OLD HAWKE'S BAY.

COLENSO'S JOURNALS.
THE EARLY SETTLERS.

Two Papers read before the Hawke's Bay Philosophical Institute
by
W. DINWIDLIE.

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THE COLENSO JOURNALS.

The Hocken Library at Dunedin contains three volumes of Colenso manuscripts. The first contains the letters written by Mr Colenso to the Church Missionary Society from 1834 to 1853, from the time he left London to the time at which his connection with the society ceased. The others contain the journal kept by Mr Colenso at Waitangi from 1844 to 1853, and forwarded by him from time to time to the society. In addition, they contain the accounts of two journeys, one to the villages of the East Coast in 1841, the other to the South ports of the North Island in 1842-3. The earlier journey of 1838 is not recorded, but is referred to in his printed Jubilee Paper (Note K p.43). These two volumes contain 1200 closely-written pages of foolscap. It seems that Dr. Hocken was allowed to ransack the cellars of the Church Missionary Society, and select the records bearing on the early history of New Zealand. He found these in danger of destruction by damp and rats, and ultimately persuaded the society to sell them to him. It is fortunate they are now in safe keeping.

It is clear that the journals were copies made by Mr Colenso from his diaries or rough notebooks. Whether the latter contained matter not included in the manuscript I do not know—nor whether Mr Colenso kept any similar record for the years prior to 1844 and subsequent to 1853. All attempts

to trace his diaries since the sale of his effects have failed. The journals in view of their considerable volume, are disappointing to the reader whose interests are centred on the development of the European settlement of these islands. Mr Colenso was a missionary, and the journals are mainly occupied with the work of his mission, and the doings of his native flock. I may mention that the journals contain a long statement obtained from some natives about Cook's visit to the Kidnappers and the abduction of Tupaea, which I believe he never published. I do not know whether it contains anything new (Journals Vol. 2, p. 473).

Notices of Europeans are comparatively infrequent and unsatisfying, and generally suggest a spirit of antagonism towards the invasion of whites, which threatened to interfere with the work of the missionary. The Church Missionary Magazine published a few extracts from this mass of manuscript —perhaps less than twelve pages out of the 1200. With the exception of the account of the landing of the printing press none of these is of any interest to-day. They are simply stories of conversion and other narratives of an edifying nature.

I may mention that Mr Colenso used some of the material contained in these diaries in his printed papers. Of these may be mentioned the account of the Treaty of Waitangi (1890), the Jubilee Paper "Fifty Years ago" (1888), the record of the journey of 1841 (in the Tasmanian Journal of 1845), the paper on the first crossing of the Ruahines (1884) and the paper of the church at Ahuriri (1889). I have made use of these to supplement the manuscript, for in some cases they give a more complete account of the matters dealt with

COLENSO'S EARLY LIFE.

Mr Colenso was born in 1811 at Penzance, and was a member of an old Cornish family, being a son of Mr Samuel May Colenso, and first cousin of the late Bishop Colenso, of Natal, the celebrated mathematician and theologian. Educated privately at Penzance, Mr Colenso learned printing and book-binding in his native town, and subsequently worked as a compositor in the book printing office of Messrs Watts and Son of Crown Court, Temple Bar, London. In the year 1833, the Church Missionary Society, feeling the need through their missionaries in New Zealand of a printing press in this country, where all errors might be corrected on the spot by those familiar with the Maori language, appealed to their supporters with a view of securing the services of a missionary printer; and Mr Colenso on the recommendation of Messrs Watts, and after the usual preliminary examination, offered for this position. Mr Colenso's first difficulties began before he left London, for all directions respecting printing requisites were given by the under-secretary of the Mission House without reference to him. "Well do I remember," he says, "the answers that were returned to my repeated applications for an imposing stone and for page cord, not to mention other things. 'What, coals to Newcastle! In that country where flax grows everywhere wild and the natives are such adepts at making such beautiful lines and cords, and where the handsome greenstone abounds?'" ("Fifty Years Ago." 5)

THE VOYAGE OUT.

At length everything was ready, and in June, 1834, Mr Colenso left England in the ship Prince Regent for

Sydney. The voyage lasted seventeen weeks. On November 1st in a letter written to Mr Danderson Coates, secretary to the Church Missionary Society he announces his arrival at Sydney. The voyage apparently had not been very comfortable, but he says that "Captain Aitken, I firmly believe, as a captain is a worthy man," which leads one to suspect that in other relations he was not found so satisfactory. Mr Colenso in this letter asks for some Greek books, no doubt for the purpose of continuing his studies, and also that £5 should be paid half-yearly out of his salary to his father in Cornwall. Mr Colenso was obliged to stay eight or nine weeks in Sydney before he could continue his journey. At last on December 10th a small schooner, the Blackbird, of 67 tons was got ready, and he started for the Bay of Islands. In a letter to Mr Coates (January 16th, 1835) he says: "For three weeks were we beat about by contrary winds in the South Pacific in our little boat, which was not only very dirty and crammed with cargo, but very leaky. Her leaks gained on her considerably. She drew at last seven inches an hour and kept a hand almost constantly pumping. But He who holdeth the winds in His fist and ruleth the raging of the seas kept us by His mighty power from any harm, and on Tuesday, December 30th, allowed us to land on the shores of New Zealand." On Saturday, 3rd January, 1835—"a memorable epoch in the annals of New Zealand, I succeeded in getting the printing press landed."

AT THE BAY OF ISLANDS.

At this time there were three missionaries with their wives and families living at Paihia, the Rev. H. Williams, the Rev. W. Williams and Mr C.

Baker. They resided in three separate and rather large houses, which with their houses for domestics, carpenter's and blacksmith's shops and store-houses, and the mission chapel and infants' schoolhouse in the middle, composed the buildings of the mission station and made quite a little village. In the autumn of the same year the Rev. W. Williams was transferred to Te Waimate, a station sixteen miles inland, and Mr Colenso went with Mr Williams, who was translator and editor of the Testament and other books in Maori which Mr Colenso was to produce. I may mention here that the most interesting picture of the Bay of Islands settlement at the time of Mr Colenso's arrival is to be found in Darwin's "Voyage of the Beagle." The Bay of Islands was quite an important place of trade even at this time, much frequented by vessels engaged in the whaling, timber and flax trades. In 1836 no fewer than 160 ships put in at the Bay of Islands including 90 British and 50 American, while Kororareka, the chief settlement, had about 300 inhabitants, exclusive of sailors whose revels were the chief cause of the disturbances which broke the peace of the settlement.

Mr Colenso has published in the pamphlet "Fifty Years Ago" a full account of his early printing operations; and it is not necessary to detail these here. It is sufficient to say that the first book, a portion of the New Testament, was printed in Maori, in 1835, and that the printing of the complete New Testament in the same language was begun in 1836.

In addition to this work, Mr Colenso took his share in missionary labours, conducting services at the various settlements on the bay—at Waitangi where the British Resident, Mr Busby,

lived, at Kororareka (now Russell) where the main anchorage was—and so on. When the printing of the New Testament was completed in 1838, he and Mr W. Williams took a holiday and visited Poverty Bay by sea, bringing back with them youths to be trained at the Mission Station as native teachers.

After the journey he offered himself to the Church Missionary Society as a travelling missionary, and this offer was accepted. In December, 1842, a Mr Telford arrived to take over the work of printing. It may be noted that by this time Mr Colenso had printed and bound nearly 7000 prayer books, 10,000 primers and 5000 New Testaments. Mr Colenso had in April, 1842, married, and was now apparently studying at Waimate for his ministerial duties. In a letter dated October 2nd, 1843, he stated that Bishop Selwyn had deferred his admission to deacon's orders and had told him that when licensed he would probably be placed at Ahuriri. On September 22nd 1844, the bishop admitted him along with Mr. J. Hamlin to deacons' orders at Waimate, and shortly after he left the Bay of Islands.

Before quitting this part of the story it is well to add among the chief incidents he witnessed. The first was the visit of the Beagle with the celebrated naturalist, Darwin, on December 25th, 1835, with whom he says he spent a long and happy day, although neither noted the fact in his journal at the time. Lieutenant Hobson, the first Governor, arrived at Kororareka in January, 1840. Mr Colenso acted for some time as Government printer until he found it interfered with his duty to the missionaries, and was one of the witnesses to the famous Treaty of Waitangi, of which

he has written an interesting account. At this time there were perhaps 2000 English people living in New Zealand, some 500 or so being settled in the Bay of Islands, and many were attempting to purchase land from the natives for settlement. The missionaries, as we know, were obliged to protect themselves in a similar manner, but their purchases were modest besides those of other claimants, some of whom asserted a right to five, ten or twenty million acres.

By the time the Governor arrived, the qestion of deciding the validity of these land claims had become of the first urgency. In January, 1841, Mr Colenso writes of "the ferment about the land question." He says: "It is a sign that we are living in the latter days when I perceive even here at the Antipodies the same anarchical, ultra-republican spirit which appears to have pretty nearly circumambulated with rapid stride the whole globe." And in other places he refers to the difficulties caused by the missionaries holding land, although in the circumstances of the country it is difficult to see how else they could have provided for their families. ("Treaty of Waitangi," p 20.)

EARLY JOURNEYS.

Before finally leaving the Bay of Islands, Mr Colenso made three journeys, on the third making his first visit to Hawke's Bay in the summer of 1843, along with Mr W. Williams, the first Bishop of Waiapu. They left Poverty Bay by schooner for Port Nicholson, intending to return by land, but after a whole fortnight at sea were glad to land at Castle Point, from which place they travelled slowly to Ahuriri. On December 8th, 1843, they reached Awapuni—near Farndon—

where he found Archdeacon Williams. Ten acres had been given to the missionaries at this place by the Maoris, and a small chapel, which he describes as a fine building, had been begun, but was not yet finished. On the return he and Mr Williams journeyed together to Wairoa when they separated, Mr Colenso returning to the Bay of Islands by a long and circuitous route via Waikaremoana, Ruatahuna, Whakatane, Tauranga, Manukau and Whangarei.

ARRIVAL AT AHURIRI.

Mr Colenso, along with Mr Hamlin, was admitted to deacon's orders at Waimate on September 22nd, 1844, and on December 13th, 1844, the two missionaries left by the brig Nimrod for their new locations, Mr Hamlin for the Wairoa, and Mr Colenso for Ahuriri. The little vessel anchored off Ahuriri on December 29th, and the captain took a boat and pulled to the harbour to take soundings. He reported favourably, and the vessel worked in. Next day the cattle were landed, and the vessel then sailed ten miles to the east where the natives had put up a house. Canoes came alongside and took off their goods and in the evening Mr and Mrs Colenso and their infant son went ashore.

It is perhaps worth while dwelling a moment on the courage of these early settlers who went thus cheerfully into the wilderness, and suffered not only much privation, but were frequently in actual danger from the native population. Without roads, without neighbours, without doctors or schools, their lot was indeed anything but a pleasant one. Mrs Colenso, moreover, was left alone for long intervals while her husband was absent on his regular visitations of the country between Napier

and Wellington, the sole European, except the wild and generally ill-disposed whites at the various whaling stations in the bay. Mr Colenso makes a very infrequent mention of the whaling stations. For the most part he could not fail to recognise that they were opposed to his work, and that their influence with the natives was of doubtful benefit. He mentions as a favourable exception Mr Morris, whose station was close to the Kidnappers. The greater part of the stations were at the Wairoa end of the bay. I could find no details regarding these in Mr Hamlin's reports.

Mr Colenso's goods were landed on January 3rd, 1845, and two days later the first service was held in the church 150 natives being present. He at once set about building a study for himself, fencing the land, and getting things into order. As illustrating the difficulties of dealing with the natives his journal records (February, 1845) that a native named Walker demanded payment for a boatshed which they were putting up before it was finished. Colenso refused and Walker took up two spades. Colenso declared that he would not submit to this, and that Walker must pay him two pigs and ten baskets of potatoes as compensation for this insult. He further announced that he would buy nothing from Walker's tribe. This brought the Maoris into a more reasonable frame of mind, for the white man was the only source of cash, and the matter was arranged, not however before Walker endeavoured to pursuade Colenso to settle the dispute by wrestling. The Maori was 6ft 2in high, and Mr Colenso likens himself and his opponent to David and Goliath. In the end Walker returned the spades but tapu'd the road. Colenso then

put a boiler on the road and made it common again, and so the dispute ended.

THE MISSION STATION.

Writing to the society a year later (June 18th, 1846) Mr Colenso speaks very bitterly of his location: "We rarely get any news here until it is very old. The place is quite out of the way, low, damp, cold, and unhealthy, surrounded with morasses, and having snow upon the mountains and hills for several months in the year. The bishop said he thought it was the most disagreeably situated mission station in all New Zealand. In fact, there is nothing whatever to recommend it—no water, no wood, no good harbour, no shelter from stormy winds —not having hill or tree or bush near us—no female domestics to be had among the natives, and worse than all, no well disposed natives. All my stores, cases, etc., from England have always come to hand more or less rotten and my loss has been very great, in another letter (December 31st, 1846) he described it as "the coldest mission station in New Zealand, where in the winter the milk freezes in the pantry and the water in the bedroom." He had to pay several pounds for firewood during the winter, and all water had to be fetched in casks from a considerable distance at the rate of 1s a cask. (Journals June, 1847).

On one occasion after a flood the chief Tareha said to Colenso, "No one ever dwelt on this spot before; it has always been the dwelling place of an eel." No wonder Colenso suffered severely from rheumatism as a result of the damp situation. Later on (Journals, July, 1852, Letters October 12th, 1852) he acquired a site of 100

acres at Rotoatara—the Te Aute Lake —where he proposed to remove the station, and probably would have done so but for the termination of his connection with the Missionary Society. He gives an interesting account of the ceremony of purchase, which included the presentation of a spadeful of earth, a calabash of water from the lake, and a fern root, a ceremony of interest to students of law. This was probably the origin of the Te Aute trust estate.

In his printed paper on his first visits to the Ruahines (page 4), Mr Colenso describes the site of the mission station, and his words may be quoted here. "Words would fail me to shew the original state of that land! At this time, I resided at Waitangi, a place near what is now called Farndon—the two large fir trees, and also the row of cabbage trees, raised from seed and planted by me there mark the spot. The principal native villages near me were at Waipureku (East Clive) and Taanenuirangi, Whakatu, and Pakowhai on the banks of the river Ngarururo; this last village though greatly reduced and altered, still remains. In those days there was no communication overland between these villages and Waitangi and Te Awapuni (the large Maori pa, or village, near by on the west bank of the Waitangi creek where Karaitiana and his sub-tribe long resided) simply because it was impossible to travel through the dense interlaced jungle of cutting-grass and other swamp-loving plants, as the flax, which grew there. The Maoris generally came in small parties almost daily (indeed too often) from those villages to the station; everything being new and strange to them, and having nothing to do; but they invariably came and returned in their small canoes taking advantage

of the tide to paddle up and down the river. I have travelled a good deal in New Zealand, but I never knew a worse piece of country to get through; neither anywhere else have I seen 'cutting grass' of so large a size, and growing so closely together, and forming such a dense mass, so that a man, a cow or a horse, could not be observed even in looking down from a height (as the top of a house, or a long ladder, or a chimney) when among the immense tussocks. Hence, too, it was that I lost some of my few first cattle before the place got cleared. The whole of the low delta or tongue of land, lying between the two rivers, Ngaruroro and Waitangi, was rigidly tabooed by the Maori owners as a wild pig and swamp-hen and eel reserve; hence it had never been cleared or burnt off, and the sun did not shine upon the soil, which was just as wet at midsummer as in winter, with water and slippery mud in the narrow deep pig channels or ruts and pools among the tussocks. I well recollect on two occasions when out visiting sick natives at Pakowhai, also having domestic natives from the neighbourhood with me, and having lost the tide when returning overland rather late in the day, we were actually obliged after much further effort and sorely against our wills (being utterly unprovided with anything) to remain out in the swamp all night—with wet feet, hungry, no fire and sadly cut hands—through not being able to find our way through the imperious jungle. I have often of late years asked myself when contemplating from the hill (Scinde Island) the rising township of Napier, and the inland level grassy plains, with their many houses, gardens and improvements, and the fast-growing town of Hastings—which of

the two wonderful alterations or changes—the building of the town of Napier, or the great transformation in those swamps—I considered the most surprising, and I have always given it in favour of the plains. And this great change was brought about much earlier than I could reasonably have anticipated, through several causes operating together, viz.—my own few cattle—the introduction of grain and clover seeds, and also of wheat, for the natives—and through the natives around generally embracing Christianity, the chiefs taking off the tapu from the land, and so trimming off the jungle—then catching their numerous wild pigs which infested it, and then cutting and scraping the flax for sale to the shipping and traders—who soon after my residence came to Ahuriri to trade." Mr Colenso explains that the site was selected because it was tapu and common to all the chiefs. Had he chosen a better site elsewhere he would have ben regarded as the special property of the chief of that locality.

NATIVE NEIGHBOURS.

We have already referred to the fact that Mr Colenso was dependent on the Maoris for labour both in working his land, erecting buildings of any sort, and so on. The missionary committee at Paihia had allowed him £70 for the necessary work of completing the mission station, but he found the expenditure far exceeded this estimate. Apparently the committee thought that he should not have exceeded his allowance, and he appealed to the Home authorities for relief as the business had put him in debt. (Letters, June 18th and December 31st, 1846). It may be interesting to know what the cost of building in those days was. Mr Colenso's account shows that he spent £85 on

timber in the Bay of Islands, paid the chiefs £48 for erecting the house, £23 for other supplies at Ahuriri, £30 to natives for other work done and £10 for medicines, total £250. He explains that he had to do with a hard people in an out-of-the-way place. Kurupo kept the whole price of the timber so that the other chiefs got none. The large quantity of tools included is accounted for by the fact that in addition to his house he had erected eleven chapels and that eight others were in course of erection. It may be mentioned that Bishop Selwyn visited the mission in January, 1846 (Letters June 18th, 1846), and that on that occasion he confirmed 130 natives. Colenso records that there were 240 in the district. I find that the native population of Ahuriri at this time was estimated at 5000. ("N.Z. Spectator," September 6th, 1845).

MISSIONARY WORK.

Mr Colenso was called on to administer medicines and other relief to the sick natives of the neighbourhood. While building his house a native cut his hand. Colenso began to dress the wound and while he was doing so the native fainted. "Look, he has killed him," said the man's friends. On the native being recovered by a dash of cold water, "See," they said," he has made him alive again." (Journals, January 5th, 1845). The practice of the medical art must have been attended with considerable danger in those days. The chapel at Waitangi had been built before Mr Colenso's arrival but had been allowed to get into disrepair. The natives even kept pigs in it. (Journals, June 7th, 1845). For some time there was a difficulty in getting the repairs effected, the natives demanding pay for their services, which as Colenso remarks is not a good prin-

ciple. In the end, however, they gave way, and on his return from his journey to Gisborne he found them at work putting the chapel to rights. (Journal, August 13th, 1845). This chapel was the second to be erected in Hawke's Bay—that at Waipukurau being the first. In his first year Mr Colenso informed the society that he had erected 11 chapels and that 8 others were in course of erection. Among other places chapels were built at Tangoio, Rotoatara, Tarawera and Ngawapurua. (Letters, June 18th, 1845). At Waitangi Mr Colenso had a congregation of from 150—200 (Letters, Report for 1847), more than three-fourths of whom had several miles to come. He reports that Tareha, and Kurupo had embraced the faith, also Hapuku's eldest son and Puhara's brother. In a letter dated December 23rd, 1848, he says that his combined congregations totalled 2175, scholars 1570, and communicants 542. Many natives learned to read in order to study the New Testament and in 1848 Colenso states that he had distributed 200 copies of the volume in the previous six months. (Letters, September 14th, 1848). Another well-known chief, Renata Kawepo, came back with Colenso to Hawke's Bay and became a licensed teacher. (Journals, March 19th, 1845). It was the custom to hold an annual teachers' school(and in his report for 1847 (Letters, 1847) Mr Colenso says that 21 attended. He states: "A cheery sign is that 44 natives (including 11 teachers) had, during the past six months, given up the beastly practice of continually smoking, all of whom were inveterate smokers. This is one of the fruits of the annual teachers' school." Again he writes: "A great portion of the sin committed by natives arises from their immoderate and promiscuous use of tobacco." Although Mr Colenso ceased

to be the missionary printer on Mr Telford's arrival he had a small hand press at Waitangi and used to print notices, timetables, catechisms, and what he calls "Happy Deaths," which I take to be a series of improving narratives of a religious sort—not I imagine of a cheerful nature or specially suited to the native mind. (Journals, January 1851).

A GREAT TRAVELLER.

In the course of his work Mr Colenso necessarily became a great traveller, frequently visiting the Wairarapa, and even Patea and Taupo in the course of his district visitations. In February, 1845, Mr Colenso paid his first visit to Patea which he afterwards described in the printed paper already mentioned. The journals deal largely with the details of his interminable wanderings. His charge apparently extended from Waikari in the north to Port Nicholson in the south, including Taupo ("Ruahine" Note C. p. 69), and he was continually journeying from Waitangi to Wellington—always, of course, on foot. The records of these journeys are not on the whole interesting reading, but they give a very strong impression of the wonderful energy of the man and the arduous physical toil which he cheerfully encountered. Travelling in those days by beach and through forest carrying a pack was a difficult and laborious task. The traveller frequently went short of food, he was often benighted in the bush and at best had the doubtful accommodation of a native hut. I have not considered it necessary, in view of the details given in the "Ruahine" paper to quote from the record of these journeys. Nor were the natives always friendly to the missionary. They were already feeling the adverse influence of the trader and the settler, with whom Mr Colenso as a re-

sult frequently found himself in conflict. His first visit to the Wairarapa took place in March, 1845. On this journey he called at Mr Barton's station hich had recently been pillaged by the natives. He advised the magistrates to demand compensation in pigs and potatoes, but the magistrates were anxious to improve the occasion by securing a grant of land. Mr Barton declared that in that case he would be no better off. (Journals, March 19th, 1845). Mr Colenso, in his letter to the society, speaks of this visit as a heart-breaking journey," and "mourns the Nero-like spirit of the settlers to the natives." (Letters, June 15th, 1846).

In July of the same year Mr and Mrs Colenso walked from Waitangi to Gisborne, Mrs Colenso, who was expecting the birth of her second child, wishing to be near a white woman. They left Waitangi on July 25th and reached Turanga on August 6th. (See Journals). The days' stopping places (omitting the two Sundays when the travellers rested) were Tangoio, Moeangiangi, Waikari, Mohaka, Poututu, Wairoa, Whakaki, and two nights were spent in the forest before reaching Mr Williams' residence.

SOME DIFFICULTIES.

In connection with his mission work we may note an amusing incident arising from the advent of the Roman Catholic priests. Colenso notes that in 1848 a priest had visited Puhara. This chief told Colenso that the priest wished to see him so that they might both go through the fire and show which was the true faith. On this he remarks: "This fire ordeal is a great word just now with the Papists, both native and European. Whether the priests be really in possession of some

salamander-like recipe handed down from some of the monks of the Dark Ages, or of something more modern from their own chemists or from Chabert, the Fire King (a countryman of their own) or whether it is another step towards the completion of unfulfilled prophecy (2 Thess. 2-9 and Rev. 13, 13) I know not." (Journals January, 1848). The Meanee Mission was not established till 1852 (see Journals July 2nd, 1852), but before that Colenso had asked the Missionary Society to supply him with copies of the Vulgate and books of controversial theology to prepare for discussions with his competitors.

Two incidents may be referred to as showing the difficulties of dealing with the Maori neighbours. Very shortly after he settled at Waitangi a girl named Ann Parsons was abducted and her father, John Waikato, suspected Mr Colenso of being guilty of it. He came to the mission and assaulted Colenso, caught him by the hair and threw him to the ground. On Mr Colenso demanding compensation, Waikato again knocked him down and the natives threatened to burn his house down. Matters evidently assumed a critical aspect, but Colenso preserved his dignity and appointed a day for an inquiry into the charge. The day came and the girl herself appeared and cleared Colenso. Waikato admitted that he was wrong, and presented a canoe to Colenso as compensation. (Journals August 31st, 1845).

Not long after another trouble arose through the chief Hapuku, who became convinced that Colenso would interfere with the burial of Pareihe (an old chief). Hapuku was not a convert and he may have desired to use some native ritual. However, he visited Colenso and threatened to put a bone of the

dead man on the road and so close the road to the mission for traffic. Lazarus had said, "Does he think that we will be afraid of the bone of a dead man,"' and this had angered Hapuku. Pareihe's grave was close to the common road. Colenso satisfied Hapuku that he would not interfere, and the trouble blew over. (Journals, December 11th, 1845). On two occasions Colenso prevented tribal warfare. In 1847 Wanganui natives asked for men and ammunition to help them in a raid on Taupo. This was refused through Colenso's influence. (Letters, Report, 1847). Again in the same year the chief Tiakitai and a party of 23 were drowned on the way to Nuhaka in what Colenso calls a heathen excursion, they having been repeatedly and wonderfully warned not to go." Some time after Tiakitai's friends wished to start on a taua (punitive raid) to Nuhaka to avenge his death, but Colenso managed to prevent this. (Letters, Report 1847. Journals, July, 1847.)

EARLY AGRICULTURE.

The natives were keenly interested in agricultural work, although it does not appear that the Ahuriri natives ever developed as farmers in the way that the Wairoa and Gisborne natives did. Mr Colenso reports that when the first cow arrived in the bay 120 native canoes put out to welcome it. ("Ruahine" No. A. Page 65). The horse was another object of great curiosity to the native mind. On February 9, 1847, (Journals) Mr Colenso notes: "At Ahuriri met natives bringing horse from Rotorua for a chief, the first seen in these parts." The following year he notes: "The horse is a curse to the natives: the greatest hindrance to their good. They till less ground, catch less fish and become more lazy and careless.' In 1851 report (letters) to

the Society he says: "Never until this year have the tribes been in possession of so much worldly riches, especially wheat and money. Last autumn they had a fine crop of wheat which they most impatiently disposed of for horses, to which purpose also by far the greater number of those who had received a share of money for their alienated lands have wilfully squandered it, giving as much as £40 and even £60 for a horse. Upwards of 50 horses have been brought into this neighbourhood during the last six months, some of which have already died. One native has been killed and several more or less injured by falling from their horses. I almost fear to state the hundreds of bushels of wheat which they raised and sold last autumn lest it should be thought improbable, especially when the short time which has elapsed since I first procured them seed wheat from Auckland and the great distance many of them have to bring it 'to market' is considered. These remarks remind us of the natives' traffic in motor cars today. So keen was the desire for horses that the native teacher Renata, who seemed to have quarrelled with Colenso, turned horse-dealer and brought some beasts to Ahuriri in 1850, to the great joy of this native community. (Journals, December 10th, 1850.)

MAORI AND PAKEHA.

Mr Colenso naturally came to hold the position of mediator between the natives and the white settlers. As already indicated, he was more in sympathy with the natives than the settlers. The missionaries resented the interference of the settlers in their work, and the settlers returned the ill-feeling with interest. It must be confessed that the missionaries were not without some excuse for their attitude. An in-

stance of the friction between them is furnished by the difficulties in connection with the employment of natives on road work in the Wairarapa. (Journals, August 1841). In 1841 he notes: "Saw natives at work on road, each party under the charge of a white man, who generally reclined smoking under a tree. I reminded them of the Fourth Commandment. They said they had long ago been thrown aside." This indicates the cause of the trouble. Colenso sought to check the evil influence of the low whites, the whites retaliated by charging Colenso with interfering with the Government work. It came at length to a formal information to the authorities which stated that the natives in the Wairarapa had refused to work on the roads because Colenso had said it was work which would lead to bloodshed and had threatened them with excommunication. The Governor asked the Rev. W. Williams to inquire into the charges. He reported that he found the native teachers anxious because the road workers absented the visitors from the services and were induced to shoot pigeons and dance hakas on Sunday, which are contrary to the Christian profession." Mr Colenso had told them that it was good to work on the roads if in so doing they did not depart from Christian duty, but that otherwise they could not maintain a Christian profession. One native had proposed the exchange of his neice for a piece of print. Mr Colenso was there shortly after and had spoken strongly against it as in duty bound, and had said: "This piece of print which you have received is the price of blood. It will seal the ruin of both body and soul of the child." Now this is a very different version, says Mr Williams, from that I have heard in Wellington and will bear investigation

all the world over. The Governor accepted the statement as full and satisfactory, but Mr Colenso was not satisfied till he had reported the whole circumstances with copies of every document and letter at immense length to the Society. (Letters, November 25th, 1847).

The whalers in Hawke's Bay made the same complaint. Colenso writes: "The masters of the whaling stations in Hawke's Bay complained that I taught the natives not to work for them. What I really taught was not to work on Sabbath day, not to drink spirits or swear or omit their prayers or bring women for prostitution, for you cannot do these things as Christians; and when by and by they found that they could not remain at the whaling stations without doing such things they left." (Letters, page 254).

In 1852 Mr Alexander told Colenso that the settlers were incensed against him for putting the natives against them. Colenso said he was ready to meet the settlers. He had always advised the natives not to work on Sundays, nor stay away from divine service, nor to encourage the settlers to visit their villages on Sundays and not to permit teachers to become trading masters at their villages for the whites."

Another instance of his mediation occurred in connection with the attempt to purchase native land for the purposes of settlement. In September 1848, he writes that he has received letters from Mr Domett asking him to use his influence with the natives on behalf of the Canterbury Association, which then apparently proposed to purchase a large area in the Wairarapa for a Church of England settlement. Mr Colenso writes: "The Government wishes to purchase the whole of the

country from Wairarapa to Ahuriri, which if done will certainly seal the natives' ruin, for unless their reserve is in one block and at a distance from the whites, I cannot see any chance of their escaping the hitherto common fate of all aborigines with whom the white has come in contact," and he adds, "may the Lord guide me in this matter." On his visits to the Wairarapa he had urged the natives not to let their lands to the whites and had thus incurred the settlers' displeasure. He accordingly wrote to Governor Eyre stating that the Natives were opposed to parting with the whole of their possessions. He says: "Yesterday I met Hapuku and other principal chiefs at the village and spent some time with them informing them of the projected Canterbury settlement and its benefits, and of the wish of the Government to purchase the whole of the country between Ahuriri and Port Nicholson as detailed in your letter to me. One thing only, as far as I recollect, I did not mention to them the proposed life annuity of £25 to four of the leading chiefs. Having faithfully informed them of what I knew from Your Excellency's letter, I also told them that henceforward I should not interfere or have anything to say in the matter of their doing as they pleased with their lands, and that I could not conscientiously deviate from the advice I had formerly given them:—(1) Never to sell the whole of their land; and (2) if they conclude to sell it to be sure to have their reserve in one block with a good natural boundary between."On December 23rd, 1848, he wrote again respectfully declining to aid the Government by influencing the natives to sell their whole land and accept scattered reserves, but promising to preserve a strict neutrality in the matter.

UPHOLDING THE LAW.

Mr Colenso was frequently employed to recover goods stolen by the natives from vessels wrecked in the bay. The coast seems to have had some danger for small craft, for there are a number of cases of shipwreck. On January 2nd, 1846 (see Journals, also "N.Z. Spectator," January 14th, 1846) he secured restitution of the goods stolen from the United States brig Falco, wrecked on July 27th at Table Cape. When the chiefs arrived from Nukutaoroa with the goods Bishop Selwyn was staying at the Mission. Tiakitai, no doubt to mark his displeasure at having to return them, said that henceforward the bishop should be his father. Colenso replied: "That is well; let him be your father for books, medicines, and nails too." (Journals, January 2nd 1846).

In January, 1846, the cutter Royal William was robbed at Ahuriri. The "New Zealand Spectator" on January 10th says: "We are informed that the Royal William, on her trip to Hawke's Bay was rushed by the natives, who took out of her whatever articles of trade they required and left in return what they considered an equivalent in pigs. This may be freetrade, but we should think it desirable to place such trade under proper restrictions." Mr Colenso on January 12th secured a return of the stolen articles.

In July, 1847, the Sarah Jane was lost at Uruti (Wairarapa) and plundered by the natives. Again Mr Colenso helped to recover the stolen goods. The next year he reports that a trading vessel was wrecked at Cape Turnagain. But this time the goods were stored in native huts and mostly restored to the owners. A similar incident is referred to in a letter written by Mr Colenso to

the "New Zealand Spectator," April 28th, 1847: "The Flying Fish, Captain Mulholland, came into Ahuriri to refit. The captain and crew fell out and some of the latter left the vessel. A chief had tapued trade which the captain sold to another. The chief struck the captain and took away other goods." Colenso persuaded the chief to pay for these and in addition gave a pig for striking the captain.

THE WHALERS.

Mr Colenso was the first white resident in Hawke's Bay save the whalers. With some of them he was on friendly terms. On December 9th, 1845 (Journal) he writes: "W. Morris, owner of the whaling station at Cape Kidnapper, from whom I have received several favours in landing and bringing my goods in his boat and in landing stores when in want, called to-day to request me to use my influence and speak to Kurupo in his behalf as he thought he was about to treat him hardly and perhaps to rob his place. The cause is this. Morris, who had resided for several years among the natives has been in the habit, in common with other masters of whaling schooners, of giving the chief to whom the place belonged a trifling sum per annum for the right of fishing off that spot, but now Kurupo demanded £10, saying less he would not have. Morris declared that rather than give it he would leave and go elsewhere to reside; adding that of all natives he had ever seen and dealt with, those residing hereabouts were the worst. Now, when the immense outlay these men have to make before they are ready to whale—their constant exposure in the cold and winter season (for it is only then that the whales approach the coast) to daily peril, if not death, and the very great uncertainty attendant upon their labour

are on the one hand duly considered, and on the other the great benefit in the way of trade which the natives derive from them it will, I think be evident that £5 per annum is money enough for (as they call it) a 'standing' place for the trypot. I told Morris that I would speak to Kurupo and I wrote to the caller to come and see me." (Journal).

On June 13th, 1847, Morris called to ask help against some of his Europeans. Some of these men left him and stole some whaling gear from the natives for their own use. Colenso saw one of these men at Alexander's place at Whareraugi and got his promise to refund the goods.

The following month Smith, a decent looking white man from the Wairoa, came to him about the theft of his things by white men. 'He spoke of the whites residing in the bay as the very lowest and worst he ever knew—runaway soldiers and man-of-warsmen, convicts from New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land, who openly boast of their defiance of the Government." Colenso appealed to Morris who wrote to say that the natives would join Smith to recover the goods. (Journal, July 6th and 8th, 1847).

Another whaler was Edwards, master of the trading station at Putotaranui, a few miles south of Cape Kidnappers. On August 18th, 1845 (see Journals), he called on Colenso and said he heard that the natives intended to murder the whites, no doubt hoping for his help. On January 27th, 1847, Edwards' house was burned down with his little boy in it. The infant was buried at the mission near Edwards' new place of residence.

THE WHITE SETTLERS.

Notices of the white settlement are regrettably scarce in the journals. On

May 22nd, 1846, he notes: "A white man has come to the harbour of Ahuriri to reside, and while he himself appears a respectable man, his men will want native women. Kurupo called and promised not to procure them." Mr Alexander on January 13th, 1847, as already mentioned, had begun farming at Whararangi. In July, 1874, Alexander had started a white trader at Ngamoerangi, half way to Tangoio. These whites had a different standard of conduct from the missionaries, and the natives complained to Colenso of the bad example of professors of Christianity. (Journals July 19th, 1847). Alexander and the settlers, as we have seen, complained of Colenso setting the natives against them. On August 1st, 1848 (see Journals), a white man was settled as sawyer at Tangoio, and had his saws stolen. On April 17th, 1852, Colenso notes in his journal that "Anketell, a newly arrived trader at Ahuriri, complained of robbery on his premises by four natives. Colenso obtained the return of the goods. On December 10, 1850, Colenso (Journals) mentions that Moananui wanted to buy a cow, but Colenso had arranged to drive his cows after Christmas to Mr Guthrie at Castlepoint, apparently owing to want of feed at the station.

In December, 1850, Mr Donald McLean arrived at Ahuriri, and stayed there till April, 1851, with a surveying party. He bought two large blocks giving £1800 for one at Waipukurau, and £1000 (as a first instalment of £7000) for Ahuriri. This was the origin of Napier. Colenso received £1 from each native vendor for medical comforts for the sick. (Letters Report, 1851).

On September 2nd, 1851, Mr Colenso writes to the society: "Two matters have occurred which may affect us—the arrival of the well-known J. Grindell at

Ahuriri with a large lot of goods, there to settle; and the licensing of the European built house in that place as a bush public house. When I called a short time back upon the person to whom the license has now been granted he told me that he was a Presbyterian and a deacon in his church, and that his aim would be strictly to keep the Sabbath Day. The man has also a family of ten small children.

On June 9th, 1852 (Journal), Colenso went to Tangoio to conduct a wedding service. He notes that Mr Abbott, a settler of Waipukurau also attended. On the return journey they had a hard pull and grounded on the mud at Te Onepoto, Mr Alexander's place, and one of the crew purposely threw Colenso into the water to his great annoyance.

On January 31st, 1853, he writes to the Society that the Mission house at Waitangi has been burned down, only the study which contained his printing press and specimens being saved. He says he lost £300 by the occurrence (same letter). The same month he was summoned before Mr McLean for assaulting a native who had insulted him, and fined £3 which he refused to pay. Shortly before this, November 29th, 1852, Mr Colenso's connection with the Missionary Society terminated and his journal ceased.

A few words may be devoted to the state of the settlement at that time. The whalers were already here when Mr Colenso arrived in 1844. Mr Alexander settled at Onepoto in 1846. Hollis opened the first public house at the Port in 1851. In 1852 there were about 50 whites with their families settled at the Port, including Mr Villers and Mr McKain. Mr McLean was the first Government officer to reside there and he held a magistrate's court in the

Whare Kawana erected for him by the natives in 1852 in Battery road. By this time the Port was already a place of trade in Maori produce. There were eight hotels, often full of travellers. The settlement of the country began in 1849 when Messrs H. S. and F. J. Tiffen came from the Wairarapa and settled on the plains. Land was quickly taken up, and in 1852 Mr Alexander and Mr Burton did a good business in carting wool and other produce from the country to the Port. The first sale of the Napier sections took place in 1855, and in the same year it was appointed as a port of entry.

THE END OF HIS CAREER.

Mr Colenso removed to Napier in 1854, and on the introduction of Provincial Government in 1859 became member for Napier and Provincial Auditor. He was subsequently Speaker from 1871 to 1875 and Inspector of Schools. In 1861 he was elected member of the General Assembly for Hawke's Bay, and retained the seat till 1866. He died on February 10th, 1899 in his 88th year.

OLD HAWKE'S BAY.

THE EARLY SETTLERS.

The first white settlers of Hawke's Bay were the whalers, who seem to have first come to the bay in the later thirties. When they arrived the bulk of the native population was gathered on the northern shores of the bay between the Wairoa river and the Mahia. This was a result of an invasion by the Taupo and Waikato tribes, who harried the Heretaunga natives and severely defeated them at Rotoatara (a pa on the Te Aute Lake) in 1819 and again in 1822, and at Pakahe (the pa on Gough Island, Port Ahuriri) in 1824. The capture of these strongholds was followed by a migration to Nukutaoroa, on the Mahia, where the native population remained till about 1840, when the proclamation of British rule gave them confidence, and they gradually returned. The chief Hapuku was one of the few who escaped from Pakake by canoe, making his way to Wairoa. Tiakitai only escaped by arriving at the port too late for the fight. Renata Kawepo was taken prisoner at one of the Rotoatara fights and was carried off to the north. He escaped and made his way to the mission station at the Bay of Islands, returning to Ahuriri with Mr Colenso.

MAORI AND PAKEHA.

It is not easy to obtain information about the early whalers, as their operations were carried on before the in-

stitution of the press, and the missionaries, as we have seen, kept aloof from them. The most of what follows is derived from some articles which appeared in the "Hawke's Bay Herald" in 1868 (June 6th and 9th). According to the writer of these articles, in those days the Wairoa had a very big Maori population. On the Wairoa river, divided into their several hapus and under their distinctive heads, the natives occupied settlements on either bank, commencing at the mouth and extending many miles inland. The Ngati Kurupakiaka, under their chiefs, Tiakiwai, Taui and others, were the recognised bullies of the district. Their pa was situated at Te Uhi, at the mouth of the Awatere creek, close to where the mission house was subsequently built.

Mr W. Williams visited the Wairoa in 1839, and subsequently native teachers were appointed and a church built, Mr Hamlin being sent to reside there in 1844. After the establishment of the mission a very marked and rapid change came over the Maori, who made considerable progress under the missionary teaching, many learning to read their Bibles in a few weeks.

The settler in the early days was the property of the chief and his tribe, and regarded as a thing specially sent for their benefit. He was subjected to pressure whenever the necessities of chief or his subordinates made it desirable that a portion of his substance should pass into their hands. He was never thoroughly plucked, but was systematically blackmailed. The sales of land were made by the natives to obtain the settlement of Europeans for their own benefit solely. When they witnessed the increase of these settlements they would have stopped their growth; when they found that impos-

sible they attempted to make war on them. An instance of the feeling of the native to the white man occurred in the old whaling days at the Wairoa. Most of the whites lived at a place called Kaimango, opposite Te Uhi, on the south bank of the river; but for the purpose of being close to the fishery many shifted to a place near the mouth of the Waipaoa stream. One of their party by mischance broke a sliver off a canoe belonging to Kopu and Hapurona, whose tribe, the Ngatipuku, came down in a war party and demanded payment, enforcing their demand by seizing all the boats. The Ngati Kurupakiaka, who considered the whites as specially under their protection, immediately took up arms, and after violent threatening and fierce denunciations compelled the Ngatipuku to deliver up the boats and retire discomfited from the scene.

THE EARLY WHALERS.

In 1837 two fisheries were establsh-ed, one by Ward Brothers at Waikokopu, and the other by Mr Ellis at Mahia, and a number of whites collected together in consequence. At the time Mahia, like the Wairoa, was thickly populated by natives, Hapuku, Puhara, Morena and the principal chiefs of Heretaunga then residing there, so that there could have been no fewer than 2000 Maoris at that end of the bay. The whites lived a careless, reckless kind of life, drinking and gambling, having nothing to check them, and it is said that more people died of drink at these settlements than by the accidents of the trade, hazardous as it was. The two fisheries named employed about eight or nine five-oared boats, carrying six men in each, besides a little army of hangers-on, such as look-out men. Black oil was

the chief harvest, the sperm whales not showing up till 1842.

The Wards retired after the first season and Mr Ellis took over their station. In 1841 the Auckland people began to take an interest, Messrs. Morris and Brown working under their auspices. In 1842 Mr Perry, an American, appeared on the scene, and gradually seems to have acquired the rights of most of the other principals. Mr Morris shortly afterwards shifted to Whakaari, and Mr Ellis to Kini Kini (Long Point), where he resided till 1843, when Mr Perry bought him out. In 1844 Mr George Morrison started at Wairoa. Most of these men were no doubt agents for outsiders. One, Mayo, of the Bay of Islands, seems to have been the principal concerned in the fisheries, and later Messrs. Macfarlane and Salmon of Auckland. Whaling continued to increase in importance till 1852, at which time there were 50 boats engaged in the pursuit in Hawke's Bay, one person having as many as 18 under his direction. Some of the natives owned boats and others took part in the boats of the whites.

Most of the owners paid a rental for the ground occupied by the fishery huts and other works to the natives. The oil sold for £18 to £26 a ton, leaving big profits to the buyers. The boats were worked on shares. The headsman would receive 1½ share, the boat steerer 1¼, the boat 1, each pulling hand 1, and the try works ¼. The owners would appear to have been worst off under this arrangement, but in reality everything went to them. Clothing, food—lodging perhaps— had to be paid for and the balance—when there was any—went for rum, which the owners supplied. In 1845 a record catch of sperm whales was made,

26 being taken at Kini Kini alone. Each of these fish was worth on an average £200.

The "New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator" for August 27th 1842 states: "The schooner Kate from Hawke's Bay reports the whaling stations to be in a prosperous way. At the station belonging to Messrs. Hay and Machattie 40 tons of oil (black) had been procured and one sperm whale captured. The owner states the value of this sperm whale to be about £300, a small sum certainly for a sperm whale." I find in the "New Zealand Spectator" for January 11th, 1845 the home prices are given as follows:—Sperm oil per ton £84, head matter £92, whalebone £250.

In the "Handbook for New Zealand" published in 1848 (edited by E. J. Wakefield) I find a statement from official returns of the stations in Hawke's Bay in 1847. These were as follows:—

Kidnappers (Morris) 3 boats and 20 men.

Wairoa (Lewis) 2 boats and 18 men.

Waikokopu (Morrison) 3 boats and 20 men.

Mawai (Babbington) 3 boats and 20 men.

Long Point (Ellis) 3 boats and 20 men.

Portland Island (Mansfield) 3 boats and 20 men.

In that year 150 tons of oil worth £20 a ton, and 5 tons of whalebone worth £140 a ton, were taken in the bay.

THE FIRST VISITORS.

As already stated, Mr W. Williams and Mr Colenso visited Ahuriri in 1843, and the following year Mr Colenso came to reside at Waitangi.

For a year or two he had no white neighbours save the whalers, but then traders began to come to the port, and settlers from the Wairarapa were attracted by reports of the quality of the grazing land on the plains.

Two early descriptions of Hawke's Bay are to be found in the Welington press. On April 24th, 1841, Mr W. B. Rhodes writes to the "New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator" as follows: "The district is known by several names: that most familiar is McDonald's Cove. Many pronounce the native name Awridi, but Aoriri, the name I use is sanctioned by the missionaries. The roadstead is sheltered from the prevailing winds; and there is good anchorage in eight fathoms of water one mile from shore. The place would answer as a seaport second to Port Nicholson. The pa is built on an island at the entrance of the river a few yards from the mainland. I should recommend the principal settlement to be placed about ten miles inland on the banks of a river communicating with the port, being near the centre of a fine alluvial valley apparently surrounded by hills of moderate elevation containing probably about 200,000 acres of grass land, mostly clear of fern, and with the exception of some tutu bushes, all ready to put the plough into without any preliminary expense of clearing. There are three large groves of fine timber on the flat sufficient for all purposes of building and fencing. I have seen no place equal to it in New Zealand for depasturing sheep and cattle."

On May 3rd, 1845, the "New Zealand Spectator" contains a record of a walk along the East Coast, by Messrs J. Thomas and Harrison. They arrived at McDonald's Cove on October 27th, 1844, eighteen days out from

Wellington, and found it good for vessels of 100 tons. They say: "The land immediately around the lagoon is swampy and would require an embankment to render it available for the formation of a township. At the mouth of the river are two sandy islands which might answer for a few stores, but there is no wood, and water must be brought from a distance. The natives want to sell the plain of Hauriri as they want white people to come and settle among them, and doubtless it will make a fine settlement and secure much of the trade of the East Coast, offering as it does the only place of shelter against all winds from Port Nicholson to East Cape."

In a volume of letters by Bishop Selwyn to the secretary of the S.P.G., published London, 1847, there is a description of a journey from Kapiti Island via Waikanae, Otaki, Manawatu river, Ahuriri, Rotorua and Auckland to Waimate, Bay of Islands. The Bishop and his party must have been one of the first white men to pass through the Manawatu Gorge and visit the interior of Hawke's Bay. The following brief extracts relating to the early part of the journey may be of interest to readers:—"November 4th, 1842, landed at Waikanae and proceeded to Otaki, joined there by Missionary Hadfield and the Chief Justice. Nov. 5, reached Rewa Rewa, on the Manawatu R. Sun., Nov. 6, spent day at Rewa Rewa, conducted divine service and distributed copies of Gospel of St. Matthew. Monday, Nov. 7, began ascent of Manawatu with 6 canoes, each manned by 8 Maoris. Nov. 8, 9, 10, passed through the Gorge and reached a small Native settlement called Kaiwi-tiki-tiki, on the river bank. At one place in the Gorge the canoes had to be unloaded and carried past

some rapids. The chief at Kaiwi-tiki-tiki presented party with 25 baskets of potatoes and treated them kindly. Gospels in return. Friday, Nov. 11, reached highest navigable point of river, and after walking all day through bush encamped on small plain on the bank of the infant Manawatu. Sat., Nov. 12, Mr Hadfield returned to Waikanae. Sunday, 13th, conducted service and remained in camp. Enjoyed the songs of unnumbered tuis. Nov. 14th, struck camp, dived into a deep gully, crossed the river for the last time, crossed a few small creeks, passed through dense bush, and in a short time came out on the edge of a plain extending as far as the eye could reach; crossed the Makaretu, Tukipo, Tukituki, Waipawa-mate, and camped on the Waipawa river. Plain called Rua-o-taniwha. Nov. 15 walked over low hills on which wild pigs were very numerous; crossed small plain; reached Native settlement called Roto-atara; this place is on a small island in a small lake. The chief came to meet us dressed in an English suit of white duck, white hat, stockings and shoes; his wife wore an English bonnet and a brilliant red-spotted gown. At 1 o'clock met Archdeacon Williams and Mr Dudley, as per appointment made by letter from Otaki on Oct. 13. Nov. 16th, reached Ahuriri after passing over noble plain watered by the Tukituki."

SETTLERS AT THE PORT.

The earliest residents in the district settled near the port, and were engaged in trading with the Maoris, buying pigs, flax and other produce, as well as oil and bone from the whaling stations, and sending them to Wellington, while they sold to the Natives farm implements, tools, and other

European articles. Four small vessels are said to have plied regularly between Ahuriri and Wellington. For example, on September 11th, 1841, the schooner Gem arrived in Wellington with a cargo of pigs from Hawke's Bay. ("New Zealand Gazette") On November 16th, 1842, the schooner Kate arrived from Hawke's Bay with oil and bone ("New Zealand Spectator").

The first white man to settle at Ahuriri came, as Mr Colenso tells us, on May 22nd, 1846. This may have been Mr Alexander who the following year was farming at Whareraugi. He opened a store at Onepoto. Anketel began business as a trader at the same place at the end of 1849, and later Messrs Newton, Charlton and Richardson settled there. Mr J. McKain settled at the Western Spit in 1850 (Colenso, "Church at Ahuriri"), and Mr W. Villers soon followed. In September, 1851, Mr Colenso notes that the first licensed house had opened at the port. This may have been the house owned by Bob Hollis, subsequently taken over by Captain Munn, to whom the early settlers owed much. This was somewhere in the vicinity of the pound at the foot of Carlyle-street. In 1851 Mr Colenso ("Church at Ahuriri") says the little port was quite a bustling place of trade. There were eight hotels, and all were often full.

The site of the present town was bought from the natives by Mr (afterwards Sir Donald) McLean in 1853 for the sum of £7000. The township was laid out and called Napier in honour of the hero of Scinde. In 1855 the first sale of town sections took place, those on the hills fetching about £5 an acre, and those on the flats about £5 a quarter acre. In 1855 the port was

declared a port of entry, Mr Catchpool, who arrived in April, 1857, being the first Government officer to reside here. The natives built Mr McLean in 1853 a handsome house in European fashion in Battery-road. Here he held the first Magistrate's Court, fining Mr Colenso on one occasion, as we have seen. Afterwards, in 1854, Mr A. Domett came with his family and lived in it. He was responsible for the laying out of the town, and the naming of the streets. Then Captain Curling, who was the second magistrate, and after him Major Scully. The hills were then covered thickly with tall fern. There was no road between the port and the present town—Shakespeare road being formed in 1857—and wild pigs might after that date have been hunted on the hills.

SETTLERS ON THE PLAINS.

The country setlers came by way of the Wairarapa. In 1849 Mr H. S. Tiffen arrived in Hawke's Bay and in the same year Mr F. J. Tiffen (1849), with the assistance of Mr Northwood and others, including half a dozen Maoris, drove 3000 sheep by way of the East Coast to Pourerere, a run of 25,000 acres which Mr Northwood, assisted by Mr Charles Nairn, had secured from the native owners. This journey of 140 miles occupied four weeks, and only two runs, the Pahau and the Castlepoint stations, were passed on the way. It being decided to take 2000 of the sheep some miles inland to the Omakari portion of the run, Mr Tiffen took up his residence at that point, and for nearly three years lived there almost alone, his nearest European neighbour being the Rev. W. Colenso, of the Waitangi mission station, twenty-five miles distant. Five

miles still further on, at the Western Spit, lived Messrs Alexander and Anketel, traders, but to the southward the nearest Europeans were at Castlepoint, 70 miles away. When Mr Tiffen was called to Wellington to give evidence at the trial of Good for murder, he had to walk 340 miles and carry both food and blankets with him. Yet this hardship he eagerly undertook as a welcome change, having seen no European men and no women for nearly two years.In 1852 a petition to the House of Commons by the settlers of Ahuriri was signed by Messrs E. S. Curling, A. Chapman, F. Chapman, G. Rich, A. Alexander, D. Gollan, J. W. Harris, W. Villers, J. B. McKain, F. S. Abbott, J. D. Canning, C. H. L. Pelichet and C. Canning. These must be reckoned as the earliest settlers ("Herald," December 26th, 1857). In 1853 the settlers had become so numerous that the Government purchased from the native owners large blocks of land in the district for settlement purposes.

An interesting description of an early visit to Ahuriri I take from the "Hawke's Bay Herald" (June 13th, 1868). The writer says: It was about 1850 that reports first reached Wellington of the fine tract of country open for settlement at "Hourede," as Ahuriri was called in those days. There were said to be miles of plain covered with luxuriant grass. He quotes from an account given by an old settler of his first acquaintance with this district in 1851-2, who says:—"I remember, on meeting a gentleman who had been round the East Coast in a small vessel, asking him if he knew anything of the 'Hourede.' 'Oh, yes,' he replied, 'I called in there in the schooner. We sailed into a big swamp and landed in the bottom of a little gully. On climb-

ing up an immense hill, and looking over the surrounding expanse, we saw nothing but a long sandspit, with the Pacific Ocean on one side and an everlasting swamp backed by snowy mountains on the other.' 'But,' I said, 'surely there must be fine country somewhere about there.' 'No such thing; the dry land is all sand and fleas, and the water all salt and stinking bog water.' He modified this afterwards by saying that there were some clay cliffs, but Captain Rhodes had bought them for a bale of blankets and a few muskets, to settle a whaling station on. This report was not encouraging; but as brighter accounts came to hand from time to time, I finally determined to go and judge for myself. Accordingly, after mature deliberations as to the best way of travelling, the method most likely to yield the greatest information was affirmed to be walking. With a pack containing blankets, changes of linen, and weighing some 35lbs on each of our backs, my cousin and I started on our tour. Without describing all the difficulties and discomforts met, suffice it to say that we reached Waipukurau and got a glimpse at the heart of the famous district, and then pushed on to the port where we found that all was not barren. Other Waipukurau settlers had preceded us. Mr Northwood had taken up the Pourerere station on the coast; Messrs Tiffen, Gordan, Alexander and Russell had seen enough to convince them of what the future would bring forth, and determined to lose no time in establishing themselves. After examining the country, and making a selection, we started back, still walking, for Waipukurau. Hearing that the distance might be shortened by going through the 40, 70 or 90-mile bush, as it was variously called, we decided on taking that

route. An old settler at the time carrying on business as a storekeeper, and who had just started a sheep station at Waipukurau, joined us, and we three unhappy wights carrying provisions for three or four days, determined to make tracks for the entrance of the forest. The night before we left, a whare wherein we had received hospitable entertainment was burned owing to the ingenuity of the person who had built the chimney; he had cut the sods of which it was composed with the long grass growing to them; the roof was of thatch, the walls of reeds, and the result what might have been predicted. Fortunately we saved our swag and a tin of arsenic. Bidding good-bye to our kind, and now homeless entertainer, we started on our journey. Weary and hungry were the travellers when Takapau was reached. Wet and disgusted were they when after crossing the Manawatu sixteen times in a distance of ten miles we found ourselves at a native settlement, three days out and our supplies at an end. Dismal was the story our hosts told of the hard task before us, and courage was low in our hearts when we resumed our journey. Narrow the escape we had from a flood in the Ruamahunga. Many were the fleas that assailed us when we sought refuge in the pa at Kaikikirikiri, and the great imposition of the Maoris who demanded a pound for a few potatoes and the shelter of their smoky whares. We had been three days nearly without food, during which time rain fell incessantly. Our feelings of thankfulness may therefore be imagined when after getting away from these aboriginal leeches who thought of forcibly detaining us to ensure compliance with their demand, we reached the hospitable roof of an old settler in the Wairarapa valley.

NATIVE LAND PURCHASES.

The earliest land purchases in this district took place about 1852-3, when Mr D. McLean came over from Manawatu, and was met with offers of land from the chiefs. Some of these had learned at the Mahia the advantages of having Europeans resident among them, and there is an interesting letter from the fighting chief Hapuku to Sir George Grey their Governor on this subject which is worth quoting. Hapuku writes:—This is from your loving friend, who has agreed to give Mr McLean the land for you, that you, the Governor, may have the land and send me Europeans as soon as possible, at the same time with the payment that we may have respectable European gentlemen. I am annoyed with the low Europeans of this place. Let the people come direct from England—new Europeans to live on our lands at Pawitikura. Let it be a large, very large town for me." ("Herald," June 20th, 1868).

For some time the natives freely sold, but soon began to realise that they would do better by leasing. The Waikato confederacy had some influence in persuading the natives not to sell, and ultimately the "Native Land Purchase Ordinance" was passed to prevent persons dealing with natives direct. It was defended as necessary if the land purchase system, which after all was essential to the development of the colony, was to be carried on successfully. It would seem that the labour and difficulty attending the work of purchase were really very great, and the natives would have been no better off had they received ten times as much for their land.

EARLIER COMMUNICATIONS.

The port of Napier in the early days was at Onepoto where various traders

had their stores. Gough Island, now covered with merchant offices, had a native pa or village. Small vessels were dragged over the mud flats to Onepoto and loaded. Napier was still separated from the country by the impenetrable swamp, and a small 4 ton boat, "The Sailor's Bride" which used to ply between the port and Waipureku (East Clive) was the only means of access to the south. Waipureku was then a bustling place of trade. For some time the settlers had a difficulty in getting their wool to port. Goods were got up by the Tuki Tuki in native canoes, but the natives were extortionate, and at last a punt was built. The natives charged £5 a load from the port to Waipukurau, and in one case it is recorded that they struck when they got to Ratoatara for another 30s. The trip took three days. At last Mr Alexander solved the difficulty by starting a bullock team. ("Herald," June 13th, 1868). Another help to the transport of goods was provided by Burton's boating service. He tendered steamers arriving and took passengers to Poraite (Mr Alexander's) and Maraetara (Mr Carter's). In June 1857, when Mr Stafford, then Premier, visited the farm, he put up at Mr Alexander's. Burton also had a large punt at Mohaka and a whale boat at Wairoa. His boats went up to Patangata. Starting from Munn's Hotel they got through the swamp by poling to Tareha's Bridge, then into Tareha's creek to the source of the Waitangi, then they were dragged two or three chains over a bed of mud. After that it was plain sailing till the entrance of the Ngarururo was reached where shingle often lodged. Thence to Waipureku was easy, but the ascent of the Tuki Tuki was difficult owing to the rapidity of the river and the snags. ("Herald," August 24th, 1874). A

scheme for improving the water-way from Napier to the mouth of the Ngarururoro was discussed at this time. The road to Te Aute was only begun in 1857, but Waipukurau had a Board of Guardians (for roads) even at that early date.

The produce of the district was wool and mutton, pigs and flax. In October 1857 the Salopian, a schooner of 50 tons cleared for Auckland with 150 sheep, and in addition the Esther, Shepherdess and Sea Serpent plied regularly to Wellington. In 1858 the first wool ship loaded at the port. Even in those days a little steamer, the Wonga Wonga of 100 tons, plied along the coast. Her first trip to Napier in August 1857, brought Mr E. W. Stafford, then Premier of the colony. Mr A. Domett, Commissioner of Crown Lands, Messrs Donald McLean and G. S. Cooper, Native Land Purchase Commissioners, and Mr James Wood, the founder of the "Hawke's Bay Herald." The "Herald's" premises were originally at the port but were soon removed to their present site. From 1857, the files of the "Hawke's Bay Herald" form a record of the history of the growth and development of the town and province.

AN EARLY DESCRIPTION.

An interesting description of Ahuriri in 1855 appeared in "Chamber's Journal" for September, 1857, (reprinted "Herald," April 10th and 24th, 1858). The writer was a Mr Dodson, ("Herald," September 4th, 1874). He says:—"At Ahuriri in Hawke's Bay, on the coast of the Northern Island, have been discovered fine plains covered with good natural grasses, combined with the temperate climate due to the 40th parallel of lati-

tude. Many squatters have already settled on extensive sheep runs on the upland Ruataniwha plains, and these pastoral colonists will doubtless be followed by agriculturists as soon as the Government succeeds in purchasing the extensive alluvial plain at Ahuriri. . . . The Ahuriri plain is a good type of its kind, and illustrates well the peculiar process of the formation. Six rivers run through the plain into a common channel about 20 miles long at the back of a beach of small moveable shingle. The channel leads to a lagoon about 20 square miles in extent, lying at the back of the narrow beach also, and on the side of the plain opposite to Cape Kidnapper. An opening of 150 yards in width from the lagoon to the sea at the island pa is the only outlet for all these rivers in summer, but in winter each river swollen by heavy rains, bursts through the beach, and makes to itself a separate mouth. Notwithstanding that the tide rushes through the main opening at the rate of six or seven knots an hour, the lagoon is rapidly silting up, and mudflats are appearing wherever there is easy water. . . . The influx of settlers into this favourable district has already raised up at the entrance of the lagoon three public-houses where London porter may be had for half a crown a bottle, and brandy so plentifully mixed with fiery arrack as fully to confirm the Maoris salutary idea of the noxious qualities of waipiro."

Mr Dodson then describes a visit to Noah's pa on the banks of the Ngaruroro. He crossed the river at its mouth in a whaleboat, and walked along the shingle in the direction of Waitangi. "Large masses of pumice lay scattered around brought down by floods from the volcanoes inland. Of this light

material the settlers here built the chimneys of their weather boarded houses, cementing the pumice with lime of burnt shells; for building stone and limestone are not within a convenient distrance of Ahuriri. . . Karaitiana was to meet me at Pukenau, the kianga of Noah, on the Ngarururo; I therefore passed Awapuni, the kianga of Karaitiana, and crossed the channel in a canoe to Pukenau on the grassy banks of the Ngarururo. The village contains about twenty houses, snugly hid among groups of noble willow trees, just then opening into their fresh green leaves, in pleasing contrast to numbers of peach trees, flushing all over with their pink blossom of early spring. All the villagers were at work, some ploughing with horses, others digging with spades to which they seldom needed to apply the heel, so light is this sandy river soil. The women and children were putting in uncut seed potatoes, while the patriarch Noah followed with a hoop of supplejack on a long handle with which he filled up and smoothed over the furrows. Potatoes, wheat, and Indian corn are the staple of the Maori farmer. Pakehas—often old whalers or refugees from Tasmania—are settled along the coast to buy produce, potatoes, wheat and Indian corn from the Natives, who bring it down the rivers in canoes to the store on the coast, and return with supplies of slop clothing, farming implements, etc. The merchants of Auckland send schooners and smart brigs to drogue for wheat along the coast; and thus the harvest finds its way to market. In many cases, however, the natives themselves possess smart sea-going craft which they navigate with surprising skill. The natives of Poverty Bay alone possess 83 such vessels. The proceeds of the crops go to buy horses,

saddles, clothes, ploughs, etc., for the Maoris pay no rent and are not troubled with butchers' or bakers' bills, since they grow their own food on their own land, moreover, they are free from all rates and taxes. During my stay here I was lodged in Noah's house, which is the first Maori house I have met with that differs from the universal ancestral type. It has two apartments, a but and a ben; a table, windows and a high door; a pumice-stone chimney and a bed-place raised above the ground, not unlike the boxes that do the office of bedsteads in the fore cabin of a small steamer, but still a great improvement on sleeping on the earth. In the evening a prolonged tinkling on the head of a hoe summoned the village to karakia, or church, a building nearly covered with drooping willows, where Noah read prayers in Maori amid prolonged silence, except where responses were required. Before and after our meals grace was invariably said. A few hundred yards from the little village stood a large native church capable of containing one thousand persons, now gradually falling into decay, the regular services having been for some time suspended. . . . The natives are sober, intelligent, frugal and industrious, and as farmers are evidently formidable competitors of the European emigrant." The description suggests considerable changes in the configuration of the Inner Harbour.

THE FIRST CENSUS.

If we try to picture the state of the district as it was then, we are helped by the first almanac issued with this paper on January 2nd, 1858. We are told that "the District is at present a portion of the Province of Wellington, but the mass of its inhabitants strong-

ly desire a separate political existence. The district in round numbers contains 3,000,000 acres, of which it is said one-fifth is available for agricultural purposes, and of which about 1,200,000 acres have been acquired from the native owners. It is estimated that about 700,000 acres are at present occupied as sheep runs or pastures. Large tracts of valuable land available for agricultural purposes and near the port are still held by the native owners, and may be expected in due time to pass into the hands of the Government. The climate is considered the finest in New Zealand. The result of the census taken in last March was as follows:—Souls 982, acres fenced 1458, horses 382, cattle 3081, sheep 130,668. The export of wool last year was as nearly as can be ascertained 900 bales, containing 300,000lb, which at the ruling price of this staple commodity may be valued at considerably more than £20,000. The outlet of the district—the town of Napier—is rapidly progressing, houses springing up in all directions, and its population receiving almost daily additions."

In 1858 the township of Napier had made some progress. In a letter to the "Herald" in May of that year Mr Colenso says:—"I take my stand at the Royal Hotel, the southern terminus of Carlyle-street, the principal thoroughfare. Thence to the Land Office at the northern end is about a mile. Upon this street I count on the one side 11, and on the other five houses. From the Land Office I proceed over the second great thoroughfare, Shakespeare Gully, or to the Pilot's house at the extreme anchorage, a distance of upwards of another mile, and here I find a much less number of houses." And Mr Colenso preceeds to discuss the necessity of making the streets of the township already laid off. The Land

Office established on the present Government Lawn determined the centre of the town. Stores began to appear in the vicinity. But the uncertainty as to the best locality for business purposes was well illustrated by the fact that a year or so later, when the first bank was opened in Napier by the Union Bank of Australia under Mr Brathwaite, its offices were situated at the corner of the Shakespeare road at the junction of Clyde and Fitzroy roads. The Magistrate, Mr Curling, held his court in the Royal Hotel, no other building being available, and there also Mr C. R. D. Ward held the half-yearly meetings of the Sessions of the Peace Court. The gaol was in charge of Mr H. Groom, of the police force. The prison itself was but a frail structure, in Dr. Hitching's gully, as it was then called—and it is said that sometimes when the gaoler was away the inmates would break out and find their way to the public-house, where they would join Mr Groom in a drink before being haled back to the lock-up. The prisoners, at times, accompanied by their gaoler, would go down to the Royal and indulge in cards of an evening. It is even said that a notice was stuck up warning all prisoners that they would be locked out for the night. Dr. Hitchings, the native surgeon, was another prominent townsman in those days, and was in 1858 elected the first Coroner of the district, Mr Colenso opposing him.

THE CHURCH.

When Mr Colenso's connection with the Church Missionary Society ceased in 1853 there was no Church in Napier. When he was asked to marry a couple of early residents in 1852 they had to go to the Native church in Petane for the ceremony. There was no church in Napier until the St. Paul's Presby-

terian Church was built. The St. John's Anglican Church was built shortly after, but services had previously been read in a schoolhouse. Bishop Selwyn visited the town in 1856, when a committee was formed to secure a site and collect funds for building a church. The schoolhouse referred to was that built by the Rev. W. Marshall and opened in December, 1855, at Newton's old store. When the school opened it was not complete, calico taking the place of glass in the windows. ("Herald" August 8th, 1874). Mr Colenso (Church at Ahuriri) says that Mr Marshall came in 1852, but soon left, returning in 1857, and that he did not start his school for some years after that. This is perhaps incorrect. In 1857 a proposal was made to establish a Wesleyan chapel in Napier. Mr Colenso wrote to the "Herald" (November 10th, 1857) urging some "less denominational, and more Christian," and offering his services, "as the clergyman episcopally ordained as the clergyman of Ahuriri, although I regret to say now for five years suspended from duty," not only to preach, but to give a scientific lecture once a month.

In 1853 the Rev. S. Williams, one of the most honoured names among the early settlers, first settled at Te Aute. In the previous year Sir George Grey, then Governor of New Zealand, feeling that a large English population would soon be flocking into the district before the natives were prepared to come into contact with them, and fearing that a collision might ensue, urged Mr Williams, then in charge of the Otaki district, to go to Hawke's Bay to stand between the two races. He promised to provide money for the purchase of sheep and for buildings and for carrying on the school now famous all over New Zealand. Mr Williams proceeded overland by the Manawatu

river, as many of the early settlers did. There were no roads in those days, only pig tracks. He met Sir George Grey and Bishop Selwyn at Waipukurau, and the site for the school was selected. In 1854 he brought his wife and infant daughter to Te Aute, where their first habitation was a Maori pataka, or storehouse, and subsequently a raupo whare of two rooms. It is interesting to know that so small was the value of land in those days that the main block of 4000 acres was leased for a few years at an annual rental of £5, and that even at that price the tenant could not make it pay.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

The conditions of life were very different in the early settlement to anything we have experience of to-day. In the country the absence of roads was the chief drawback. The old settler would probably leave Dan Munn's Royal Hotel to go inland, crossing the Waitangi at Mr Colenso's residence, whence a Maori track led over the Kohineraku hill. Afterwards you had to find your way as well as you could. On the sheep runs the settlers were reduced for years to grinding their own wheat. Even visitors when stopping at a station were expected to grind a hopper for their own consumption, the hopper being fastened to a post at the door. Milk and butter were not known. Damper, with tea and mutton, formed the staple of breakfast, dinner or supper. Even in the town there was no bakery in 1857, and, although the bush was so close at hand, firewood, the only fuel available, was sometimes hard to get. The inhabitants were dependent on food supplied from the outside. Potatoes from the Chatham Islands were sold at £6 or £7 a ton, and flour from Auckland at £24 per ton. Amusements

were scanty. The first races recorded were held in honour of the separation of the province on March 19th, 1859, when Mr J. D. Ormond was prominent as an owner of racing horses and the Hawke's Bay Stakes of the value of £50 was won by Mr C. J. Nairn's Charlie Napier. An earlier meeting was held at Waipureku in 1856, where an excellent course was laid out by Messrs Fitzgerald and Tanner, as stewards. Cricket was played in those days on the site of the present post-office, and it was usual to make the losers on such occasions stand treat for the winning team. As is usual in such communities, a good deal of liquor was consumed. The whalers would broach a keg of rum in the streets and invite everyone to participate, and wild scenes often ensued. The young bloods in their cups would paint the town red, cheerfully paying for the damage done, so that nobody was disposed to regard their pranks seriously. If the perpetrators found themselves before the Magistrate that genial personage would probably inflict a fine with a private hint that it need not be paid.

There were two features of the life of fifty years back that were striking. One was the natives, who were numerically much stronger than the whites and who were inclined to be turbulent. The quarrel between Moananui and Te Hapuku led to bloodshed on several occasions in 1857 and 1858, and was only terminated when Mr Donald McLean persuaded the latter to burn his pa and retire to Poukawa. So great was the anxiety caused by the attitude of the natives that a detachment of the 56th Regiment under Colonel Wyatt was despatched to Napier, arriving about August, 1857, and camping in the present Botanical Gardens. The soldiers were a distinct feature in the life of the infant settlements.

THE SOLDIERS.

Mrs E. M. Dunlop has given a vivid picture of these times. She writes:— In 1858, certain military of the 58th Regiment, under Colonel Wyatt, were sent to Napier to quell a disturbance brought about by the chief Hapuku, and it is from this point that my memory dates, as my people accompanied these troops. We were encamped in a valley on the western side of the island, known as Onepoto, and the greater part of the year was spent in that locality while the barracks were being erected on the top of the hill where the hospital now stands. The soldiers ocupied tents in the valley, the officers and their wives being similarly provided.

Great round holes were dug in the bank over which our tents were pitched, excavations being made in the banks to serve as cupboards, and a table arranged round the tent pole. Thus we lived in a canvas-covered pit, from which we ascended by steps to the upper air. A fireplace was cut in the bank and a rough sod chimney conveyed the smoke away. So we fared, and often I have heard my mother, who was fresh from all the luxuries of an English home, say that she never enjoyed any part of her life so well. She possessed the true spirit of the pioneer, hardship and discomfort were amusement for her, and she met every vicissitude with a smile. The freshness, the novelty of the surroundings, the camaraderie, the spice of danger, seemed to her the very wine of life.

We had the excitement several times of the tent being blown down about us in the dead of night, and one of my earliest memories is that of being carried through the wild wet night in the arms of a soldier to a safer resting

place—a mud hut on higher ground. Alarms were frequent in the camp, as it was supposed that a hostile attack might be made by Maoris. The bugle would blow calling the whole camp to arms, and a scene of wild excitement would ensue.

Our arrival at the valley of Onepoto was somewhat sensational. We were disembarked at the Spit—known as the Iron Pot—and had to make our way along the sandy spits and rocky shore as best we could. My father sprained his ankle as we disembarked, and was carried on a stretcher, wife and children following—the younger ones carried in kind soldier's arms. The soldiery as a body went across in boats over an inner lagoon filled with shallows, transit being problematical. However, two or three days saw us quite settled in camp.

Various stores and other buildings were going up on either side of the island where Napier now extends. A school was soon initiated by a most worthy clergyman, the Rev. W. Marshall, who was identified with the rise of Napier. Newton's store was built and celebrated with a grand ball to which my mother went with other ladies from the camp her toilet being made in the tent before a looking-glass swung from the tent pole. The ball was much enjoyed, though she often amusingly recounted the adventures of the hop, skip, and jump necessary to avoid the large cracks in the flooring which somewhat interfered with the dance. The Superintendent, Mr Fitzgerald, built a small house, which is still standing, near where the breakwater now is, and we were fortunate enough to procure a part of the cottage next to it, which is also still standing. Mr Lyndon occupied the third cottage; this gentleman, who only passed away at a great age a

short time back, was identified with the whole history of the place from the earliest days to a recent year. He was an excellent settler, making several lovely homes and encouraging horticulture which he loved, and to which the soil is naturally suited.

The town was now laid out, stores, churches, and other buildings were springing up, the town of Napier was taking shape, and country settlement progressed. We were advised to venture inland and travelled by bullock dray, taking five days to reach Te Aute—a distance now traversed by rail in less than two hours. Strange indeed and perilous was our progress; the long cavalcades of bullocks winding round the cuttings, the drays sometimes tipping over on a slippery siding; the starry night, the strange encampments, the voices of the men as they talked or shouted to their bullocks by name; the camp fires, the weird figures of our Maori friends, combining to make up a never-to-be-forgotten picture. We passed through Clive, already a hamlet. A kind woman came out from her shanty with her apron full of hard-boiled eggs which she offered to the travellers for their journey. We floundered in great peril through the river near Havelock, where we encamped for the night, entering the next day upon the long gorge which was traversed with many adventures. At length our goal was reached, and our tents pitched in the Te Aute Valley, which was filled with magnificent forest; giant pines hoary with moss of ages, thick undergrowth and ferny boscage—with carpets of green moss from which arose the tree-fern and the nikau, while the tree-tops were alive with parakeets, pigeons, and fantails. A trickling rill supplied moisture. Axe and saw were soon busy, and slab huts arose by the wayside,

while the long white road began to take shape.

SOME PIONEERS.

The electoral roll for Napier on January 1st, 1859, contained 89 names, among which, in addition to those already mentioned, may be found those of Messrs A. Domett, T. H. Fitzgerald, W. Frame, R. France, J. G. Kinross, E. W. Knowles, D. Munn, J. W. Neal, T. K. Newton, G. E. G. Richardson, J. Robjohns, F. Sutton, J. H. Vautier, Among the names of the Napier county district roll will be found those of Messrs W. Colenso, J. Grindell, J. Hallett, J. L. Herrick, T. Lowry, A. McLean, D. McLean, F. F. Ormond, H. B. Sealy, E. Tuke, W. Villers, J. N. Williams. In Clive district roll are the names of F. Bee, J. Chambers, W. Couper, P. Dolbel, R. Dolgel, G. T. Fannin, J. B. Ferguson, J. McKinnon, A. Price, R. Price, J. Rhodes, In the Mohaka list is the name of F. E. Hamlin. In the Te Aute list, E. G. Carlyon, J. Collins, C. Pharazyn, E. Pharazyn, R. Pharazyn, and S. Williams. The Waipukurau list includes the names of F. S. Abbott, J. D. Canning, G. S. Cooper, C. G. Crosse, J. R. Duncan, E Fannin, D. Gollan, F. W. Hargreaves, D. L. Hunter, W. H. Hunter, A. St. C. Inglis, C. J. Nairn, N. Newman, J. D Ormond, H R. Russell, T. P. Russell, J. M. Stokes, T. Tanner, F. J. Tiffen, L. A. Tiffen, A. Witherow, G. E. Worgan As early as October, 1857, there was a Board of Wardens at Waipukurau consisting of Messrs H. R. Russell (Chairman), P. Russell, J. D. Canning, J. D. Ormond, G. Worgan, J. Tucker, E. S. Curling, and R. Pharazyn. There was no local authority in Napier, although in 1858 it was vainly endeavoured to form a board under the Provincial Streets, Sewerage and Drainage Act.

THE FIRST OFFICIALS.

It may be interesting here to give the names of the first Government officials from the almanac of 1858 already referred to. They are as follows:—

Chairman of the Sessions of the Peace Court—C. R. D. Ward.

Clerk of Court.—E. F. Harris.

Resident Magistrate and Chairman of the Bench, Napier.—John Curling.

Clerk and Interpreter.—E. F. Harris.

Chairman of the Bench, Waipukurau.—Alfred Newman.

Police.—H. Groom, corporal; J. Rose, private.

Magistrates resident within the district:—Messrs John Curling, R.M., George S. Cooper, John C. L. Carter, H. R. Russell, Donald Gollan, Alex. Alexander, Alfred Newman, James Anderson, Walter Ogilvy.

Visiting Justices of the Gaol.—Messrs John Curling, J. C. L. Carter.

District Land Purchase Commissioner.—G. S. Cooper.

Sub-Commissioner of Crown Lands.—H. S. Tiffen.

Clerk.—J. B. Williams.

Chief District Surveyor.—H. S. Tiffen.

Provincial Sub-Treasurer.—E. Catchpool.

Deputy Postmaster.—E. Catchpool.

Returning Officer.—John Curling.

Native Surgeon.—T. Hitchings.

Deputy Registrar of Births, Deaths, and Marriages.—E. Catchpool.

Inspector of Sheep.—F. Tiffen.

Registrar of Brands.—F. Tiffen.

Registrar under Dog Act.—E. F. Harris.

Official authorised to lay Informations under the Native Land Purchase Ordinance.—E. F. Harris.

Commissioner for taking Affidavits for the Supreme Court.—E. Catchpool.

Officer appointed to Issue Licenses for the Sale of Ammunition.—John Curling.

Pilot and Ferryman.—John McKinnon.

SEPARATION.

At the commencement of the settlement in Hawke's Bay this district was attached to the Wellington province. Very early, however, a desire for separation manifested itself. The earliest meeting held to promote this object appears to have taken place on December 31st, 1856, Mr Purvis Russell taking the chair ("Herald," August 11, 1874). In the third issue of the "Hawke's Bay Herald" (October 10th, 1857) a leading article called attention to the cry for local self-government which was making itself felt at that time, not only in Ahuriri, but also in Wanganui within the Wellington province, and in the district of Wairau in the Nelson province. The following week this journal stated the case for separation. The district of Ahuriri, it said, "contributes laregly to the provincial revenue; it has only a nominal voice in the expenditure of that revenue; and prior to the late arrival of Mr Roy, not £100 in all had been expended upon the roads of the district or in public improvements of any description." Towards the end of the year the Superintendent of the province, Dr. Featherston, arrived in Napier and addressed a meeting at the Royal Hotel. He was asked the question: "What advantages are the settlers of Hawke's Bay likely to derive from a permanent union with Wellington, involving as it does being made responsible for loans for which it does not appear likely they will receive any benefit and the spending in Wellington of the greater part of the revenue raised here; also the difficulty of legislation on local affairs by persons residing 210 miles away and principally

unconnected with the district, and the danger of sudden changes from time to time, seriously affecting the Ahuriri district against the consent of its inhabitants, owing to the great preponderance of members in the Provincial Council for the town of Wellington and its suburbs?" Dr. Featherston declined to enter upon the subject of separation.

A little later another meeting of settlers assembled at the Royal Hotel to meet Mr J. V. Smith, the member for Wairarapa and Hawke's Bay in the General Assembly. Dr. Hitchings asked Mr Smith if he would support a petition for separation, and Mr Smith consented to present such a memorial and to support its prayer. He said that he was in favour of an extension of local government, and trusted that Ahuriri would not only obtain separation for itself, but be instrumental in sweeping away the existing hexarchy, and establishing thirty counties or districts in the place of the six provinces.

The settlers lost no time in preparing a petition to the General Assembly, which was drawn up by Captain Curling, R.M. A public meeting was held. Captain Carter took the chair, and Mr J. B. Rhodes acted as secretary. The adoption of the petition was moved by Mr Fitzgerald and seconded by Mr Rhodes. Almost the only dissentient was Mr Colenso, who apparently was not allowed to finish his speech. The motion was carried, and, says our report, "this finished the business of a meeting the most important that has yet assembled in this district."

The next step was the passing of the New Provinces Bill on July 28th, 1858, which authorised the Governor on the petition of three-fifths of the registered electors in a district to constitute it a new province. In consequence of he

provisions of the bill, a public meeting was held in the Golden Fleece Hotel (on the site of the present Bank of New Zealand) on Monday, September 20th, 1858, at which Mr H. S. Tiffen took the chair. Mr Rhodes proposed the resolution in favour of separation, which was seconded by Captain Newman. The motion was carried, and 98 signatures obtained the same day to the petition, that number being subsequently increased to 200.

The petition was forwarded to Auckland, and on November 1st, 1858, the Governor by Order in Council established a new province to be known as Hawke's Bay, and constituted the town of Napier its capital. Such was the state of communications in those days that the news did not reach Napier till Friday, November 12th. It appeared in the "Herald" the following day.

THE NEW PROVINCE.

On December 1st, 1858, a proclamation decided that the council of the province should consist of 10 members and that the province should be divided into six districts:—Napier (three members), Napier Country (two), Clive (one), Mohaka (one), Te Aute (one), and Waipukurau (two). The election resulted in the following members being returned:—Napier, Messrs. T. H. Fitzgerald, W. Colenso and T. Hitchings; Napier County, Messrs. H. S. Tiffen and J. C. L. Carter; Clive, Mr J. Rhodes; Mohaka, Mr Robert Riddell; Te Aute, Mr E. S. Curling; Waipukurau, Messrs. J. D. Ormond and J. Tucker. The establishment of the new province was celebrated by two days' racing, a dinner, and a ball in the schoolhouse. The first meeting of the council took place in the Golden Fleece Hotel on Saturday, April 23rd, 1859. Mr J. D. Ormond was elected chairman

of the meeting, and subsequently Speaker of the Council and Mr T. H. Fitzgerald, Superintendent. As a matter of fact, the first choice for Superintendent seems to have lain between Captain Newman and Captain Carter, but, as the Councillors were equally divided, both candidates retired. The second meeting of the council was held on Monday, May 16th, when the Superintendent gave his address. The first officers of the Provincial Government were as follows:—Clerk, Mr G. T. Fannin; treasurer, Mr F. Catchpool, solicitor, Mr W. Boorman, auditor, Mr W. Colenso; engineer, Mr T. Gill; registrar of deeds, Mr H. B. Sealy; director of harbour improvements and public works, Mr E. G. Wright. Of all these, only Mr Ormond is with us to-day. We have now carried the story of old Hawke's Bay as far as the inauguration of provincial government, and there we must leave it for the present. To the self-reliant character of our pioneers we all owe a debt of gratitude, and it is fitting to put on record our appreciation of the good work they did in the early days of the settlement.

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