do we eat?’, the Ngati Hao chief Tamati Waka Nene asked his fellow rangatira at Waitangi on the wake of their signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, just before telling William Hobson to stay and be Governor but to never let their land be wrested from them. He asked it to illustrate the huge transformation that the whenua had undergone since Europeans first entered it, and that they themselves were part of its being ‘all covered with men, with strangers, foreigners – even as the grass and the herbage – over whom we have no power’.⁴⁸

In 1835, Charles Darwin observed how ‘the introduction of the potato had been of the most essential benefit to the island; it is now much more used than any native vegetable’.⁴⁹ It was potatoes, more than any other crop, that revealed the ‘very rich land ... well adapted for cultivation’ which, in 1830, missionaries began acquiring at Waimate. When Hongi Hika had taken the Rev Samuel Marsden inland to his cultivations in 1814, ‘I have never’, said Marsden, ‘seen better potatoes under the best culture’.⁵⁰

2. Cultivating the new biota for trade with the pakeha, 1803–1814

Starting around the Bay of Islands, the Maori planted hundreds of fields of alien crops to pay the pakeha for arms and other manufactured items, tearing breaches in the native ecosystem, opening the way to foreign plant aggressors.⁵¹

It is possible that James Cook left potatoes in the Bay of Islands in 1769, as he did in Queen Charlotte Sound, for potatoes were in or amongst the domesticated plants that Marion du Fresne’s men left in their island garden or planted, as they said, everywhere they went. But there is no definite European record of potatoes in the Bay of Islands until 1803 when those aboard the whaler *Alexander* reported having ‘procured seven or eight tons [three tonnes] of very fine Potatoes’ there. Four months later, the *Lady Nelson*

⁴⁷ Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism*.

⁴⁸ Reported by Colenso in *Authentic and Genuine History*.

⁴⁹ Darwin, *Journal of Researches*.

⁵⁰ Samuel Marsden, ‘Observations on the Introduction of the Gospel into the South Sea Islands: Being my First Visit to New Zealand in December, 1814’, *Missionary Register*, Sept. 1815; see Robert NcNab, ed., *Historical Records of New Zealand*, 1908, pp. 367-368.

⁵¹ Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism*

from Sydney was greeted in the Bay of Islands by canoes loaded with potatoes and other vegetables. The potato growers' chief also displayed a pig with which he was very pleased, one of a pair that he had received earlier in the year from the *Alexander's* Captain Rhodes.

The introductions of both potatoes and pigs into the Bay of Islands are believed to have been as result of the Governor of Norfolk Island and then New South Wales, Phillip Gidley King, learning that both were absent from the northern New Zealand harbours with which trade was developing. The initial introductions, of which only the potatoes survived, were most likely at Doubtless Bay in 1793 when a couple of young Maori men, kidnapped in 1783 to teach Norfolk Island convicts flax manufacture, were returned home.

Norfolk Island was the source of a succession of consignments of 30 boars and 26 sows in 1804-05, along with two she-goats. It was the descendants of these pigs that within a decade were causing cultivations to be fenced from their depredations.

By 1805, European visitors to the Bay of Islands were noticing the huge effort that local chiefs were putting into potato cultivation, and how – although it had become a favourite food among the people themselves – most stocks were being preserved as barter for iron. As the only crop being traded to Europeans, it was the only one being cultivated. Cabbages, spread either from stock that Cook gave Bay of Islands Maori or from the gardens Marion du Fresne established in 1772, were so common they appeared to be an indigenous plant, but there was no apparent trade in them.

Whether the wild cabbages descended from English or French munificence, there is no doubt from both Maori testimony and expeditionary journals that the French were the active dispersers of the 'new' plants. Several new plants (cow-itch and garlic among them) suddenly appeared after the French left. When Dumont D'Urville visited the Bay of Islands in 1827, he was told 'emphatically' that it was to Marion that Maori of the Bay of Islands 'owe the pigs, onions, Swedes, cabbages, and turnips that they possess today'.⁵²

No account of this first phase of Europeanisation better expresses the deliberateness and effort with which new biota were introduced than that of Marion's lieutenant, Julien Crozet: in the garden on Moturua he sowed the seeds of 'all sorts of vegetables, stones and pips of our fruits, wheat, millet, maize, and in fact every variety of grain which I had brought from the Cape of Good Hope; everything succeeded admirably'. Wherever he went, he 'planted stones and pips...in the plains, in the glens, on the slopes, and even on the mountains; I also sowed everywhere a few of the different varieties of grain, and most of the officers did the same.'⁵³

⁵² Olive Wright, *The Voyage of the Astrolabe - 1840*, 1955, p. 198.

⁵³ Quoted by W R B Oliver, 'Presidential Address', *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute*, 82, 1955 p. 829.

3. Axes for acres, 1815–1830.

*For twelve axes, the missionaries bought two hundred acres of land, the beginning of the considerable land holdings of the church in Māori country, later to become a source of trouble. During the next quarter century, other missionary stations were founded, but none were ever as influential as those in the vicinity of the Bay of Islands, which the missionaries...made the most important Neo-European centre in the entire country.*⁵⁴

Missionary eyes first saw Waimate in 1814, when soon after the establishment of the first mission station at Rangihoua, the chief Hongi Hika took the Rev Samuel Marsden inland to visit one of his villages, 'a place called 'Waimate' where the village alluded to was built'. Marsden saw a land that:

...in general was free from timber, and could easily have been plowed. It appeared to me to be good strong wheat land, and was then covered with fern. For the next six miles the land seemed of various qualities, some of it exceedingly good...⁵⁵

'The whole of this tract of country, taken collectively', Marsden wrote, 'would form a very good agricultural settlement. It is watered by several fine streams, and it is skirted in various places by lofty pine trees and other timber'. He was struck by how much land he saw 'well adapted for cultivation', comparing the extent of Hongi Hika and his brother's land to some English counties.

One field near Hongi's village was in the order of forty acres: 'all fenced with rails, and upright stakes tied to them to keep out the pigs. The greater part of it was planted with turnips, common and sweet potatoes, which were in high cultivation. They suffer no weeds to grow, but with incredible labour and patience root up everything likely to injure the growing crop'. Marsden was impressed at how the wheat and English flax seeds he had sent Hongi from Port Jackson were growing in the Waimate environment, how the latter were far superior to any he had observed in New South Wales.

But it was evident too, how much more could be cultivated if Hongi's people had metal tools:

Axes, hoes and spades are much wanted. If these could be obtained their country would soon put on a different appearance. No labour of man without iron can clear and subdue uncultivated land to any extent.⁵⁶

From Marsden's first meeting with Bay of Islands Maori, with the rangatira Ruatara who he befriended in 1806 and introduced to European crops, he envisioned introducing new crops and technologies into the Maori economy, the means being a purposeful fusion of agriculture and Christianity. When Marsden first began formulating the idea of a Church Mission Society mission in New Zealand, in 1808, he saw agriculture as the principal agent of 'Civilization'. 'Since nothing in my opinion can pave the way for the Introduction of the Gospel, but Civilization, and that can only be accomplished amongst

⁵⁴ Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism*.

⁵⁵ Marsden, 'Observations on the Introduction of the Gospel', pp. 367-368.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

the Heathens by the Arts', he wrote to his CMS superiors in London, 'I should for this Reason, recommend that three Mechanics be appointed to make the first attempt to...gain their Confidence.'⁵⁷

And through the next three years, Marsden's letters to London were punctuated with references to the value of agricultural introductions and instruction, mainly in regard to Ruatara ('Duaterra'), such as: what would become possible 'after Duaterra has Instituted the Sabbath, and introduced the Cultivation of Wheat, Pease Beans &c &c which he is now fully equal to do.'⁵⁸

The prospect, in the event, was dependent on the instructional relationship between Ruatara and Marsden, and did not survive beyond Ruatara's untimely death early in 1815 soon after the establishment of the CMS's first, Rangihoua, mission. But Marsden continued to believe that the introduction of Christianity to New Zealand would be aided, if not facilitated by, the prior 'civilization' of its heathen natives.

But Marsden's vision of his missionaries promoting agriculture as a prerequisite of the Gospel never really became a reality. While he saw the 'rich soils perfectly adapted for agriculture' at Waimate, the prospect of appointing a mission station on them eluded him until the concluding phases of the musket wars. The first Bay of Islands missions were all located in areas of poor, relatively infertile soils, where agriculture was less a path to the true God than a matter of missionary survival. For most CMS missionaries, barely able to grow the food they needed to live, and, with one or two exceptions, without the muskets that those who could grow it demanded in exchange, agriculture was more a matter of making a living than making Christian converts.

In an attempt to solve it, Marsden sent over a layman from Sydney in 1817 to 'to apply himself wholly to agriculture till the settlement is independent of this colony [New South Wales] for bread', though he quickly returned to Sydney.⁵⁹ But Marsden was also aware that while his missions were ineffectual cultivators, their native hosts were not.

In 1819, to the Church Missionary Society's 'Queries to the Settlers of the Bay of Islands' about the extent to which 'the industry of the natives, the cultivation of the land, and the other comforts of life [have] increased since your residence amongst them?', Marsden reported: 'Their industry and the cultivation of their land have increased in proportion to the means which have been put from time to time into their hands, and have far exceeded our expectations. They have enlarged their fields, as they have procured implements of husbandry, and the comforts of life have increased accordingly.'

'Do they manifest a less thirst for war', asked the CMS, 'and a greater desire to promote agriculture and commerce than formerly?' They were still very fond of war, Marsden replied, 'but manifest a greater desire to promote agriculture. The means how afforded

⁵⁷ Samuel Marsden to Rev Josiah Pratt, April 7, 1808, in *Marsden and the New Zealand Mission: Sixteen Letters*, edited by P Havard-Williams, 1961 [2006 ed.].

⁵⁸ Marsden to Pratt, October, 25, 1810, in *Marsden and the New Zealand Mission*.

⁵⁹ R P Hargreaves, 'Waimate, Pioneer New Zealand Farm', MS-0553, Hocken Library, citing McNab's *Historical Records of New Zealand*, p. 414.

to them to purchase hogs, potatoes, corn, matts, fish, lines etc with axes, hoes, and other European articles has awakened their native industry exceedingly'.⁶⁰

The same year missionary agriculture got its long-awaited break, with Marsden's realising that without the backing and protection of Hongi Hika, and his potential to unite others to his cause, his Church Mission to New Zealand was with prospect of success; thus he shifted its base from Rangihoua to Te Kerikeri.⁶¹ On 4 November 1819, Hongi Hika and Rewa penned the ciphers of their moko facial tattoo on a document transferring to the Church Missionary Society, for four dozen falling axes, 'more or less 13,000 acres of land lying north of Te Kerikeri River'.⁶² Six months before, in early May 1819, the Rev John Butler put the first plough into New Zealand soil, and began creating what might be called its first farm.

Central to Marsden's agricultural vision and the root of the Waimate agricultural settlement was wheat – and Hongi Hika. At Kerikeri in 1823, eight years after Hongi showed him how well the wheat seed he had given him in Sydney had grown in his Waimate gardens, he told Marsden that he wished to turn to agriculture, and asked if he would send him a man to teach his people to plough and to provide him with a team. He would then, he said, make a road to Waimate where he would concentrate his gardens. Marsden promised he would send Hongi 'a good man as a farmer and to give you a plough and a team of bullocks to work your land'. By that date, Marsden was anticipating the arrival of Richard Davis in New Zealand to take charge of the mission's farming activities. Marsden's proposal to Hongi was that he would look after Davis and his family: 'when Mr Davis has taught your people to plough I wish him to appropriate his time in teaching others'.⁶³

As Davis reported it to the CMS in London in 1825, it was 'Mr Marsden's wish that we should have cultivated land at Wai Matti, which is about ten miles in the interior from the Kiddee-Kiddee, but far from doing so, we have been partly prohibited by one of the Chiefs, and altogether by the Committee, on account of the bad behaviour of those people.'⁶⁴

With the eye for land of a successful Dorset tenant farmer, Richard Davis began looking around the Bay of Islands for an alternative location for a mission farm. Kerikeri's soils may have been more productive by far than any at the first, Rangihoua, mission, but Davis did not consider the Kerikeri Mission land. Indeed, he reported to the CMS in London early in 1825. That 'there is no land belonging to the Society that, under present circumstances, is worth cultivating'. Indeed, he said, '[t]here is but little land in the Bay of Islands that is worth cultivating'.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ Samuel Marsden, 'Queries to the Settlers of the Bay of Islands', Nov 5, 1819, cited from Church Missionary Society records in McNab's *Historical Records of New Zealand*, p.440.

⁶¹ Fergus Clunie, 'Kerikeri, The Untold Story', draft research paper for the Kororipo-Kerikeri Basin Sustainable Development Plan, 2005.

⁶² Clunie, 'Kerikeri', p. 35.

⁶³ J R Elder, *Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden*, 1932, pp 166-167.

⁶⁴ Davis to Coates, January 6, 1825, from 'Kiddee Kiddee', 'Letters & Journals 1824-1863', Hocken Library.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

The other prospects for anything like wheat cropping were limited to three localities:

The next place where cultivation might be carried on with a prospect of success is at Tiami, a district belonging to Tāmārāngā who is the principal Chief. And to this plan, under present circumstances, the Committee will by no means sanction our going on account of the war which is likely to burst out between those people, and Shungee's people.

The next place is the Okiāngā, where there is a large missionary [field] and good land, but this being on the other side of the Island the Committee would not sanction me in forming a Settlement there without the concurrence of Mr Marsden.

The next and only places, that I have yet seen, beside is the Kāwā-Kāwā, which is a place about twelve miles up the River above Marsden's Vale. I have been to look at this place twice. But I fear it will not answer the purpose of cultivation as the Lands in the Winter are often flooded, and the high Lands are not worth cultivating. Sir, I have written to Mr Marsden to request his advice as I feel quite uneasy in my mind to account of my not having been able to commence on those operations which I have in view.

Meanwhile, Davis added, 'many of the Chiefs in different parts of the Island have promised to commence clearing of Land in order for seed time, to sow wheat. I have promised to lend them tools to cultivate with, and to give them wheat to sow their Land.'

Marsden had appointed Richard Davis as agricultural instructor to Bay of Islands Maori.⁶⁶ In 1826, in his own reporting to the CMS in London, Marsden told how from the first foundation of the mission, he had:

...always looked upon agriculture...to hold out the best inducement for the Natives to form industrious habits...it appears to me the most desirable that the Europeans should attempt to grow wheat. The natives will never do this until the Europeans set the example...The objects I am now speaking of are essentially necessary for the permanent success of the Gospel amongst the Heathen.⁶⁷

But through the remainder of the 1820s, Marsden's wheaten promise to Hongi was stymied by the refusal of other chiefs in the Ngai Tawake–Ngati Rahiri alliance at Te Waimate to agree to a mission station among them.

This all changed early in 1830, two years after Hongi Hika's death, in the wake of the so-called 'Girls' War' at Kororareka, with a major shift in Bay of Islands tribal power that led Ngai Tawake and Ngati Rehia, at the expense of Ngati Maru, to shift from their Waimate lands to Kororareka. It coincided with a supply crisis for wheat for the Bay of Islands' growing CMS mission community.

⁶⁶ Jack Lee, *The Bay of Islands*, 1983, pp. 146, 153.

⁶⁷ Samuel Marsden, 'Observations on an Extract of a Despatch from the Parent Committee, Sept 30, 1826', in Church Missionary Archives, Reel 30, CN/M6, cited in Jan Harris, 'The Waimate Mission Station: A Research Report for the New Zealand Historic Places Trust', 1984.

By the end of the 1820s, the CMS mission's own wheat-growing had ceased, and wheat was having to be imported in large quantities and at great expense caused by a drought-induced shortage in Australia. Marsden's visit to the Bay of Islands early in 1830, coinciding with Ngai Tawake's and Ngati Rehia's removal to Kororaraka, and the sudden availability of native land that had been denied to the mission, brought the matter to a head.

He had not, Marsden told the Local Committee of the CMS, seen anywhere in New Zealand:

...a more eligible situation for a Missionary Station... The land at Waimate ... is of a good quality for cultivation, and capable of producing fine crops of grain of all kinds, as well as vegetables. In every direction are streams of excellent water, and some of them upon which water mills would be easily erected to grind the grain...⁶⁸

He was, he told a later meeting, 'convinced of its vast importance to the mission'.⁶⁹

4. 'Te kainga Pakeha te Waimate' / The Settlement of Whites called Waimate, and the mania of selling,⁷⁰ 1830–1840.

In 1835, at North Waimate... Charles Darwin found a mission station with fields of barley, wheat, potatoes, and clover, gardens with all kinds of European vegetables, orchards of apples, pears, apricots, and peaches, a barnyard with pigs and poultry, and a substantial water mil, where five years earlier there had been only fern. "The lesson of the missionary" he wrote, "is the enchanter's wand".⁷¹

In August, 1830 the Corresponding Committee of the CMS in Sydney

...cordially approved of the procedure of the Rev S Marsden to get an agricultural settlement formed at Waimate... The importance of providing food for the Mission and Schools, of New Zealand growth, the influence likely to be produced on the natives, as well as from the knowledge as the practice of those employed at the station of agriculture; and the annual saving of expense incurred now in the purchase of flour.⁷²

⁶⁸ 'Minutes of a Quarterly Meeting of Missionaries, March 30 1830', in Church Missionary Archives, Reel 30, CN/M5, cited in Harris, 'Waimate Mission Station'.

⁶⁹ 'Minutes of a Special Meeting of Missionaries, April 8 1830', in Church Missionary Archives, Reel 30, CN/M5, cited in Harris, 'Waimate Mission Station'.

⁷⁰ 'Te kainga Pakeha te Waimate' is an 1834 term for the Waimate Mission Station: see H H Turton, *Maori Deeds of Old Private Land Purchases in New Zealand, from the year 1815 to 1840, with Pre-emptive and other Claims*, p.116. 'The mania of selling' is a term used by the missionary Richard Davis in 1840 to describe the Ngai Tawake and Ngati Rehia chiefs' selling of their Waimate whenua in the 1830s: Davis to Coates, 'Letters & Journals 1824–1863', Hocken Library.

⁷¹ Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism*.

⁷² Recorded by Rev R Hill, Sydney, August 16, 1830, Church Missionary Archives, Reel 30, CN/M5, cited in Harris, 'Waimate Mission Station'.

Early in September, 1830, just before his name appears on behalf of the CMS on the first land deed for Waimate whenua, the Rev William Yate added a factor that the other CMS statements had overlooked: Waimate's being a populous Maori area.⁷³ George Clarke, whose name was soon to appear on dozens of private land purchases at Waimate, told the CMS in London that being 'in the midst of a large body of natives to render them assistance either in a temporal or spiritual point of view [and] the influence which the whole of our proceedings will have upon the inhabitants among whom we may live' were what induced him to 'cheerfully undertake so great a work'.⁷⁴

In the same week, Richard Davis, the mission's agricultural instructor, wrote from Paihia to his London superiors in London, advising that 'we are about to form a New Settlement at Waimate, for Agricultural as well as Missionary work'.⁷⁵ Davis told the Rev D Coates that the Waimate settlement would solve many of the problems that were bedevilling the coastal Bay of Islands missions, not least its timber resource:

...houses must be built and there is a great difficulty in getting timber to build those houses with...There are in this country at present a considerable number of Europeans who completely monopolize the Timber trade in the Bay of Islands, by purchasing the Timber from the Natives with Muskets and Powder, cutting it out, and selling it to the Shipping, [etc]: From those people we are obliged to purchase our timber or go without. If we go into the woods and cut down timber for ourselves, the Natives make us pay very dear for it, which together with the loss of our time for Missionary work, makes the timber thus procured come doubly-dear. The Bay of Islands is but very thinly supplied with timber, this makes the natives very anxious to sell what little Timber they have to the best advantage.

In this, and in other respects, Davis said, the Society's Settlements are very disadvantageously placed in New Zealand, but more particularly as it respects land for Agricultural purposes...Should we be enabled, through divine assistance, to form our mediated Settlement at Waimate, that Settlement will possess all those qualifications necessary to make it useful and valuable both as a Missionary and Agricultural establishment, but it will be attended with a considerable expence to the Society and will be some years before any returns of consequence can be made.

From the time of his arrival in New Zealand to the present hour, said Davis, he had 'never lost sight of an Agricultural establishment'. In the last year he had been particularly anxious about it, and 'deeply impressed with the necessity of making an immediate trial on some of the best lands' ever since the October 1829 meeting of the Local Committee at Kerikeri had discussed 'the necessity of an immediate attention to Agriculture'. He cited its reasons:

- I. From the signs of the times, it is not only possible but probable that the time may not be far distant when our Christian friends in England may not be so well able to keep us as they are now, consequently we should so

⁷³ Rev William Yate, September 3, 1830, in Church Missionary Archives, Reel 30, CN/M6, cited in Harris. 'Waimate Mission Station'.

⁷⁴ George Clarke to CMS, London, Correspondence with Church Missionary Society, 'Letters 1822–1840', Misc-MS-1914, Hocken Library.

⁷⁵ Davis to Coates, Sept 1, 1830, from Paihia, 'Letters & Journals 1824–1863', Hocken Library.

purchase, while we have it in our power, as to be able in some measure, to furnish ourselves with some of the necessaries of life.

- II. Our numbers are increasing, our families becoming large, and some of our children growing up, so that our expenses are increasing, and are already considerable, consequently it appears necessary that we should endeavour to do something in order to lessen the expenses.
- III. If we do not do something to agriculture while we have the means in our power of paying working natives to clear the land, and our resources should fail at home, we shall have no means of support and may be obliged at length to leave the Island and our work, which would not only be wicked in the sight of God, but cowardly in the sight of man, whereas were we to set about doing something by way of Agriculture we may be able to support ourselves in a partial manner and continue to labour in the Lords Vineyard, while the gathering Storm may be disemboing itself over Europe.⁷⁶

The Rev Marsden's visit to the Bay of Islands had resolved the situation, Davis said, and 'the consequence is that I am preparing to move altogether to Waimate'. The times, given that there was so much conflict between Bay of Islands tribes, made him a little apprehensive. But the new agricultural establishment would 'benefit from the apparent influence which our later [promising] exertions to restore peace between the contending Tribes have procured for us over the native mind':

At present the natives are living pretty peaceably, although still very jealous of each other. I fear that more blood will still be shed as some of the Chiefs are in a very unsatisfied state, and should more fighting take place, I think it is more than probable that the Kawakawa party will not only have the greater part of the Hokianga party to join them but also a powerful party from the Thames and the consequence may be that nearly the whole of the powers being drawn together a very bloody and decisive battle may be fought.⁷⁷

The miscellany of plants and animals that Charles Darwin admired at Waimate in 1835 did not originate at Waimate. Virtually all the species had, one way or another, been introduced into the Bay of Islands ecosystem in prior decades. It was at Waimate that they were brought into play with modern agricultural machinery to create a new landscape, one in which the pakeha increasingly felt more at home and the Maori less so.

Commencing in 1830, the Waimate agricultural settlement became perhaps the most dramatic site of the loss of Maori whenua and landscape change in pre-Treaty New Zealand; its rolling acres suddenly transformed from fern to farm, the crucible of what the environmental historian, Alfred Crosby, has called the most important neo-European centre in the entire country.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism*, p. 235.

In the decade immediately preceding the Treaty's signing, Church Missionary Society missionaries acquired some 9000 acres in 87 deeds from some 170 chiefs, among them some of the most influential in the Bay of Islands and the leading speakers in the Treaty signing debate. As a consequence, Waimate became a focus – arguably *the* focus – of rangatira fears for whenua and land at the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi; namely the loss of their whenua, specifically to CMS missionaries, and its irreversible transformation as, as one of them famously said, the 'pakeha's introduced grasses drowned out the Maori fern'.

The Waimate agricultural settlement became a reality at a time that the CMS mission in New Zealand was experiencing acute problems obtaining sufficient wheat supplies, gaining missionary support because it held the prospect of weaning the mission from dependence on others for its food supplies. But the choice of Waimate as a missionary settlement was primarily a consequence of the Rev Samuel Marsden's ideas about the causal link between agriculture and civilisation.

At its root was Marsden's early admiration of the richness of Waimate's soil and the quality of the wheat that Hongi Hika had grown there from the seed Marsden had given him, and his later promise to Hongi to provide him with farming instruction and a plough and team to work his land. But Marsden's creed of civilising then proselytising did not have the full agreement of his missionaries. Henry Williams, in particular, was sceptical that Waimate would ever provide the wheat his mission needed, or that it would lead to a Maori capacity to cultivate and produce it. The farm's subsequent history, he believed, vindicated his judgement, and he was later to recommend, 'that the farming establishment should be set aside thereby relieving the Society of a great burden'.⁷⁹

In the month following the decision of the Sydney Church Missionary Society Committee, the first two of some 86 land deeds exchanging Waimate whenua for European goods were signed by Waimate chiefs and William Yate, on behalf of the CMS. In the first, on 11 September, 1830, the chiefs Rewa, Moka, Taratikitiki, Warerahi, Arahi, Panamahue, Hihi and Rarangi gave up 'for ever all claim right and title in or to' a 735 acre block of land. The payment by the CMS was: 30 blankets, 16 hoes, 10 spades, 10 axes, 6 chisels, 12 knives, 24 scissors, 12 belts, 30lb tobacco, 1,000 fish hooks, 16 plane irons, 50 pipes and 16 iron pots.⁸⁰

In the second, on 7 October, the chiefs Tareha, Titore, Rawiri, Tohu, Kaikohe, Te Nana, Tuki and Tukoi similarly gave up a 300 acre block bounding the Waitangi River at Waimate to the CMS for 80 blankets, 20 rugs, 30 hoes, 45 iron pots, 12 axes, 60 plane irons, 60 scissors, 60 knives, 6 chisels, 80lb tobacco, 30 gallons of oil, 3000 fish hooks, 36 belts, 72 combs, 200 pipes, and 12 soldiers' coats.

⁷⁹ Henry Williams, letters to Church Missionary Society from Paihia, 1838, CMS microfilm records, CN/094(b) reel 60, Alexander Turnbull Library.

⁸⁰ The summarised details of all land transactions at Waimate between 1830 and 1840 are set out in the Appendix.

It was on these first 1035 acres that the initial Waimate agricultural settlement was established. Within a year, six of the chiefs who made the first two sales in 1830 – Rewa, Moka, Kaikohe, Taratikitiki, Arahi, Penamahue, Tohu – had, with Te Tirarau, Puihi, Hone Poti, and Pou, sold five more Waimate blocks, the purchasers being the missionaries George Clarke, Richard Davis, James Hamlin and William Yate, mainly on behalf of the CMS but also, in two instances, on behalf of the missionaries' children. These 1831 sales took a further 700 acres out of Maori title and into missionary hands. For the largest block of 500 acres at Waimate West, the deed specified 'all Timber and Timber trees and all Coppices and Brush wood which shall be found growing'.

The first missionaries to inhabit the newly acquired acres arrived in early 1831, a few months after the initial land purchases. In the first year of the missionary development of Waimate, building construction prevailed and only 2½ acres of wheat were sown and fenced. Part of reason was the demand on the missionaries to be missionaries rather than farmers. The Waimate district was as populous as William Yate had anticipated, and while some of the Chiefs prohibited the missionaries from their villages, many of their people, the younger ones in particular, began coming to Waimate 'to hear the gospel preached'. 'The attention of the Natives to the Christian message gave great encouragement' he wrote. During 1831, he alone baptised nine adults and a child.⁸¹

As Richard Davis wrote in September 1831, reporting to London: 'The influence of the Gospel is considerable but we have as yet done but little to Agriculture on account of the multiplicity of business which we have upon our hands'.⁸²

He expected it would be at least two years 'before much benefit will be received by the mission from our Agricultural pursuits'. In the meantime, before the wheat for which the missionaries' new Waimate acres had been acquired could be sown, the fertile soil beneath the vast expanse of aruhe fern had 'all to be broke up with the Hoe and cleared from roots before we can put a plough into it'.⁸³

It was this slow, laborious work that constituted Charles Darwin's 'enchanter's wand'; the lesson of the missionary, as he called it. First the above-ground fern growth had to be cut with reaping and bean hooks, and cleared of stones and stumps from the forest that had clothed the Waimate country before it. Then the exposed ground, often 'one entire mass of fern root⁸⁴ ...like ropes an inch and a half or two inches thick⁸⁵, for which Maori had maintained so much country in aruhe fern, had to be ploughed twice and harrowed. Choking the plough, the dense fern roots slowed progress to half an acre a day with a four-horse team, and had Richard Davis requesting from London in 1832 an 'extra strong breaking plough of the Scotch improved principle', and a few extra plough shares with it.

⁸¹ William Yate, in *Church Missionary Record*, 1832, p. 209, cited by Patricia Bawden, 'The Mechanic Missionaries', in *Mission Moko*, Robert Glen, ed., 1992, p. 52.

⁸² Davis to Coates, Sept 7, 1831, 'Letters & Journals 1824–1863', Hocken Library.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ Davis to Coates, Nov 2, 1832, 'Letters & Journals 1824–1863', Hocken Library.

⁸⁵ Edward Markham, *New Zealand or Recollections of it*, 1963 ed., p. 37.

An experienced English farmer, he knew what he was asking for and what Waimate's evident fertility would need were it to produce crops other than fern root. During his first year at Waimate, appraising the CMS of his wish to do 'everything in a scientific manner', he asked them to send him 'any new work that may have been published, on agricultural pursuits, or which contain models of Machinery such as Ploughs, Waggon, Carts, Thrashing Machines, Mills etc'.

Whether in fact 'the Missionaries' Farm' at Waimate was on fertile ground was one of the first things the British House of Lords Select Committee wanted to ask Robert FitzRoy when they questioned him on the state of New Zealand as he had seen it in 1835. 'Very fertile indeed', FitzRoy replied, appraising them of 'one very peculiar fact respecting New Zealand, which is, that no one can starve there, because of the Root of the Fern, which grows all over the Island, is eatable, and whenever the Natives are hard pressed for Food they have recourse to it'.

To the Committee's following question, on whether land of such fertility, 'if cultivated, would bear Wheat Crops', FitzRoy said that the wheat he had seen in the Bay of Islands was as fine looking wheat as he had ever seen.⁸⁶

FitzRoy's shipboard naturalist, Charles Darwin, would have us believe that the change from fern to farm in five years – as though by an enchanter's wand – was effected by "native workmanship, taught by the missionaries". But as FitzRoy told the Select Committee, the Farm was cultivated, as it was occupied, by the missionaries.

When questioned on 'the Progress of the Natives in the Cultivation of the Soil', as 'whether as yet they have profited much by the Example of the Missionaries, he said he 'should think not; for they have not the Means'. The land he saw at Waimate was ploughed, 'and as only Two or Three Ploughs had been brought over, the Natives could not have used them; but I saw a Mill which was built by the Natives (of course under the Direction of Whites), and many Works in which they had assisted. I am not aware that they have carried on any Work on their own Account'.⁸⁷

Interestingly, it was the Waimate flour mill, where he said 'a New Zealander may be seen powdered white with flour, like his brother miller in England', that spurred Darwin to say why he found the Waimate mission farm so admirable: its 'moral effect on the native inhabitant of New Zealand'.⁸⁸

Yet when Darwin's captain, Robert FitzRoy, was asked by the House of Lords Select Committee whether in the Neighbourhood of that Farm was there any Cultivation going on by the Natives themselves, he replied: 'None at all; no more than in the Days of Captain Cook...I saw that, but no other Sort of Cultivation.'

The reason lay in the circumstances in which the CMS missionaries were able to acquire Waimate land. When the establishment of mission agricultural station on Waimate's rich soils was first proposed in 1823, the acquisition of the necessary land was, as Richard

⁸⁶ FitzRoy, evidence, May 21, 1838, *Report from Select Committee of House of Lords*.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ Cited in ed. Keynes, *Charles Darwin's Beagle Diary*, p. 389.

Davis wrote at the time, ‘prohibited by one of the Chiefs’, who disagreed with Hongi Hika’s arrangement with Samuel Marsden to bring in missionaries to Waimate to establish wheat cultivation.

But in 1830, events at Kororareka changed things completely. Coinciding with Marsden visiting the Bay of Islands for the first time since a brief 1827 visit, all the principal Ngai Tawake and Ngati Rehia chiefs removed themselves from Waimate to Kororareka. Marsden was a broker in the peace that gave them the coveted trading port at the expense of Ngati Maru; an arrangement that opened up the prospect of Ngai Tawake and Ngati Rehia’s Waimate lands becoming available to his mission farm vision. This was a prospect that Marsden immediately acted on.

As Richard Davis described it, in his 1838 explanation to the CMS in London as to why he and other missionaries had brought land, and so much of it, privately and for their children:

...when we wished to make purchases of land, for our purpose of Agriculture at Waimate, we wished to occupy a certain portion of that District which appeared to be best calculated for our use - but this land the Natives would not sell; although it was lying, for the most part, in an unoccupied state – so that we were obliged to put up with what they choosed to part with – which was the poorest part of this rich District.

However, he added:

...just before our removal hither [to Waimate] the Natives of the Waimate had, with the assistance of their allies, conquered Kororareka, the principal Post in the Bay of Islands. To this place they resorted – and all the leading men of the tribe finally left Waimate and took up their residence on their newly acquired possessions – and finding that place more congenial to them, they set but little value on their inland residence and so became anxious to part with it.

Since that period, Davis said, the Ngai Tawake and Ngati Rehia chiefs had:

...not only been willing but anxious to part with their land, so much so, that we have, in some cases, found a difficulty in keeping them from selling the land necessary for the support of those people whose wish it is to live in our Neighbourhood.⁸⁹

This is perhaps one explanation for the cascade of sales of Waimate whenua that occurred through the 1830s. The evidence of an early, 1832, sale by Rewa, and its reference to ‘a portion of [Rewa’s] cultivation adjoining Tupinia’s and by the side of Moka’s cultivation at the Waimate’⁹⁰, indicates that these chiefs retained cultivations in their name at Waimate after they themselves moved to Kororareka. It is also apparent in Richard Davis’s description of his first purchasing a large land block for his sons,⁹¹ that

⁸⁹ Davis to Jowett, May25, 1838, ‘Letters & Journals 1824–1863’, Hocken Library.

⁹⁰ See Appendix.

⁹¹ This refers to the huge 2000 acre Otutai block that Davis purchased from Te Warerahi and 11 other chiefs on 10 June 1834; see Appendix.

as well as Maori cultivation being active and continuing, so was some degree of conflict between Ngati Rehia and Ngai Tawake:

My object was to procure a spot where I should not interfere with the Native Plantations, and at the same time as contiguous to Waimate as possible. I pitched upon a tract of unoccupied country lying between the Waimate and Taiamai Districts – and of which both parties were owners – so that neither party could personally possess it – as those people have been hostile to each other for many years – and we find at times a difficulty to keep the peace between them.⁹²

The names and signings of the four principal Ngati Rehia and Ngai Tawake chiefs – Tareha and Titore, Rewa and Wharerahi – who had removed to Kororareka, head the lists of the first two land Waimate sales to the CMS missionaries in 1830. It was one of them, presumably, who, on the signing of the deal, is said to have arose and told the people assembled:

Be gentle with the Missionaries, for they are gentle with you: do not steal from them, for they do not steal from you: let them sit in peace upon the ground they have bought; and let us listen to their advice and come to their prayers. Though there are many of us, Missionaries and Native men, let us all be one, all one, all one.⁹³

Ten years later, two of those principal Waimate chiefs, Rewa and Tareha, both by then long domiciled at Kororareka, were among the rangatira who confronted William Hobson at Waitangi on February 5th 1840 on matters of land and sovereignty, and asked him to leave New Zealand. The missionaries had stolen his land, said Rewa, and he wanted it returned. The Ngati Rehia chief, Tareha, Hongi Hika's second cousin, spoke similarly.

If, as is the case, Waimate was the place to which Robert FitzRoy located his observations to the House of Lords Select Committee on the state of land and its cultivation use, we need to consider the likelihood that his observation on rangatiratanga and land-selling also related to Waimate. The chiefs of the Bay of Islands, said FitzRoy, viewed their land-selling as 'a Sort of conditional Sale', such as 'We sell them to you to hold as long as we shall permit you'.⁹⁴ Rewa and Tareha may, on paper, have 'made over' or 'given up for ever' their Waimate acres in exchange for axes, hoes and other European goods, but they considered them to be, in a sovereignty sense, still theirs.

The sudden appearance of the very English farm where 'five years ago nothing but the fern flourished' that so impressed Charles Darwin had taken place on Tareha's whenua. The twist of fern root he thrust in William Hobson's face symbolised the landscape change of which James Busby spoke to Bay of Islands chiefs, probably including himself, on his arrival in the Bay in 1833: 'when wars shall cease among you, then shall your country flourish. Instead of the roots of the fern, you shall eat bread, because the land will be tilled without fear, and its fruits shall be eaten in peace'.⁹⁵ What Tareha and

⁹² Davis to Coates, May 25, 1838, 'Letters & Journals 1824–1863', Hocken Library.

⁹³ Quoted in Bawden, 'The Mechanic Missionaries', p. 52.

⁹⁴ FitzRoy, evidence, May 21, 1838, *Report from Select Committee of House of Lords*.

⁹⁵ Busby, 'Address to the Chiefs of New Zealand', in Marshall, *Personal Narrative*.

Rewa feared was that the land it would need might no longer be theirs. What Waimate represented was the prospect that if Maori survived their whenua's settlement by Europeans, and had any future in the post-fern root world, it would be as farm and flour mill labourers.

In the second year of the Waimate mission, 1832, only two small areas of land were sold; a one acre 'portion of Rewa's cultivation' was 'delivered to Mr [George] Clark and his children, and relatives', and 20 acres of 'a small wood, and all the trees of the said wood' belonging to Tupinia, Wai and Matariki.⁹⁶

The 20 acres were fenced and ten of them ploughed and prepared for crops of wheat, barley, corn, clover and potatoes. But it was primarily a year of establishing crops and a barnyard of farm animals, building houses, a school, and the chapel that by the middle of 1832 was filling for Sunday services and baptisms; all of which was done, said Richard Davis, 'with the assistance of our Natives'.⁹⁷ Every Sunday the missionaries set out across country to Mawhi, Ohaewai and Waitangi to hold services which hundreds regularly attended.

In 1833, Tiro and his wife Te Au sold George Clarke a small area of unstated acreage. Huatahi and others, including the principal chief Titore sold Richard Davis two blocks totalling 140 acres, including a 100 acre timbered block. Cash, a heifer and a Bible were included with the axes, hoes, tobacco, pipes and pots paid in exchange.⁹⁸

Hoping to harvest 180 bushels of wheat from the 9 acres he had broken in from fern, Davis got only 100 bushels, very different from the sixty to eighty bushels an acre that Marsden envisaged in 1830. Davis attributed it to drought and the lack of manure, and the following year asked for a flock of sheep to 'heat the land'.⁹⁹

1834 was the peak year for sales of Waimate whenua by the Ngai Tawake and Ngati Rehia chiefs. Over 90 chiefs sold 21 blocks of land to the missionaries and their heirs, two of which were later transferred to the CMS. Other than Tareha, all the principal Ngai Tawake and Ngati Rehia chiefs who had been among the first sellers to the CMS sold land, as well as Te Kemara of Ngati Rahiri. The majority of sales were to the missionaries as private individuals, principally to George Clark and Richard Davis. One block of 50 acres was sold to James Kemp, and five, totalling 132 acres to James Hamlin, the last deed of which referred to 'all sacred places made noa', and called Waimate 'the Settlement of Whites'.¹⁰⁰

Early in 1835, Richard Davis wrote to the CMS in London thanking them for 'the efficient means you have so kindly supplied us with for dispensing the all-powerful word of God among the heathen', the printing press that late in 1834 had been landed at

⁹⁶ Turton, *Maori Deeds*, pp. 84-85; see also Appendix to this paper.

⁹⁷ From Bawden, 'The Mechanic Missionaries', p. 52.

⁹⁸ Turton, *Maori Deeds*, p. 97.

⁹⁹ Davis, letter of June 20, 1834, Reel 31, CN/M8 CMS Archives.

¹⁰⁰ Turton, *Maori Deeds*, p. 116; see also Appendix to this paper.

Paihia. He advised that the mission's boy's school had recently been moved from Paihia to Waimate on account of 'the continual excitement which is occasioned by the situation of the former place so near the Shipping'.

At Waimate, in contrast, said Davis, 'blessed by God, these natives are living, by far the greater part of them, under the influence of the blessed Gospel. Here they will see Agriculture with all its accompanying avocations systematically carried on which cannot fail to be of lasting benefit to them during their lives as Settlers in this or in any other part of the world.'

By the end of 1834, Davis said, he could 'consider the worst as past – the only apprehension I am under at present, relative to our agricultural proceedings' was that the mission might not be able to find the clothing to pay the tribe who had been clearing the fern and bush off land for the winter ploughing.

There was a lot of land to clear, as during 1834 he and George Clarke between them had bought themselves and their children over 2500 acres, 2000 of them in a single purchase Davis made to set up his teenage sons as catechist farmers, the eldest of who turned 15 that year, and came off the list of mission dependents.

It is possible that the huge acquisitions of 1834 exhausted the missionaries' capacity to purchase, as in 1835 only four blocks were acquired, at Taiamai and Kaihu. None of the principal chiefs were among the sellers, a total of twelve of which sold three blocks to George Clarke and one of 40 acres to Richard Davis.

Charles Darwin wrote that when he visited the Waimate mission at the end of 1835, he 'received in Mr Davies' [sic] house a cordial & pleasant welcome'.¹⁰¹ Davis' letters to the CMS in London make no reference to it. But they do record that 'Capt FitzRoy very kindly pay'd us a visit when he was in the Bay and from him I trust you will get much correct information as to our progress and proceedings'.¹⁰²

Darwin and FitzRoy saw Waimate at its short-lived best, just before the turning point for the agricultural settlement. The large acreage that the missionaries purchased the following year, following the few purchases of 1835, hints at a growing optimism. While Waimate's wheat and flour production was still not on the large scale that Marsden and Davis had envisaged in 1830, Davis felt he had accomplished what he had set out to do: 'a twelve-month supply of flour for the whole mission'. In his farming, Davis said, 'I have exceeded beyond my expectations'.

And like Darwin's great pleasure at what he saw at Waimate, in a country that otherwise disappointed him greatly, Davis's too, was underlain by a rustic Englishness appearing where fern had flourished. 'The busy scene rejoices my heart', he wrote, as the 1835–6 crop harvest got underway:

¹⁰¹ Darwin, *Journal of Researches*.

¹⁰² Davis to Jowett, 'Letters & Journals 1824–1863', Hocken Library.

It is now that we are beginning to reap the fruit of our labours. Many of the native women are gleaning today. This makes our harvest fields appear purely English.¹⁰³

But other harvest fields at Waimate were far from English. As Davis reported that same summer, Maori agriculture had also begun:

The example of European industry and the effects of agricultural skill, are beginning to excite in the natives a desire of emulation.¹⁰⁴

But while Waimate's Maori appeared enthusiastic emulators of its mission farm's teachings, they were becoming increasingly reluctant clearers of its fern, and weeders of its crops. When Charles Darwin and Robert FitzRoy visited Waimate, the availability of Maori labour was beginning to become an acute problem.

Contrary to what FitzRoy told the British House of Lords – that there was no Maori cultivating going on in the neighbourhood of the Waimate mission, no more, nor any different than ‘in the Days of Captain Cook’ – Davis reported the same month as the *Beagle* visitors how the flour mill that Darwin admired was ‘a great source of comfort, and the Natives are beginning to feel the benefit – yesterday Indian Corn was brought 10 Miles to be ground’.

Davis was still convinced ‘our Agricultural Establishment... will be a great blessing for the country’.¹⁰⁵ However the mission's Maori neighbours were proving reluctant recruits to Marsden's and his vision of an agricultural arcadia owned by the mission, but worked by Maori under instruction, learning cropping and pastoral skills to take back to their own acres. The natives would bring their own corn and wheat to the mission's mill, but were increasingly uninterested in facilitating the mission's harvest.

‘Native labour’, Davis wrote in the same letter, ‘is become very scarce’.¹⁰⁶ Earlier in 1835 he had reported on a difficult winter, of ‘various hindrances as I have not been able to procure Natives to clear land for the breaking Plough’. The consequence will be, he said, ‘that we shall not be able to sow so much wheat next season’.¹⁰⁷

Ironically, in teaching Maori to farm and cultivate, the missionaries had increased the Maori desire for the new European crops, but deprived the mission of the cheap labour it needed to grow its own. Many Waimate Maori who had laboured for a pittance for Davis, Clarke and the others took what they learned and observed in order to grow their own crops and sell their surplus to the fast-growing number of settlers and traders at the Bay. Charles Darwin may have admired the ‘improvement’ metaphor of Waimate's flour-whitened Maori millworkers, but as he did, the mission was finding it increasingly difficult to get their labour, and was awaiting a threshing mill to keep the mill supplied with wheat.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³ Richard Davis, journal entry, Feb 9, 1836, cited in Harris, ‘Waimate Mission Station’.

¹⁰⁴ Davis, journal entry, Jan 18, 1836, cited in Harris, ‘Waimate Mission Station’.

¹⁰⁵ Davis to Coates, August 22, 1835, ‘Letters & Journals 1824–1863’, Hocken Library.

¹⁰⁶ Davis to Coates, December 14, 1835, ‘Letters & Journals 1824–1863’, Hocken Library.

¹⁰⁷ Davis to Coates, August 22, 1835, ‘Letters & Journals 1824–1863’, in Hocken Library.

¹⁰⁸ Richard Davis, 1836 journal, cited in Harris, ‘Waimate Mission Station’.

Seven months before Darwin and FitzRoy's 1835 visit, the last hahunga to be held at Waimate took place. Two thousand bushels of cooked potatoes and fifty or sixty pigs were spread in a heap three hundred yards long, with flags at the ends and centre. But as William Williams said, the influence Christianity on some of the chiefs meant the ancient custom was no longer what it had been.

Unlike in former times, no ancestral bones were publicly exhibited, each family dealing with its own. Instead, placards were set up asking the guests not to offer the normal reciprocity of a return feast. The chiefs, Williams recorded, were 'glad to avail themselves of our assistance to get them out of the difficulty'. Rewa, he said 'the principal man on this occasion, has been to us to propose our interference and to request that we will speak to the effect that this feast is to be the last, that no return is to be made for it by the people of Hokianga.'¹⁰⁹

The 1836 Waimate land sales to missionaries totalled some 3200 acres, the largest area of any year in the 1830–1840 period. They comprised eleven Waimate blocks from some 50 chiefs including the principal Ngati Rehia chief Titore, Rewa and Warerahi of Ngai Tawake, Te Nana of Ngati Kuta, and also the principal Hokianga rangatira Nene and Patuone of Ngati Hao, and Taonui of Te Popoto. The sale deeds for 1836 also included a payment to the chief Ruhe for clearing a road through a wood, Waotohe.

Only two of the principal Ngai Tawake chiefs (Rewa and Warerahi) were among some 30 chiefs who sold land to the CMS missionaries in 1837, including Warerahi's selling a waahi tapu, Ahikara, to George Clarke. The chief Paikoraha sold another waahi tapu in the middle of a piece of land that Huarahi had sold to Clarke earlier. The number of 1837 sales was greater than in 1836 (15), but they involved a far smaller acreage (200 acres).

As the missionaries Davis and Clark made their 1837 purchases at Waimate, in London the founder of the New Zealand Association (later Company), Edward Gibbon Wakefield, was formulating its plan for organised settlement of New Zealand and seeking the British Government's endorsement for it. From the moment the Association was founded, in mid-1837, the Church Missionary Society concentrated its activities as a pressure group in opposing its plans. Their trenchant opposition proved a significant factor in the New Zealand Association not getting the British Government support it needed to acquire New Zealand land, but in the process the CMS missionaries' land purchasing at Waimate came under scrutiny.

The episode provides a valuable insight into the circumstances concerning Waimate whenua in the 1830–40 period, including the extent to which the missionaries who purchased land privately from Waimate chiefs believed they were acting in the Maori interest, and to which they considered their actions as retaining land in trust for Maori and preventing it from being sold to settlers. This needs to be seen alongside the principal Waimate chief, Rewa's, condemnation of the Waimate missionaries when addressing William Hobson at Waitangi in February, 1840, specifying two of them, Richard Davis and George Clarke, as having stolen his land.

¹⁰⁹ William Williams, journal, Vol.II, pp.414-415, cited in Wilson, *Kororareka*.

In 1837, both the CMS and the New Zealand Association agreed that the situation in New Zealand was increasingly problematic, and that something needed to be done. The CMS missionaries in the Bay of Islands were extremely worried at the rate at which increasing numbers of people were buying Maori land and settling permanently, and that their Lay Secretary in London, Dandeson Coates, had failed to realise the extent of this irregular colonisation. But they were also unanimously opposed to the New Zealand Association and to organised colonisation, for past experience had shown that European colonisation invariably inflicted grave injuries and injustices upon the indigenous inhabitants. They were apprehensive that the association's colonisation plans would interrupt or even defeat missionary efforts for the religious improvement and civilisation of Maori. But they also believed that Maori lands and Maori sovereignty had to be preserved, and that only intervention by the British Government alone would achieve it.¹¹⁰

In December, 1837, as a consequence of the Church Missionary Society's opposition to his New Zealand Association's plans, Edward Gibbon Wakefield wrote a protesting letter to the Colonial Secretary, Lord Glenelg. He also published and circulated a pamphlet accusing 'the Missionaries and Catechists of the Society in New Zealand' of making extensive purchases of land at the Bay of Islands on their private account.¹¹¹

Wakefield made his claims on the authority of a Mr Flatt who had been formerly connected with the CMS in New Zealand as 'an Agriculturalist'. Among the six missionaries and land purchases that Wakefield identified were several of the Waimate group: Kemp's 'at least 5000 acres', James Davis' 'at least 4000 acres', Shepherd's property which extended 'a distance of more than fifteen miles', and Clarke's 'large tract of land at Waimate'.¹¹²

It was Church Missionary Society policy that when their missionaries' children reached the age of 15 years they were struck off the Society's books and paid an 'apprentice payment'. In 1830, the CMS's London Committee had resolved that this payment could be used to acquire land for the missionary offspring: 'that, purchases of land from the Natives, to a moderate extent, should be authorised, as a provision for their children after they are fifteen years of age; the nature and extent of the purchase to be, in each case, to be sanctioned by the Committee'.¹¹³ Wakefield's claims suggested that this limitation had been grossly exceeded.

On receipt of Wakefield's pamphlet, the CMS in London immediately sent a copy of it to the missionaries in New Zealand, calling upon each of the individuals specified for 'such explanation and information as might be requisite to put the Committee fully in possession of the facts of the case'.¹¹⁴

In their replies, the Waimate missionaries were unanimous that the claims of Wakefield's informant were incorrect. Their land purchasing, they insisted, was either for their children, as the CMS Committee had determined, or to keep land in trust for

¹¹⁰ Peter Adams, *Fatal Necessity: British Intervention in New Zealand, 1830–1847*, 1977, pp. 82-96.

¹¹¹ Church Missionary Society, 'Documents respecting the Purchase of Land in New Zealand by the Missionaries of the CMS', Pam 1839, CHU 57, Alexander Turnbull Library.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

local Maori to prevent any further attempt at its sale to whites. As James Shepherd told the CMS Committee, if they knew ‘the real state of New Zealand, as relates to the disposition of the Natives to sell their land, they would at least acquiesce’ with the missionaries in the Bay of Islands ‘in the measures we have taken’.¹¹⁵

William Williams, a Waimate missionary who had purchased land from the chiefs, but was not identified in the Wakefield pamphlet, gave the CMS Committee two examples of the circumstances in which the missionaries purchased land:

A small tract of rich land close to this Settlement, nearly covered with valuable timber. The owner of it was bent upon selling it. I drew up a deed for this, by which the land is to remain in the family; but the Society is to have the privilege of cutting what timber may be wanted in the Settlement; in consideration of which the Chief received £10.

A tract of land opposite our Settlement at Waimate, partly in occupation of Natives, and partly a forest of timber. This land was in the course of being sold to a European; the consequence of which would have been the departure of several Natives from this neighbourhood. I made an agreement with the three principal proprietors, on the behalf of the Society; giving them £10 and twelve blankets; the land to remain in the continual occupation of the Natives, but the Society to have the benefit of any timber that may be wanted for this Station.¹¹⁶

‘It may admit of doubt, how far the steps I have taken may be of permanent benefit’, Williams added, ‘but I have the satisfaction of knowing that they have done good for the time being; and I know that if no steps of this nature had been resorted to, very large portions of land, which it is desirable the Natives should keep, would now be in the hands of Europeans’. He thought moreover:

...that in the prospect of settlers coming to this country, it will be necessary to secure ample space for the Natives in the neighbourhood of every Station which may be purchased, or in any other way secured from European encroachment: for such is the tenure by which the poor Natives hold their land, that any powerful Chief may sell a large district, and appropriate the greater part of the payment to himself, leaving his less powerful connexions to do the best they can.¹¹⁷

For some years prior, the view had grown among the settlers and traders in the Bay of Islands that the missionaries, at Waimate and Kerikeri in particular, had picked out the Bay’s best land for themselves. As Robert FitzRoy observed in 1835, ‘those who are jealous of the influence of the missionaries’, were asking the question then: ‘Have not the missionaries already monopolised the best land in the finest situations’.¹¹⁸

Yet when the missionaries sought to vindicate their land purchasing by 1838, it was that ‘much of the land [was] barren and unfit for cultivation’.¹¹⁹ William Kemp said that he

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ FitzRoy, *Narrative of the Surveying Voyages*, Vol II, p. 601.

¹¹⁹ Church Missionary Society, ‘Documents respecting the Purchase of Land’.

had brought two areas of land at Whangaroa, one of timber land and the other 'consisting of the very worse quality of land in New Zealand', along with 'about seventy or eighty acres joining to Waimate'. 'The land he had purchased of the Natives', he said, was of no use to them for cultivation, as it was of 'very inferior a quality; and they always look out for the best land to cultivate'. Up to the present time, he added, he had not done anything for his children 'in the way of cultivation', but his eldest son was 'now about to commence to do something in the way of cultivation, in order to get a living for himself in this land'. It was the missionaries' very great desire, said Kemp, 'that our children should continue in the land, for the sake of the poor Natives'.¹²⁰

George Clarke's reasoning of his land purchasing was similar. He had been the main purchaser of Waimate whenua since the missionaries had established their agricultural settlement. His explanation to the CMS Committee of the missionaries' land purchasing at Waimate was that the land was 'of no use to the Natives, with the exception of a very small portion, probably not one acre in a hundred'. Of his own purchasing, he said he was not aware that he was 'cultivating an acre of land but what has been left by the Natives for more fertile spots, they having cultivated the land until they can cultivate it no longer to advantage'.¹²¹

Of Clarke's own purchases, he had acquired 'from 700 to 800 acres of land about two miles from Waimate as a cattle-run', having been told by Richard Davis, that his cattle 'could not run upon the Society's farm, thereby endangering their crops, and eating up that produce needful for the Society's cattle'. All of his livestock, Clarke added, were 'in the hands, in charge, and under the care of New Zealanders'. What is more, he said, when, two years before at Waimate, 'my Natives commenced growing a little wheat...the demands upon us for flour to feed the sick Natives was so great, that I was frequently indebted to the store from 500 to 600 pounds of flour'.¹²²

His object *then*, he said, 'was solely for the benefit it the Natives'; his object *now*, since he had 'a son of age to take charge of such an establishment' was 'to meet the demands of the Natives, and for the benefit of the family in whose behalf the establishment is being formed'.¹²³

The CMS Committee's document quoted Clarke, writing as Secretary of the Northern District Committee, on Nov 16 1838:

In reference to the land procured under the regulations of the Parent Committee, about 1500 acres were purchased at Waimate for the benefit of the children, 500 acres of which is covered with fern and is exceedingly poor; the remaining part is principally timberland; when divested of which, from its broken and poor state, it will be of little or no value. For this land was paid eighty blankets worth, according to the price then given in the Bay of Islands, £60, \$100, and 126 lb of tobacco, worth £12. This purchase was made in order to secure timber for the use of the children to whom the land at Kerikeri may be located.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² *Ibid.*

¹²³ *Ibid.*

Independently of what has been purchased for the Missionaries children, there are large tracts of valuable land, to the extent of upwards of 50,000 acres, which are held in trust for the Natives... The price paid by us has been from a dollar to five dollars per acre...¹²⁴

One of the reasons, perhaps, why when the Waimate rangatira Rewa told Hobson on February 5th 1840 ‘Let my lands be returned to me which have been taken by the missionaries – by Davis and by Clarke, and by who and besides’¹²⁵, is that Richard Davis and George Clarke were by far the main purchasers of Waimate whenua.

Clarke’s name is on 45 of the 86 deeds with chiefs in the 1830–40 period, 36 of them in his own name, six in the name of his children and heirs, and one in the name of the CMS. Davis’ name is on 30 of the 86 deeds, six in the name of his children and heirs, and six in the name of the CMS.

Richard Davis was not however actually named in the Wakefield pamphlet. But his son, James, was, and it was on his behalf that Davis replied, in explanation on 28th May, 1838, the day after he received the documents ‘most painful’ to his mind: the December 1837 letter from the CMS London Committee, and a copy of Wakefield’s pamphlet stating that James Davis had privately purchased 4000 acres of land adjoining Waimate.

He had no alternative, Davis said, but to do his best for his sons in New Zealand, and being a farming family. ‘Agriculture appeared to be the only terms on which the object could be accomplished’. In a country like New Zealand, he explained, there were ‘hundreds of thousands of acres of land unoccupied, but my object was to procure a spot where I should not interfere with the Native Plantations, and at the same time as contiguous to Waimate as possible’.¹²⁶

The purchase in question was the 2000 acres and woods of Otutae near Waimate that Davis acquired from the principal Ngati Rehia chief Warerahi, and eight others – Hukanui, Tamauru, Te Weoki, Ruhe, Naine, Kohiti, Te Aitu, Te Kekeao, Haupokia, Witirua and Tanerikiriki – on behalf of his son James Davis, following the CMS’s apprentice payment of £50 on his turning fifteen years in 1834. The deed for this purchase records Davis paying ‘£40.00 Cash, 20 axes, 20 hoes, 20 adzes, 24 iron pots, and 18 blankets’ on June 10th, 1834.¹²⁷

However, the pre-1840 ‘Old Private Land Purchase Deeds’ reveal several prior purchases by the CMS missionaries on behalf of their children, one of them by Davis, a 500 acre block at Waimate West from the Chief Tohu. Most of the other private purchases by missionaries between 1831 and June 1834, furthermore, state the land as being ‘delivered’ to the particular missionary, his children and ‘all their generations for ever’, or had such phrases as ‘to his posterity forever’.

Since the period of the first purchase, said Davis:

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵ Colenso, *Authentic and Genuine History*.

¹²⁶ Davis to Coates, May 25, 1838, ‘Letters & Journals 1824–1863’, Hocken Library.

¹²⁷ Turton, *Maori Deeds*.

small additional purchases have been made of land lying more particularly in the Waimate District, and those purchases might have been much extended, to the future apparent advantage of my family but my object was to purchase merely sufficient to render my son's Farm sufficient as a starting post for all the younger branches of my family...

Making large purchases of land, Davis said, would have been 'unbecoming my Missionary Character – and great possessions are great evils, on many accounts, in a new country'. Thousands of acres of land may sound 'loud and large in the English ear – but a 1000 acres of our Fern Country would not pasture more than about 20 head of cattle unless a considerable part thereof be swampy'.

Of course, he said, such land becomes valuable when it is cleared and laid down, 'but this operation is laborious and expensive and requires Capital to proceed therein to any extent'. Besides, he added, reminding the CMS of the situation in which, with Samuel Marsden's negotiating, they had been able to purchase Waimate's fertile acres in the first place, the chiefs who owned the land had become 'not only willing, but anxious' to sell to them:

Just before our removal hither [to Waimate] the Natives of the Waimate had, with the assistance of their allies, conquered Kororareka, the principal Post in the Bay of Islands. To this place they resorted – and all the leading men of the tribe finally left Waimate and took up their residence on their newly acquired possessions – and finding that place more congenial to them, they set but little value on their inland residence and so became anxious to part with it.¹²⁸

So much so, said Davis, that the missionaries 'found a difficulty in keeping them from selling the land necessary for the support of those people whose wish it is to live in our Neighbourhood'. And they feared that unless they, the missionaries acted quickly, 'the ultimate consequence would be the land would fall into the hands of the white people and the poor Natives cease to be the rightful owners of their own country'.

To Richard Davis, this was 'a most distressing thought':

...extensive purchases ought not to be made by any person who has the welfare of the people at heart, and the fewer the purchases of any kind, either great or small, the better – as the people, at present, with all their confused ideas, are not aware what their own ultimate wants may be.

It was evident, he said, that at the rate New Zealand was being settled by opportunists seeking cheap native land, the time was coming for the British Government to act. What it might do in the present case appeared uncertain, said Davis. 'But to deliver up a Country, which is not their own, into the hands of a company of men, whose primary object is gain, is a crime I trust my Country will never be guilty of.'¹²⁹

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

It is possible that the CMS's London Committee's questioning of their men in the Bay of Islands may have put a break on Davis's and other missionaries' land-buying. Prior to the letters' arrival, nine sales took place, three just days beforehand. But following it, only two sales were made through the remainder of 1838, one of them by Tamati Waka Nene of Ngati Hou, and they were in June, suggesting they had been negotiated by the date that they received the demands from London to explain their land purchasing at Waimate.

Two months later, in August 1838, the Waimate missionaries wrote collectively to the CMS London Committee insisting that very little good land had been alienated from Maori title, and that their purchasing of land had been for Maori benefit and not for the missionaries' own personal gain:

The extent to which the Natives have alienated their good land, sited for agricultural purposes, is small. Immense tracts of good land in the neighbourhood of Waimate remain in the possession of the Natives; nor are they likely to be alienated, they being held in trust by the Missionaries for the natives... They are, however, continually parting with their land to new comers; and every year leaves them poorer in point of landed property.¹³⁰

Rewa's exclaiming to Hobson on February 5th 1840 that his land was 'gone...all gone' and that the missionaries, Davis and Clarke in particular, had been the main takers of it, was probably because of what the missionaries then said to the CMS London Committee:

All purchases are made with full understanding that they do not revert again to the New Zealanders. They are secured to the purchaser and his heirs for ever, with a right to everything pertaining thereto. The New Zealander cultivates upon the alienated land only by permission; and in the event of a purchaser dying without heirs, the land would, we perceive, be taken possession of in behalf of the Crown¹³¹

Any chief selling Waimate whenua would have been aware of the words in the sale deeds that they signed, not least Rewa. Many of the Waimate sale deeds in the 1830–1840 period are the briefest statements of chiefly selling, missionary buying and land transacted. But the more elaborate deeds invariably include phrases such as 'let go by Warerahi to George Clarke', 'delivered to', 'given up and renounced', and that the sale was 'forever'.

There is a deep contradiction between this aspect of selling of Waimate whenua and the missionaries' claim that they were acting in the Maori interest. While the most vehement of the rangatira who complained to William Hobson on February 5th 1840 about the loss of whenua identified, and named, Waimate missionaries as the principal offenders, the missionaries themselves were adamant that they were acting as protectors of Maori land. They were endeavouring, as they said in their August 1838 letter to the CMS London

¹³⁰ Bay of Islands missionaries, collective letter of August 9, 1838, to the CMS London Committee, in Turton, *Maori Deeds*.

¹³¹ Turton, *Maori Deeds*.

Committee, to prevent Maori from alienating ‘those districts (like Waimate with its fertile soils) which it is essential for them to keep’.

The missionaries’ letter set out a principle that recognised the inevitability of large-scale settlement by Europeans, a prospect that was not apparent when they established the Waimate agricultural mission in 1830, and that their Church Mission Society in London had been vigorously opposing:

If the settlement of Europeans in the country is to take place – and it is now going on to a large extent – it seems important ‘that the British Govt, as a first measure, should, as the guardians of this people, provide that ample reserves should be made for different tribes which have distinct interests, within the limits of which no settlers should purchase.’¹³²

It is evident from Richard Davis’ 1839-1840 letters that this principle shaped the actions of Waimate missionaries as events moved towards the Treaty of Waitangi. At the same time, the missionaries’ purchasing of Waimate whenua continued.

In 1839, sixteen Waimate chiefs, including the principal Ngai Tawake chiefs Warerahi and Moka, and Hone Heke, made ten land sales to the missionaries comprising a total of about 170 acres, all but two of the sales being to either George Clarke or Richard Davis. Two of Davis’s purchases were on behalf of the CMS, and one for his children.

The selling of Waimate whenua continued right up to the Treaty of Waitangi in February, 1840, with two sales, one of them of 500 acres by the principal Ngati Hao chief Tamati Waka Nene and others.

Late in 1839, Richard Davis told the CMS in London that ‘important changes are taking place and there is much excitement in the Country, in consequence of the great influx of Europeans’. What was to become of the Natives, he said ‘is a question of vast importance. That they will soon cease, many of them, to hold possessions in their own country is a truth which cannot be doubted’.¹³³

Just that morning, Davis said, he had ‘held a meeting with the Natives of my District in order to put them on their guard and to advise with them as to what steps had better be taken in order to secure to them their own possessions’. And in another instance, near Kaihohe, there was fear that one of the principal chiefs who had moved to Kororareka in 1830, would ‘effect a sale in that part where he has a share without giving them notice and should this prove the case, the whites will get a footing and the country shall be sold piecemeal’.¹³⁴

Two of the 1839 sales of Waimate whenua by principal Ngai Tawake chiefs who had moved to Kororareka, both to George Clarke, were possibly similar in kind: the sale of 40 acres at Kikitangaio by Warerahi, with Pou and Tane in March, 1839, and the sale of 20 acres at Waimate by Moka, with Tarapata and other chiefs, in May.

¹³² *Ibid.*

¹³³ Davis to Coates, November 18, 1839, ‘Letters & Journals 1824–1863’, Hocken Library.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

In the instance of the land near Kaikohe, its tangata whenua had cleared it, stocked it with cattle and were preparing for the mill to grind the wheat they were growing, but, as Davis told the CMS, he feared 'to give them too much encouragement, least you should not send out the Mill stones'.¹³⁵ To remove the danger of their whenua being sold from under them, Davis said:

I have proposed to them that we should immediately purchase the Chief's possessions and that they should, all of them, enter into a compact not to sell their country – that a written agreement should be drawn up and signed by every proprietor of land and that it should be binding upon the whole of them...

To this they agreed. They have already formed a compact amongst themselves and of many parts of the District we hold a kind of Deed but I fear it is not sufficiently secure.¹³⁶

Richard Davis and the other CMS missionaries' belief that the Treaty of Waitangi would give such security to Maori in situations of the kind was significant in their encouragement of Maori to sign it. In the event, he reported to London immediately afterwards, 'none of the Chiefs belonging to our congregations withheld their signatures to the Treaty. They acknowledged they were not thoroughly acquainted with its nature but at the same time having implicit confidence in our judgement on the subject, they signed it at our recommendation'.¹³⁷

In the pre-emption phrase of the Treaty's Second Article, Davis saw vindication of the Waimate missionaries' purchasing in situations such as he had a few months before at Kaikohe:

Now we are delivered from cases of that nature, as the Natives are no longer allowed to sell their lands to private individuals, but to Government...¹³⁸

Never, he wrote, 'was a Savage Nation placed under circumstances so favourable':

I cannot but look at the steps which are now being taken as a special answer to prayer – it is the hand of God. I look upon it with mingled feelings of pain and pleasure. I rejoice in the triumph of missionary influence...

The inundation of Emigrants, and the manner in which land had been purchased were indicative of destruction to the Native Tribes. Under such circumstances the only chance which appeared for them was that we should buy some tracts of country on which they may live.¹³⁹

But while all the Waimate chiefs whom the CMS missionaries recommended signing the Treaty of Waitangi followed their advice, others – Rewa, Tareha and Te Kemara – who

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ Davis to Coates, February 8, 1840, 'Letters & Journals 1824-1863', Hocken Library..

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

had sold them Waimate whenua were openly critical of them. Rewa, in particular, specifically named Richard Davis and George Clarke as the missionaries responsible for the loss of his land. It was almost certainly Davis' anger at being so publicly named in such an historic event that caused him to write to the CMS in London two days after the treaty signing about 'the few Chiefs who professedly received Popery and who were living at Kororareka and in its vicinity, [and who] came prepared to reject the Governor and to vomit forth abuse against the Missionaries'.¹⁴⁰

It was very evident, Davis said 'that they were tutored by abler heads than their own'. But Rewa must have had his reasons for citing Davis and Clark as he did, and not other purchasers of his whenua elsewhere.

Rewa was one of the leading Bay of Islands chiefs in the 1830s. One of the rangatira most frequently and favourably mentioned by the missionary leader, Henry Williams,¹⁴¹ he held and sold land at Kerikeri, Kororareka and Paroa as well as at Waimate. His status gave him the right to not only sell land himself, but to influence its selling by others under his authority.

Rewa was one of the greater sellers of Waimate whenua, only his brother Warerahi selling more. However, Rewa's Waimate sales amounted to only seven of the 86 transactions of Waimate whenua between 1830 and 1840, and only about 800 of some 9000 acres sold in total. Richard Davis and George Clarke were by far the predominant purchasers from the Waimate chiefs. But while George Clarke's name is on two of the seven deeds of sale by Rewa, Davis' name is on none of them.

It suggests that, in accusing Richard Davis and George Clarke of having taken his land as he did, Rewa had a different aspect of the matter in mind. His selling of Waimate whenua had, along with that of his fellow principal Ngai Tawake and Ngati Rehia chiefs – Warerahi and Moka, Titore and Tareha – had begun as a consequence of their removing themselves to Kororareka in 1830, and the CMS missionaries taking the opportunity to establish an agricultural mission on their vacated whenua.

The result had been a transformed landscape; productive Maori fernland converted to an English farm scene, as though, as Charles Darwin observed in 1835, by an enchanter's wand. It had been an organised transformation, involving over eighty sales of land by some 170 chiefs, among them the leading chiefs who had moved in 1830 from Waimate to Kororareka. Prior to it, Rewa, as a leading Waimate chief, had very considerable influence over Waimate whenua and had resisted the missionary incursion. If, by 1840, Rewa was, as the evidence suggests, regretting the loss of Waimate whenua and blaming particular persons for it, Richard Davis and George Clarke, were the obvious candidates for his wrath. As the CMS New Zealand mission's agriculturalist, Davis had, along with the Rev. Samuel Marsden, been the ideologue of the transformation. And, of the purchasers of Waimate whenua, none had acquired more than Davis and George Clarke.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹ Wilson, *Kororareka*, p. 95.

APPENDIX to ‘The Enchanter’s Wand’, Part II: Waimate and the beginning of the agricultural transformation of the New Zealand landscape.

Part I. Waimate Land Deeds, 1830–1840:

1A. Synopsis from Old Land Claims.¹⁴²

The following information is extracted from H H Turton’s *Maori Deeds of Private Land Purchases*. It is compiled from the deeds indentified as within the Waimate area. There are eighty-seven such deeds, totalling an area of 8937 acres.¹⁴³

The synopsis was compiled in order to provide the framework of land sales to missionaries on which the text of the chapter ‘The Enchanter’s Wand’: Part II: Waimate and the beginning of the agricultural transformation of the New Zealand landscape is constructed.

The synopsis lists the deeds chronologically, identifying the places sold/purchased with the acreage in brackets, the rangatira sellers’ names (in bold) and those of the purchasers. Additional information is in small-case in brackets. Page numbers refer to Turton’s *Maori Deeds*.

The names of the chiefs listed below are as they are identified and spelt in the original deeds. It is not a full and comprehensive list as in several sales, some chiefs are listed among ‘others’ and not named.

⊕ – identifies deeds containing landscape-ecological information (usually regarding ‘woods’ or timber; swamps; or ‘all things growing’)

⊕ – identifies deeds specifying waahi tapu

1830:

1. WAIMATE ⊕ ⊕ [11 Sept] p. 66
Rewa, Moka, Taratikitiki, Warerahi, Arahi, Panamahue, Hihi, Rarangi:
 735 acres to
 William Yate, on behalf of the CMS.

2. WAIMATE ⊕ [7 Oct] p. 67
Tareha, Titore, Rawiri, Tohu, Kaikohi, Tenana, Tuki, Tukoi:
 300 acres to
 William Yate, on behalf of the CMS

1831:

1. TE OKAO & RERETITI, WAIMATE ⊕ [26 Oct] p. 67

¹⁴² See also Part II of this Appendix:

¹⁴³ This 8937 acres figure should be used extremely carefully, as many acreages are estimates only.

- 8. MAIRETAHI, WAIMATE** [6 Feb] p. 87
Tito, Hoi, Te Au, and others
 3 acres to
 George Clarke
- 9. MATAWAKAWEKE, WAIMATE** ☉ ☽ [20 Nov] p. 87
Warerahi, Rewa, Paerau, Timoti, Hama, Kapu
 30 acres to
 George Clarke
 ('The side of the great Wood till it reaches the water called Mairetahi... On one side the sacred place called the Mata'.)
- 10. WAIMATE** [23 July] p. 91
Toke,
 c. 1 acre to
 George Clarke
- 11. ANGAIHO (KAIHU), WAIMATE** ☉ [7 March] p. 97
Tenana, Titore, Huri, Matahuaki, Wtirua
 20 acres to
 Richard Davis
- 12. OTUTAI OR MATAHONGA (KAIHU), WAIMATE** ☉ [10 June] p. 98
Hukanui, Tamauru, Te Weoki, Te Warerahi *alias* **Warenui, Ruhe, Naine, Kohiti**
alias **Koiti, Te Aitu, Te Kekeao, Haupokia, Wtirua, Tanarikiriki,**
 2,000 acres to
 Richard Davis
 [This is apparently the sale that Davis refers to in his 25 May 1838 letter to Rev Jowett, Church Missionary Society: 'The first purchase was made on June 10th 1834'.]
- [in same Deed] Extra payment for Otutai [undated] p. 98
Kemara *alias* **Kaiteke, Puhiahia, Parangi,**
- [in same Deed] Extra payment for Otutai [12 Jan 1838] p. 99
Wiremu Mahara, Puihi, Eruera Pika, Hone Poti, Rae, Wakarua, Te Tao, Pene Tukiware
- 13. WAIKAUERE (KAIHU), WAIMATE** [1 Sept] p. 99
Koiti *alias* **Kohiti, Tuwarerangi, Pana, Wtirua, Pikoi**
 100 acres to
 Richard Davis
- 14. KAIHU, WAIMATE** ☉ ☽ [23 Sept] p. 100
Waraki, Hare Hongi, Pana, Kutu
 30 acres to
 Richard Davis
- 15. KAIAIA (KAIHU), WAIMATE** ☉ [28 Nov] p. 106
Kahia, Kutu, Waenga, Pana

80 acres to
Richard Davis

16. MOHOAO, WAIMATE [15 Jan] p. 111

Te Huarahi, Te Kiko, Te Paekoraha,

10 acres to

James Hamlin

(‘bounded to the North West by a native fortification’)

17. TE KAURI, WAIMATE ☉ [17 Sept] p. 112

Ngataumanu, Toenga, Timoko, Te Taou, Te Atua and our children

30 acres to

James Hamlin and his heirs and successors

18. LAND ADJOINING MOHOAO, WAIMATE ☉ ☉ [18 Sept] p. 113

Te Huarahi,

2 acres to

James Hamlin

(‘bounded by a sacred place, a Wood called Te Mata’)

19. TIHARI, WAIMATE [29 August] p. 114

Te Kuki, Rewa, Poro, Tupinea, Tuwakawa,

50 acres to

James Kemp

20. TAKAPUOTEHARA, WAIMATE ☉ [19 Sept] p. 115

Te Huarahi, Tohu, Turere, Waihi, Huke, Poro, Taratikitiki, Pirika ... [‘Chiefs of Waimate’]

30 acres to

James Hamlin

21. TOTOKA & KOPUATAMANGA, WAIMATE ☉ ☉ [6 Oct] p. 116

Te Tao, Taratikitiki, Pirika Pita, Roroa, Te Huke

15 acres to

James Hamlin

(‘said parcel of land lies in the Settlement of Whites called Waimate...All sacred places made noa’)

1835:

1. TAIAMAI, WAIMATE ☉ [2 July] p. 90

Hihi, Ruhe, Kekeao, Kaitara

___ acres to

George Clarke

2. OTIHAETI, WAIMATE [6 Oct] p. 90

Ruhe, Kopiri, Huke, Tamauru, Kaitara

___ acres to

George Clarke

- 3. TAIAMAI, WAIMATE** [4 Sept] p. 90
Tamauru, Te Paea,
 ___ acres to
 George Clarke
- 4. ANGAIHO (KAIHU), Waimate** ☉ [14 Jan] p. 101
Parore
 40 acres to
 Richard Davis
- 1836:**
- 1. KAIHU No. 1, WAIMATE** [4 April] p. 70
Tenana, Titore
 30 acres to
 Richard Davis (alias Te Reweti)
- 2. WAIMATE** [31 Oct] p. 70
Warerahi, Toke, Manu, Te Arahi
 ___ acres to
 Wm Jowett Kohoho
 (witnessed by James Shepherd, and James N Shepherd, missionaries)
- (after Wm Jowett Kohoho's death) [26 Sept 1839] p. 70
- Kotaratarā (Kohoho's widow), Pahi, Puhe,**
 ___ acres to
 Richard Davis, on behalf of the CMS
- 3. MAIRETAHI, WAIMATE** [16 August] p. 88
Huarahi, Paekoraha, and others
 ___ acres to
 George Clarke
- 4. TAIAMAI, WAIMATE** [23 Feb] p. 90
Haurangi, Hohepa Tira,
 ___ acres to
 George Clarke
- 5. WAIMATE** [15 Dec] p. 91
 Transferred from CMS to George Clarke
- 6. WAITOHE ROAD** [undated]
Ruhe,
 ('A road cleared by Ruhe and his party in the Wood called Waitohe, to
 George Clarke')
- 7. KAIHU (part of), WAIMATE** [15 Feb] p.102
Makutahi,
 6 acres to
 Richard Davis

- 8. NGAUNGAU** [15 June] p. 102
Witirua, Makutahi, Kawi, Kawatawata,
 20 acres to
 Richard Davis
 ('the land is a Pa (fortification)')
- 9. TUHIRAU, etc (Wahi-tapu), WAIMATE** ☐ ☐ [28 Nov] p. 107
Hone, Hamiora, Waraki,
 Two sacred places to
 Richard Davis
 ('with all that is upon or under them')
- 10. KIOREROA, WAIMATE** [22 July] p. 148
Tohu, Wai, Wiremu Pi, Kowai, Hiwi, Watarau, Paru
 150 acres to
 James Kemp
- 11. PUKETOTARA, WAIMATE** [18 Aug] p. 149
**Nene, Wiwi, Ranga, Kamera, Puhī, Taonui, Aperahama Tame, Tamati Ngare,
 Huru, Tahu, Ropata Tahua, Riki, Rae, Patuone, Eruera Paru, Hene Poti, Wiremu
 Hau,**
 3,000 acres to
 James Shepherd
 ('excluding the Native plantations')
- 1837:**
- 1. WAIMATE** [3 Jan] p. 73
 (including land George Clarke purchased of **Tirarau** (21/03/1834, of **Tuwakaterē**
 (31/03/1834) , of **Tahua** (20/08/1834)
 George Clarke, transferring
 90 acres to
 Richard Davis on behalf of the CMS
- 2. TAMANGEMANGE, WAIMATE** [4 Aug] p. 88
Rewa, Warerahi, and others
 ___ acres to
 George Clarke
- 3. MAIRETAHI, WAIMATE (near)** [7 July] p. 88
Alexander Tiro, and others
 ___ acres to
 George Clarke
- 4. MAIRETAHI, WAIMATE (near)** [16 August] p. 88
Huarahi, and others
 ___ acres to
 George Clarke

- 5. MAIRETAHI, WAIMATE (near)** [28 June] p. 88
Pio, Ngonge, and others
 ___ acres to
 George Clarke
- 6. MATA** [20 June] p. 88
Timoti Hama, and others
 10 acres to
 George Clarke
- 7. TAIAMAI** [27 Oct] p. 91
Haurangi, Hamiora Punaruku, Iwi, Hikorangi
 c. 20 acres to
 George Clarke
- 8. WAPEKAPEKA, TAIAMAI** [19 April] p. 91
Puariri, Matiu Poutu, Hare Tupe
 ___ acres to
 George Clarke
- 9. WAIMATE** [29 May] p. 91
Paikoraha
 ___ acres to
 George Clarke (?)
- 10. AHIKARA** Φ [undated] p. 92
Warerahi
 ('The Sacred place ... sold to')
 George Clarke
- 11. WAHI TAPU** Φ [28 June] p. 92
Paikoraha
 ('A sacred place in the middle of a piece of land purchased from Huarahi
 ...sold to George Clarke'.)
- 12. WAIMATE** [20 July] p. 92
Paikoraha (Te)
 ('piece of land in the middle of a piece of land purchased from Rewa and Huarahi
 sold to George Clarke, and his children')
- 13. MOHOAO (KAIHU), WAIMATE** [14 July] p. 103
Kawe, Wata, Witurua, Wiremu Pi
 4 or 5 acres to
 Richard Davis and family
- 14. PATUTAHI (KAIHU) WAIMATE** [24 Oct] p. 103
We Puhi, Wiremu Ngaware
 7 acres to
 Richard Davis

George Clarke

- 9. KAIHU (part of), WAIMATE** [21 May] p. 104
Irikohe, Huri
 15 acres to
 ‘Richard Davis and his posterity’
- 10. RANGIKAPAKI, WAIMATE** [20 June] p. 108
Tamati Waka Nene, Ihaka Pikoi
 5 or 6 acres to
 ‘Richard Davis and his generations’
- 11. OROPI, WAIMATE** Φ [27 June] p. 168
**Wiremu Hau, Kahia, Eruera Pika, Tukiware, Warekura, Hone Pana, Hamiora
 Matenga Wawe, Ranga**
 60 acres to
 John Bedggood
 (‘with the sacred places of that part also’)
- 1839:**
- 1. WAIHIRORE, WAIMATE** ⊕ [22 April] p. 72
Parangi, Hongi
 30 acres to
 Richard Davis on behalf of the CMS
- 2. KAIHU No. 2 WAIMATE** [14 May] p. 73
Reihana Tamaka
 10 acres to
 Richard Davis on behalf of the CMS
 (includes land Tamaka purchased from Irikohe and from Edward Wana)
- 3. WAIMATE** [28 May] p. 89
Moka, Tarapata, and others
 20 acres to
 George Clarke
- 4. KIKITANGAIO, WAIMATE** [22 March] p. 90
Warerahi, Pou, Tane
 40 acres to
 George Clarke
- 5. WAIKAHIKATEA** [10 Aug] p. 90
Penehamani, Matahina, Wiremu Warerau
 30 acres to
 George Clarke
- 6. KAIHU (part of), WAIMATE** [14 May] p. 104
Reihana Tamaka, Hemi Kutu
 10 acres to

‘Richard Davis and his posterity’

7. KAIHU (part of), WAIMATE [9 Oct] p. 104

Hamiora Reweti, Makutahi

10 acres to

Richard Davis

8. KAWEITAHU (Timber), WAIMATE ☉ [18 March] p. 108

Waraki, Hone Pana, Hone W Heke

10 acres to

Richard Davis

(‘a portion of timber land...This woodland is surrounded by land purchased by Mr Davis previously of the natives and is near Swanaton’)

9. MOREKEREKERE, near WAIMATE [1 Nov] p. 205

Natinahira Tane, Katine

1.5 acres to

J E Hargreaves

10. PAPAMAHI, near WAIMATE ☉ [11 Nov] p. 207

Te Puhi

12 acres to

J E Hargreaves

1840:

1. PUTAKOTARE, WAIMATE ☉ [1 Jan] p. 214

Kutu, Waraki, Hamiora

15 acres to

‘James Davis, and his posterity’

2. OTUWERE, WAIMATE ☉ [3 Jan] p. 213

Tamati Waka Nene, Peru, Waraki, Watarau, Tapo (or Tango), Pehi, Pipihi, Wiremu Hau, Eruera Paru, Tohu

500 acres to

Benjamin Nisbet

1B. Associated Synopses

a. Richard Davis’ land purchases¹⁴⁴:

‘the land belonging to R Davis situated in the district of Waimate was purchased in the following order from the chiefs whose names are herein inserted’:

- from Waraki and party land containing by estimation 170 acres
- from Huatahi, Witirua and party “ “ “ 125 acres
- from Warenu Nene and party “ “ “ 2,500 acres
- from Tenana and party “ “ “ 35 acres

¹⁴⁴ Taken from Memorandum, Davis to Turton.

- from Koiti and party “ “ “ 100 acres
- from Parore and party “ “ “ 40 acres
- from Makutahi 6 acres
- from Puhī about 7 acres
- from Richard Tamaka 10 acres
- from Samuel Davis (native) 10 acres

Containing altogether by estimation 3,000 more or less.

Consideration given in payment ... amounting in Cash, Cattle and Goods to the sum of £315. 7. 6

b. Annual sales of Waimate whenua:

1830:	2 land deeds :	1035 acres	
1831:	5 “	: 671 acres	
1832:	2 “	: 21 acres	
1833:	3 “		: 140 acres
1834:	21 “	: 2581 acres (incl from 1 ac – 2000ac)	
1835:	4 “	: c.100 acres (incl 3 with no acreage listed)	
1836:	11 “	: 3200 acres (fr 6ac-3000ac; incl 4 with no acreage listed)	
1837:	15 “	: c. 200 acres (incl 4 with no acreage listed)	
1838:	11 “	: c. 300 acres (incl 4 with no acreage listed)	
1839:	10 “	: 174 acres	
1840 (January):	2	: 515 acres	

- A total of **86** land deeds for Waimate Distr between 1830 and 1840, (including Waitohe Road clearance).
- **9** land deeds refer specifically to waahi tapu.

c. The Missionary purchasers of Waimate whenua:

All but three of the 86 deeds involve Church Missionary Society missionaries. George Clarke and Richard Davis, between them, account for 88% of all deeds.

1830:	Wm Yate for CMS (2)
1831:	Geo Clarke for Church Missionary Society (2)
	Clarke, Richard Davis, James Hamlin for CMS. (1)
	R Davis for missionaries children (1)
	Wm Yate for Church Missionary Society (1)
1832:	Geo Clarke (2)
1833:	Geo Clarke (1)
	R Davis (2)
1834:	Geo Clarke (7);
	Geo Clarke for heirs/children, trans to CMS(2)
	Geo Clarke for heirs/children (3)
	R Davis (5)
	J Hamlin (4)
	J Hamlin, and heirs & successors (1)
	J Kemp (1)
1835:	Geo Clarke (4 : incl one transferred in 1839)

- R Davis (1)
 1836: R Davis (5)
 Geo Clarke (4: incl one road, and one transf from CMS)
 James Kemp (1)
 James Shepherd (1)
 1837: R Davis (2)
 R Davis and family (1)
 R Davis for CMS (1) : transf from Geo Clarke
 Geo Clarke (10)
 Geo Clarke and his children (1)
 1838: R Davis for CMS (3)
 R Davis and his posterity (2)
 Geo Clarke (5)
 John Bedggood (1)
 1839: R Davis for CMS (2)
 R Davis and his posterity (1)
 R Davis (2)
 Geo Clarke (3)
 J E Hargreaves (2)
 1840 (01): James Davis (1)
 B Nisbet (1)

d. Goods, etc transacted for land in the Waimate District, 1830–1840:

In the great majority of the early land deeds (1830-33) and in **14%** of the total deeds, land (*wenua*¹⁴⁵) was transacted for a mixture of goods: [i] adzes and axes for tree-felling and timber-getting ; [ii] blankets, tobacco, pots and clothing; and [c] hoes, spades, cows for cultivation & agriculture.

[i] axes and adzes were transacted in **55%** of the deeds in the 1830–1840 period.¹⁴⁶ (None after 1838)

[ii] blankets, tobacco, pots, and clothing, in **80%** of the deeds

[iii] hoes, spades, cows for cultivation & agriculture, in **53%** of the deeds.

In **30%** of the land deeds, land was transacted for a combination of goods and small amounts of cash.

Cash payments were uncommon prior to 1833, but in 1839–1840 most transactions are purely in cash.

In the great majority of *waahi tapu* in the deeds [ie. **12** instances, or **14%** of the total Waimate deeds in the 1830-40 period], cash was paid for the land and for making it *noa* [common].

¹⁴⁵ ‘*Wenua*’ is the constant spelling, not ‘*whenua*’. Note Colenso on the point in *The Authentic and Genuine History*: ‘the old and early mode of writing Maori (the not using the *wh* character, &c) has been retained’.

¹⁴⁶ Saws were involved only in one 1835 instance.

Part II: Synopsis of Chiefs Selling Waimate Land, 1830–1840

Chiefs' names cited in deeds are listed alphabetically, with number of deeds in brackets, if more than one. In cases of two possible names for the one chief, both names are listed as they appear in the deeds: e.g. Hama; Hama Timoti are probably the same chief, but are listed separately

A. Summaries:

- Total number of deeds : **86**
- Total number of Chiefs listed in deeds as selling land in Waimate Distr between 1830 and Jan 1840: **176** [reduces to **168** if all possibly duplicate names are indeed duplicate]
- Number of deeds with only one Chief listed as selling: **15 (or 14)**¹⁴⁷
- Number of chiefs involved in more than one sale: **57**
- Number of chiefs in three or more sales: **31** (or 30 re. Paru)

[Wiremu Hau (4); Haurangi (3); **Huarahi (7)**; Huki (3); Kaikohe (4); Kohiti (3); Kutu (4); **Makutahi (6)**; **Moka (6)**; Tamati Waka Nene (3); Panamahue (3), Paru (3) – Eruera Pahu (3); Eruera Pika (3), Poro (3); Hene Poti (3); Ranga (4); **Rewa (7)**; Ruhe (4); Tamauru (3); **Taratikitiki(6)**; Te Atua(3); Te Paekoraha (4); Titore (4) ; Toenga (4); Tohu (5); Tupinia (4); Tuwakawa (3); **Waraki (7)**; **Warerahi (8)**; **Witirua(6)**]

B. Names of Chiefs:

Arahi (2); Atua; Awarua;

Hako, Paora; Hama; Hama, Timoti; Hamiora (2); Hau, Wiremu (4) ; Haupokia; Haurangi (3) ; Hauwere; Heke, Hone W; Hihi; Hikorangi ; Hiwi; Hoeta, Wiremu; Hoi; Hone; Hongi, Hare; Huaki; Huarahi(7) ; Huatahi; Hukanui; Huke; Huki (3); Huri; Huru;

Irikohe, Huri; Iwi

Kahia (3); Kaikohe (4); Kaitara (2); Kapa, Wiremu; Kapu;Katene / Katine; Kawatawata (2); Kawe;Kawi; Kemara [Kamera] (2); Kohiti (3); Kopiri; Korori; Kotaratara; Kowai; Kutu (4); Kutu, Hemi;

Mahara, Wiremu; Maka; Makutahi (6); Manu; Matahina (2); Matahuaki (2); Matariki; Moka (6);

¹⁴⁷ One of these being the Waitohe Road (chief=Ruhe)

Naine; Nene, Tamati Waka (3); Newa; Ngare, Tamati; Ngaware, Wiremu; Ngawaro; Ngataumanu; Ngonge;

Paerau;Pahi; Pakira; Pana (4); Pana, Hone (2); Panamahue (3); Parangi; Parangi, Hongi; Paru (3); Paru, Eruera (3); Parore; Patuone; Pehi; Penehamani; Peru; Pi, Wiremu (2); Pio; Pika, Eruera (3); Pikoi (2); Pipihi; Pirika (2); Poro (3); Poti, Hone (3); Poti, Hene; Pou (2); Poutu, Matiu; Puariri; Puhe; Puhi (2); Puhi, We; Puihi (2); Puhiahia; Punaruku, Hamiora;

Rae (3); Ranga (4); Rangi; Rarangi; Rawiri; Rewa (7); Riki; Roroa; Ruawai; Ruhe (4);

Tahu (2) ; Tahua; Tahua, Ropata; Tamaka, Reihana (2); Tamarikiriki; Tamauru (3); Tame,Aperahama; Tane; Tane, Natiniahira; TaonuiTapo (orTango); Tarapata; Taratikitiki (6); Tareha (2)

Te Ahitahi; Te Aitu; Te Arahi; Te Atua (3, if incl. Atua); Te Au (2); Te Kekeao (2); TeKiko; Te Kuki; Te Moko; Te Paea; Te Paekoraha (4); Te Puhi; Te Tao; Te Taou; Te Tirirau; Te Weoki;

Tenana (3); Timoti; Tinewai; Tira, Hohepa; Tiro (and wife, Te Au) (2); Tito; Titore(4); Toenga (4); Tohu (5); Toke; Toki; Tora; Tuki; Tukiware; Tukoi; Tukuwae, Pene; Tupanapana; Tupe, Hare; Tupinia (4); Turere; Tiro, Alexander; Tuwakawa (3); Tuwakatere; Tuwarerangi;

Waenga (2); Wai (3); Waihi; Wakarua; Waraki (7); Warekura; Warerahi (8); Warerau,Wiremu; Wata; Watarau (2); Watipu; Wawe; Wawe, Hamiora Matenga; Wiri; Wtirua (6); Wiwe; Wiwi,;