



eColenso

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it might be forwarded to interested others. Contributions should be emailed to the editor, Ian St George, istge@yahoo.co.nz.

Part 2: Traitor?

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Traitor?

Closely related to Colenso's antagonism to the alienation of Maori land is the suggestion that he obstructed work to develop public road—specifically the Rimutaka Hill road.

On 4 December 1847 TH Fitzgerald, surveyor and Director of Roads, wrote, from “River Hutt”, to SE Grimstone, acting Colonial Secretary

I have the honor to enclose for the information of the Lt. Governor a letter from Mr. Nairn late Foreman to the Road Party at Wairarapa—reporting the result of his endeavours to procure the laborers for the road who had promised to come when he went for them.—

*I have only further to add that it is not the first time I have heard of the Revd. Mr. Colenso's endeavours to prevent the Natives from working on the road to the carrying on of which by Native Labour I am led to believe from the statements of the natives themselves he uses every means in his power to obstruct.**

I have the honor to be, Sir, Your most obedt. Servt.

CJ Nairn's letter to Fitzgerald, from Pai o tu Mokai (Featherston) is dated 25 November 1847,

I have the honor to inform you that on Saturday November the 18th I proceeded accompanied by Mr. R. Deighton late Interpreter on board the H.M.S. Calliope to the upper part of the Wairarapa Valley to procure natives for the road at the Pai o tu mokai in which I felt confident of succeeding, as the natives from that part of the [] on leaving the work in September last to plant provisions stated that it was their inten-

tion to return this month, and that they wished that I or some other one on the road would fetch them if they were wanted.

On our arrival at Mr. Tiffen's station we were met by Ngatuere one of the principal chiefs of the district, who told us that it was useless our going further, as he could answer for the whole tribe, that none would return to the road. Upon our enquiring his reason for so stating, he said Mr Colenzo the missionary who had lately passed had forbidden them returning on pain of excommunication. Moreover he added you Maories are fools for making a road for your own destruction, but the expression which more particularly attracted and astonished us was (it had much better be given in their own language) “Kei hoki koutou ki tena mahi he mahi whakaheke toto”. Whatever Mr. Colenzo intended to impress upon their minds we are perfectly at a loss to find out, but the impression it has left is that “it is a work which will cause their blood to be shed.”

Thinking this to be only a native report and not liking to put reliance on the word of one man, we proceeded to the Kerekere[†] (a native settlement about three miles above Mr. Tiffen's) the natives of which place confirmed the whole of the foregoing statements, and further that Mr. Colenzo addressed them in a body to the same effect.

They also stated that several of those who had returned from the road had been turned out of the Church.

One man of the name of Tamati for an act of kindness on his part in going on a Sunday in search of two Europeans who were supposed to be in distress was forbidden to attend prayers.

* All of this material can be found at NZ National Archives, Wellington: R24515066 .

† Clearly Te Kaikikiriki (= Masterton) but Colenso would claim he hadn't heard of it.

The principal natives who made these statements and who were questioned minutely by us to ascertain the actual facts of the case were Nga Tuere, Te Rahui, Te Ropiha and Rawere te Raroa.

I have the honor to be, Sir, Your obedient Servant....

RJ Deighton added, on the same sheet,

I hereby certify that the above statements are perfectly correct being myself present at the time they were made.

Lieutenant Governor Eyre sent a note to Grimstone on 13 December 1847,

Mr. Grimstone,

Write to Mr. Colenzo enclosing these letters & observe that as they have reached me thro' the highly respectable channel of one of the Directors of the Public Roads I consider it my duty to lose no time in forwarding copies of these on to him, since I cannot but believe that the serious reflections which are cast in them upon his character as a loyal subject of the Queen, as a man, and as a Minister of Religion must have arisen from some gross mistake, and I am most anxious to offer him the earliest opportunity of putting it in my power to deny that there is any truth in the allegations against him.

The note is informal, but is signed very formally, “Edwd. John Eyre”.

Grimstone duly wrote, and Colenzo replied to him on 15 March 1848 from Waitangi, a letter of 28 pages, swamping Grimstone with almost 10,000 words, while apologising for being “necessarily prolix”,

Sir,

1. I have to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter, dated “Wellington 13 Decr./47”; together with two enclosures, the one being a copy of a Letter from a Mr Nairne to Mr Fitzgerald,

ald, dated “Paotumokai, Novr. 25/47”;—and the other a copy of a letter from Mr Fitzgerald to yourself dated “River Hutt, Decr. 4/47.”—Which, although duly forwarded by the Rev. R. Cole to Wairarapa, only reached me on Thursday night last (the 9th inst.) by Archdn. William Williams, who brought them thence. Our having been closely engaged with the Natives assembled here according to annual Custom to meet the Archdeacon and partake of the ordinances of the Church, will fully explain why I have not sooner replied thereto.

2. With many thanks to His Excellency for his kindness towards me, as expressed in “his belief, that the serious reflections cast upon my character in those Letters, must have arisen from some gross mistake”;—and as further shewn, in his being “most anxious to afford me the earliest opportunity of putting it in his power to deny that there is any Truth in the allegations against me”:—I shall now proceed to notice them: premising it to be rather hard to have to answer Charges which appear to me to be of a very undefined and indistinct nature.

3. From Mr Nairne’s Letter to Mr. Fitzgerald, I gather, that he (Mr Nairne), or, rather they, Messrs Nairne and Deighton, upon “the word of one man,” (Ngatuere, a heathen chief,) charge me with:—

—i. Having forbidden the Natives returning to the work on the Public Road on pain of Excommunication.—

—ii. With having said,— “You Maories are fools for making a road for your own destruction.”—

—iii. With having said— “Kei hoki koutou ki tena mahi he mahi whakaheke toto;” —which expression is said to have “particularly attracted and astonished” Messrs Nairne and Deighton; who, commenting thereupon go on to state,

“Whatever Mr Colenso intended to impress upon their minds, we are perfectly at a loss to find out, but the impression it has left is, that it is a work which will cause their blood to be shed.”—

—iv. With having “addressed the Natives of the Kerekere village in a body to the same effect.”—

—v. With having “turned out of the Church several who had returned from the road”;—and,

—vi. With having “forbidden a man of the name of Tamati to attend Prayers, for an act of kindness on his part in going on a Sunday in search of two Europeans who were supposed to be in distress.”—

Here follow—first, the names of four Natives who were “questioned minutely by Messrs Nairne and Deighton to ascertain the actual facts of the case;”—and second, a certificate from Mr Deighton, who declares “the above statements are perfectly correct.”—

From Mr Fitzgerald’s Letter to yourself, enclosing Mr Nairne’s, I gather,—

—vii. (1st.) “That it is not the first time he” (Mr. F.) “had heard of my endeavours to prevent the Natives from working on the Road”;—and,

—viii. (2nd.) “To the carrying out of which by Native labour I am using every means in my power to obstruct.”—

4. In replying to, and completely refuting the whole of the eight foregoing extracted “allegations,” I see no difficulty whatever. And, inasmuch as I wish to do so in a manner at once satisfactory to His Excellency, I will not occupy much time in stopping to notice,—

—1st. The incongruity or the charges, if charges indeed they be any ways affecting me before a civil tribunal; for I have

yet to learn, if, even supposing, I had been guilty of “excommunicating” the Natives of my parish, of “turning them out of the Church,” and of “forbidding a man to attend prayers for an act of kindness on his part,” as contained in charges i, and v, and vi, (setting aside the utter impossibility, not to say the ridiculousness, of such things being done by a Christian Missionary, he, too, being only in Deacon’s orders,) that I am therefore amenable to the civil Laws of my Country.—Nor,

—2ndly. The curious admission made by Messrs Nairne and Deighton, in charge iii, in which they give a Native sentence which “particularly attracted and astonished them,” and concerning which they “questioned minutely the Natives,” and yet (though doubtless vexed at their not succeeding in their errand) could come to no other conclusion than “whatever Mr Colenso intended to impress upon the Natives’ minds we are perfectly at a loss to find out”!!—

—Nor, 3rdly. The literal translation of those ten Native words, though evidently intended to be the ground of the Case, (and which, as they now stand, form at best an imperfect sentence, and said to be a portion of an address made to the Natives at Kerekere village, is not as they have given it,—“that it is a work which will cause their blood to be shed.”—Nor,

—4thly. The impression left upon the impartial reader’s mind from finding the only short and plain sentence of ten Native words mis-translated, certainly prepares him to admit the rather more than probable mis-translation of the sentence (whatever it was) which has been rendered in charge ii, as meaning,—“You Maories are fools for making a road for your own destruction.” And this supposition receives no small confirmation from the fact, that “the late Interpreter to

H.M.S. Calliope”, who accompanied Mr Nairne, (doubtless as Interpreter, seeing he has appended his “Certificate” to Mr Nairne’s Letter,) hesitates not in his zeal to attest to “the whole of the statements as being perfectly correct.”!! as well as from the circumstance of Messrs. Nairne and Deighton being “particularly attracted and astonished” by a plain sentence of ten words, (spoken, doubtless, quickly and energetically by the vivacious Chief Ngatuere,) which, after all their “minute questioning,” their united ability could not faithfully translate!— Nor,

—5thly. The certainty of my never having once entered the Kerekere village; not even knowing exactly where it is.— Nor,

—6thly. The assertion of Mr. Fitzgerald, that, “this is not the first time he had heard of my endeavours to prevent the Natives from working on the Road,”—when considered in connexion with the fact of Mr Fitzgerald having called upon me at Wellington Parsonage on the 2nd. of November last, (in what I supposed to be a friendly, candid, and gentlemanly way) when we had a long conversation entirely concerning the Road, yet not a syllable escaped him of that nature.— Nor,

—7thly. The assertion of Mr. Fitzgerald,— “That I am using every means in my power to obstruct the carrying out the road by Native labor,”—when taken in connexion with the fact, that he sought me at the Rev. R. Cole’s for no other purpose than to gain all the information he could respecting the state of the Country over which the Road was intended to be carried, and of the Native mind concerning the same, and the Native Tribes and Chiefs &c., &c.,—which information I certainly gave him to the best of my ability, not merely in words, but actually in making little rough outline sketches of

the different chains of hills, which I further endeavoured to illustrate by arranging Books upon Mr. Cole’s table.— Nor, —8thly. The “principal Natives,” who are said to have “made the statements,” and whose names are given, being not altogether unexceptionable characters. Two of them, Ngatuere and Te Rahui, being Heathen; and the chief, Ngatuere, particularly incensed against me just now, and, without doubt, his man, Te Rahui, sides with him. Of the other two, one, Te Ropiha, had been very severely rebuked by me for his cruelty to a poor white man, whom he refused to put across the River Ruamahanga in his canoe, at a dangerous crossing place, and at a time of heavy flood in the winter—as well as for his attempt to ill-use Mr Tiffen: the other, Rawiri Te Raroa, I recollect little of, but I perceive his name is not in the list of Baptized Natives who received Instruction from me when last at Wairarapa, neither is it among those of upwards of 120 Communicants who there partook of the Lord’s Supper last month at the hands of the Archdeacon, and from which no Christian Native is ever excluded except for very gross misconduct.—

—But now, that matters are assuming a rather serious appearance, it will be needful for me to go back a little in time, and commence at the beginning; although, in so doing, I shall, I fear, be necessarily prolix.—

5. I was first stationed in this wild district, in 1844. In March, 1845, I visited Wairarapa. On arriving at Te Kopi, I found no small commotion among the Christian Natives, arising from the grossly profligate conduct of a white man called Te Kati (Scott), who, a very short time before, had called there some time about mid-day, and finding the Native Teachers and male Christian Natives absent, and observing a young woman named Caroline Makarau (the daughter of the principal

Chief, Simon Peter Te Inaki), insisted upon having her. It was in vain that he was told, she was a Baptized girl, betrothed to William Thompson Hiko, a Native Teacher, and about to be married to him, and it was equally in vain that she herself protested against such an act, he finally succeeded with the heathen relations of the poor girl, and for three shillings got her conveyed into and shut up with him in a hut for a short time, when, having accomplished his vile purpose, he left the village. Soon after, I arrived at Te Kopi, and married Caroline to W. Thompson, joining several others at the same time. After the ceremony was over, I addressed the newly married couples, praising those who had patiently waited my coming, and, touching upon Caroline's conduct, told her, I could not praise her: she mourned so much over her state, which she now saw to be a degraded one, that, in a little while after, I heard she was "dead in consequence of the evil done to her by Te Kati." This man is, (I believe, if I am correctly informed,) an overseer upon the Road, (or, at all events, somehow connected with the Natives) in the Government employ.—And, if he should prove to be the David Scott whom I once knew in the Bay of Islands, and who formerly resided in the Thames and at Tauranga in the Bay of Plenty, a more immoral person could scarcely, I believe, be found in the three Islands of New Zealand.—

6. In November, in the same year, I again visited Wairarapa; when I heard from the Native Chiefs and Teachers, that the white Residents about them had often greatly abused me, assuring them, that if I went to Wellington I should be cast into gaol! I asked, what for?—but they could not inform me. I went on to Wellington, where I heard, that certain heavy general complaints had been made against me, by the "Squatters" at Wairarapa, and which some of my friends

wished me to notice; but, as I could not particularize any thing, and had ever been accustomed to such ill treatment during the many years of my itinerating in New Zealand, I declined doing so. In dining, however, at Mr. St. Hill's, the Archdeacon of Waiapu, and Major Richmond being also present—His Honor asked me, whether I had lately received a Letter from him; I replied in the negative. On which he added, "I have been applied to by a person from Wairarapa, who appeared to have some charge against you to this effect—namely that you had been inciting the Natives there to rise and to drive all the Settlers into the Sea"! I told his Honor, that he might rely upon my solemn word that the allegation was false. He replied, that he did not believe it, yet he had written to me; and that now he wished me to aid in keeping the peace between the Natives and the Squatters; which I promised to do. (How faithfully I have kept my word, let some of the Wairarapa and Coast Settlers answer.) I requested the name of the person who had applied to him; this, the Major said, he had forgotten; but would send me. (Which, however, with his Honor's letter, I never received.) The next day I related to the Archdeacon our conversation, observing, "now that his Honor has been applied to, this must not rest here; I, therefore, propose, as we are returning together by the Coast to our Stations, to call upon those whites residing in the lower part of the valley of Wairarapa, and hear what they have to say":—To this the Archdeacon agreed. Before, however, we could leave Wellington, the Victoria brig arrived, having the Bishop on board, from whom we learned his intention of almost directly proceeding up the Eastern Coast to hold Confirmations at all the Mission Stations. Hence we had to make as much haste as possible to get back to our respective Stations, so as to be in readiness for the Bishop's arrival; and, consequently, were obliged to relinquish our intention of

calling upon the Settlers in Wairarapa valley; notwithstanding, we hoped to visit Mr. Russell's Station, being near the sea, but were so very late and so very tired in toiling across the heavy aforesaid native te sands of Palliser Bay as to be obliged to give up that also, intending, however, to make a visit on the morrow from Te Kopi; which again, the heavy Southerly gale of wind and rain which that night set in, ultimately caused us to abandon. While here at Te Kopi, confined in our tents, several Christian Natives of good character & standing came voluntarily forward to tell me what vile language had been used by some of the whites of the valley (the names of seven were particularly mentioned,) concerning the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and myself, since I had lately passed on towards Wellington (one of the objects I had in view in going to Wellington being, to fetch either the Rev. R. Cole, or the Archdeacon, to administer the Holy Communion at this place). Some of those expressions I took down,² before the Archdeacon, and left, with a Letter, for the Bishop,³ who was soon to be there. To the Natives of Te Kopi, the Holy Communion had been blasphemously and degradingly called a stercus, &c., &c.,—and that (among others) by James Grindell, now an overseer upon the Public Road. Being obliged to hasten our departure, I wrote a letter to Mr. Russell.⁴ And, soon after, the Bishop arriving at Te Kopi, and receiving my Letter, and Enclosures, determined to proceed up the valley, (instead of by the Coast as he had intended,) and to call upon every Settler. He did so; and, on his arrival here, had nothing to charge me with.

7. In March, 1846, I again visited Wairarapa, and, in fulfilling my promise made in my letter to Mr. Russell, called upon the different Settlers residing there, and among the rest, upon James Grindell. He told me plainly, he believed in no religion, and disliked all; allowing that he very often spoke ill of the Christian Religion and of the Missionaries to the Natives; and often made use of Native maledictions to them, in order to vex them, because they often vexed him. And, on my pressing him for a reason, why he was so very bitter against Missionaries, and among others myself; who was an entire stranger to him and never did him wrong,—he replied, “one reason why I am so against the Missionaries is, because before these wretches” (the Natives) “took to Psalm-singing I could get a woman and a pig in every village; but now I can get neither.” On leaving him, I considered it my duty to tell the Christian Natives, to have as little to do with him as possible. It was during this visit, and while at Pitoone, that I heard of the positive swearing of (I believe) six whites to the identity of 2 prisoners, then confined on board of H.M. Steamer, who were said to have been engaged in plundering up the Hutt. These poor fellows finding themselves to be falsely accused and closely incarcerated, sworn to by so many whites, and not a soul appearing on their behalf, with, at least, a long winter's durance within the brick walls of the gaol before their trial could come on, had determined to make away with themselves. I sent them word not to do so, and, being forcibly struck with the clearness of the alibi which the Pitoone Natives could prove; and also the state of feeling among that Tribe, at what they considered their unjust imprisonment, I wrote to the sherriff, Mr. St. Hill, through the Rev. O. Hadfield;—and the prisoners were forthwith tried and acquitted. And, doubtless, Dr. Fitzgerald recollects the vile reports which were industriously circulated at this

2. WC: See, Enclos. No. 1.

3. WC: See, Enclos. No. 2.

4. WC: See, Enclos. No. 3.

time by whites among the Natives at Kaiwarawara to the effect, that the Governor's visit to Porirua was to seize and hang up Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata, which news was immediately carried thither, and reached those Chiefs before the Governor could get there in the Steamer; hence it was that His Excellency's visit proved altogether fruitless.

8. It was in September, 1846, that I next visited Wairarapa. Some Christian Natives who had come on with the Rev. R. Cole, from Port Nicholson, applied to be permitted to partake with us of the Lord's Supper at Te Kopi; among whom was Zachariah, the Native Teacher at Te Aro; who, with the others, in the preparatory examination, related with evident disgust the manner in which they had been treated by the Military when they were acting in concert with them against Te Rangihaeata and his party,—stating, that every effort was made to cause them to sin, through tempting them with ardent spirits, &c., and that their prayers, &c., had been continually mocked, insomuch, that “no Native who cares for himself will ever join the soldiers again.” This sentiment I have subsequently often heard expressed by thinking Natives, who had been in the Government employ. It was also during this visit, and while sojourning at Wairarapa, that a young Chief—formerly a Communicant and one of my first-class men, but now (thanks to the wretched Europeans with whom he has associated!) a confirmed Rum-drinker—came to my tent, and producing a paper, begged me to look at it. I did so, and when I found it was a deed of land, I soon returned it. He strove with me a long while to look over it, and give my opinion thereupon; saying, it had been given him by the pakeha who drew it up to sign, and he had done so, and was now about to return it. Consenting at last to look over it, I found several long erasures here and there in the agreement, and 4

or 5 large Blanks left in the body of the Instrument! and yet the Chief had attached his name thereunto, and was now on his way to return it!!—

9. My next visit to Wairarapa was in April 1847;—at the examination of the Communicants at Te Kopi. I found some who had hitherto run well missing. On enquiry, I found, that the Races at Wellington had drawn them aside; once there they soon became intoxicated, and that boundary passed all was easy. They had even become pimps and panders in the lowest sense of the word, to gain a few shillings at the time of the “Annual Festivities”! It was shortly after my return to my Station from this visit that a false, malicious, and (to the Natives) startling report was widely and industriously circulated. The substance of which was, that I had gone up the Hutt, and into the house of some white man engaged upon the Road, that there I Baptized his two Children, and then had criminal intercourse with his wife! Foolish as this report may now appear to be, it made no small stir at the time; some of the weaker-minded Natives believing it, were led thereby to renounce their profession of Christianity; while the principal Chiefs in this neighbourhood assembling together, called for a “Committee” to enquire into the matter. Fortunately for them my baggage bearers testified that I had never been up the Hutt, and a party of Native Teachers arriving from Wairarapa and the Coast in July to my annual Teachers' School, brought Letters and Witnesses to prove, that the notorious James Grindell had been the author of the fabrication. And that he himself had first mentioned it in the lower Wairarapa, to Richard Taki and William Thompson Hiko, Native Teachers there, because none of their young men would consent to go with him to the Road. In writing subsequently to Campbell Hawea, the Native Teacher at Te Kai-

kokirikiri, (a village at the head of the Wairarapa valley,) I said,— “Try to keep your people quiet; tell them to take no notice of any such reports concerning me until they can be proved. The author is now known to you, and unless he is careful he may yet mourn his conduct.”—On the receipt of my letter Campbell wrote to James Grindell, who, of course, treated his letter with the greatest contumely; but, by-and-bye, (during my last visit to Wairarapa in October last,) while at Pahawa, a village about 2 days’ journey N. from Cape Palliser, I received a letter from James Grindell, through the aforesaid Native Teacher.⁵ I may here, also, mention, that a fortnight previous, when at Waimarama, (a village a few miles S. of Cape Kidnapper,) a respectable looking white man came to my tent, and said,—that he had lately come from the Government Road, where he had been employed (I think as overseer), that he wished me, not to take any notice of a report which had been widely circulated against my character, and which had originated there among James Grindell and others, “for every body knows Grindell”—That it was raised to tease the Natives, and that he was sorry to say, it was too common a practice on that Road to tease them in that manner. I did not learn the name of my Informant at the time, for I was not well, reclining on the fern in my tent, but I have since had reason to believe his name is Strutt. On reaching Wellington I mentioned the manner in which I had been traduced to my friends, and showed them Grindell’s letter, and the Rev. O. Hadfield took Mr. St. Hill’s advice upon the matter; but being myself most unwilling to prosecute it went no further. I should have stated, that Grindell’s letter was brought me by Zachariah Te Pukenui, a tried and faithful

Christian Chief and Native Teacher from Te Kaikokirikiri; who also told me of the stir which was then among them; in consequence of Barnabas Tamaitakahia (who had been at work upon the Public Road) having given way to the incessant worrying demand of James Grindell, the white overseer over them, to bring him the little daughter of Nicodemus and Mary Tia, he (Barnabas) being the Child’s uncle; for which purpose James Grindell had given to Barnabas a piece of gown-print as a payment to Mary to coax her into compliance, and to send the child, who had cried a great deal and was unwilling to go. Zachariah, also, told me much more of a similar nature which had been done upon the Public Road.—And how that he, and other Chiefs did all they could to keep their young men from going there and thus destroying themselves.

10. On leaving Wellington for Pitoone, on Saturday the 30th. October last, there to spend the Sunday, (notice having been given to the different parties of Natives at work on the Road up the Hutt,) I met large numbers of young Natives coming in to the Town from the Road, several of whom had young women with them. A few of them accosted me in a civil manner; others, most rudely and indecently (and not at all after the manner of even the Heathen New Zealander,) bawled out, as they approached,— “Kahore he Hapa?” (meaning, Is there not to be an administration of the Lord’s Supper?); while others, on seeing me, struck-up a portion of some Native Song; and not a few shewed sufficiently, by their lascivious looks and gestures, what they were bent upon. Arriving at Pitoone, Henry Te Ware, the Native Teacher, told me, with evident chagrin, that he had been striving with several of the Natives of Ngatitōa and Ngatiraukawa (who had just passed through his village on their way from the Road to Town with

5. WC: See, Enclos. No. 4.

their female relations,— “their wives, their sisters and daughters,”—there to prostitute them to the Soldiers and Shipping as usual upon the Saturday and Sunday, and thence to return again to their work on the Road on the following day,) to leave off their abominable traffic, or, if not abandon it fully, at least to give up the going through his village upon such errands, but that they would not listen to him. He, also, told me, (among other mournful news,) that he had received a letter from “Te Teira, Kai Wakawa,” (a native who had been made an “Assessor,”) in which he wished Henry to do as he had done, and to cast aside Receiving the Sacrament, as now that he was become a Kai Wakawa he should not do so any more. I found that a good number had collected together at Pitoone, many, I fear, from novelty, for, on Sunday morning before Service, such was the great confusion (worse than I had ever seen in any Heathen village upon that day,) singing songs, tossing up 5 stones, riding horses, shouting and quarrelling, &c.,—that I was obliged to leave my tent and go about among them, and ask, whether they had not forgotten the day? You may better Sir, guess, than I describe my feelings. I trust I preached faithfully before them, when I warned them to the best of my power, of the fatal end of those who pursued such paths. Of course my Sermon was not relished, and several rose and left the Chapel, muttering as they went; and not half of those who were present in the morning remained for Afternoon Service. On the following Thursday (Novr. 4) I left Pitoone, and proceeded up the Hutt. In passing the parties at work, some few hailed me in their usual cheerful manner; others preserved a dogged silence; others struck up some Native songs of more than doubtful meaning; other unceremoniously said, “Go back to your place and remain there”; while others, who had their faces marked with soot (which is a sign too well understood by all who know the

New Zealander to be mistaken,) commenced the lewd words which accompany their Heathen obscene dances. To some, who seemed rather more quiet than the others, I said, “Be strong, my boys, to your work, and make a good road for us, but remember the ivth. Commandment;” when they replied,— “Pooh! that is cast off long ago.” To some other few, I said, “Don’t forget the Laws of God.” On which they replied, “We knew them once, we know them not now.” Oh! how I grieved for those poor Natives, as I travelled over the Road which they had made; yet, blessing God withal, that I had yet a better and a brighter prospect among the uncivilized and rude Tribes of Hawke’s Bay! I may mention here, that I had heard, both in Wellington and at Pitoone, that the greater number of those Natives who had left the upper Hutt, would not return again to the Road.

11. In the course of the following week I arrived at Huaangarua, where were a number of Natives, gathered together awaiting my arrival. Here I learned, that “Ngatuere” had set up an Iron pot for me at Otaraia, one of his villages a little lower down; and had gone, boiling with rage, to Te Kaikokirikiri, the village at the head of the valley, to set up another for the same purpose! These horrid imprecations (being amongst the most direful that can be uttered to a Native ear, and always unpardonable,) were vowed, because I had dared to marry a young couple at Te Kopi, he having long striven, but in vain, to get the woman to become his wife; his first wife being still alive and with him.—Leaving Huaangarua I called at Te Ahiaruhe, Messrs. Northwood and Tiffen’s Station. During my short stay, Mr. Tiffen asked me, if I had received a Letter from James Grindell, relating to that shameful report he had circulated. I said, I had: on which Mr. Tiffen rejoined, —“When I heard of it (the report,) I sought for and saw Grin-

dell, and told him, if you do not make an ample apology to Mr. Colenso, I will report your conduct to the Governor, for it is really too bad." I suppose, therefore, the Letter which he sent me, is to be attributed to Mr. Tiffen's kind and seasonable remark.

12. Leaving Te Ahiaruhe I passed on to Hurunuiorangi, a small village about 3 miles further up the valley. Evening Service over, I heard that Barnabas Tamaitakahia was here, so sending for him, and finding he had still the print in his possession, I gave him a severe lecturing before all the Natives; in which, without doubt, I spared not to lash the enormities committed upon the Road. I exhorted him, to take back immediately to those base whites who had employed him upon such an errand, the wages of iniquity, the price of blood, and to save the soul and body of his little niece from ruin. He sat very quietly, and said not a word during the whole night. The next day, on my arriving at Te Kaikokirikiri, I found a large party assembled, among whom were "Ngatuere" and his adherents. With "Ngatuere" I declined shaking hands until he shall have made a suitable apology for his conduct. In the evening, after Service, Campbell, the Native Teacher, came as usual with his Book of School attendance, and List of Transgressors, expressing his great grief at having such a Black catalogue, "all," he said, "to be put down to the working on the Road." Among those who had been upon the Road, some were marked as Sabbath-breakers, their employment upon that day being Pigeon-shooting, Pig-hunting; Clothes-washing, Fetching and Carrying Loads, &c.; others, were marked as Rum-drinkers, Gamblers, Singers of obscene songs, and Dancers and Performers of filthy and lewd heathen games and dances, others, as having either been induced to prostitute their wives, or their wives having

prostituted themselves, and others as having promised to procure girls from among their relations for the white men working upon the Road.—But all were convicted of the crimes laid against them upon the clearest possible evidence—their own admission.—As a first step, the next day, I refused at this time to receive into my Class of Candidates for Baptism those Catechumens who had not observed the Rules stuck up on a pillar in their Chapel, one of which is, "To be diligent in attending Public Worship and school during their time of their probation." Which Ngatuere's Heathen party hearing, they soon concluded to withdraw and to return to their homes, several Baptized Natives of that Tribe going with them; they left, too, on the Saturday, choosing rather to spend the Sunday any where on the way than with me at the village. Those Baptized Natives who left, had only been Baptized by me at my last visit, after 2 years and upwards steady probation, during which time they had clung close to me, and had paid no little attention to my Instruction, which they then seemed to value. Whence, then, was this wonderful change? Now, too, that they were within the pale of the Church? Why, almost directly after they had been Baptized they went upon the Road,—led, undoubtedly, by a very different Spirit from Him who led their great exemplar from the Waters of Baptism.—But to return:—I also gave out that I was ashamed and grieved at the conduct of several of the Baptized party, and that I should not shake hands with them unless they gave some evident signs of amendment. After Divine Service on Sunday Morning, I heard, that Thomas Vyvyan Te Kokore, ("Tamati," I presume,) Henry Mahukihuki, and William Thompson Kauhanga, who had been at work on the Road, and whose names had been particularly noticed in the Native Teacher's Memorandum of Transgressions, were sorry for their errors and wished to speak with me; (they had attended

every Service since I arrived, six in number,) so, assembling them in the Chapel together with the Native Teacher, I conversed with them. “They appeared to be now sorry for their evil deeds,⁶ and readily promised not to do so again. I carefully shewed them (as I had always done) that it was not the mere work of road-making, of itself a good employment, but the abominations which were there committed against which I waged war. But these persons needed not to be told this; their consciences plainly told them they had been doing wrong, and their recital was sickening indeed. W.T. Kauhanga, and H. Mahukihuki, had taken their wives there with them, both of whom had been often prostituted. And now W.T. Kauhanga’s wife (late a Candidate for Baptism,) says,—“She will not promise not to return thither alone without her husband! Returning to my tent, I sent for Nicodemus and Mary Tia, (whose only little daughter, a child of about ten years of age, had been sold by her uncle Barnabas to the celebrated J. Grindell, at work upon the Public Road, for a few yards of Print-Cotton!) and remonstrated with them upon the atrocity of such conduct. Nicodemus, who seemed to feel my words, laid the blame upon his wife, who, it appeared, had freely consented, and was still willing!—notwithstanding the entreaties and tears of the child, who stood weeping by,—“not to be sold like a pig, for such a vile purpose.” They asked me, what they should do with the Cotton-print? I replied, Had such a thing been sent to a poor yet virtuous white man for such a purpose, he would indignantly burn it as the price of blood; but you had better, perhaps, return it to the fellow who sent it. But have nothing to do with him, nor with his rewards; such are payments for the blood of your Children, &c. I spent some time in talking to them, though in

great pain from Rheumatism, and hope my labor will not have been in vain. I have no reason to believe that a single Baptized Native, being in the village, absented himself from Divine Service, certainly not at my request. Never having at any time dared to take upon me such an assumption of power. Much grieved in spirit to see the sad havoc made among this once promising portion of my field of labor, through their being induced to go to work upon the Public Road,—where many of them have indeed made shipwreck both of faith and of a good conscience”!

13. In addition to the foregoing, I avail myself of the permission kindly granted me by the Archdeacon of the District, to copy from a Letter of his to the Rev. O. Hadfield,⁷ the result of his enquiries at Wairarapa; which, most opportunely for me, he last month made in his journey hither, in consequence of the reports he had heard at Wellington against me.—

14. And now, Sir, in concluding this plain, and, it may be somewhat tedious, recital of facts—which, nevertheless, I can but hope will prove both elucidatory and satisfactory, as far as my proceedings are concerned, to the Lieutenant Governor—I beg, with every respect for His Excellency, most distinctly, fearlessly, and unflinchingly, to deny the truth of all and every of those allegations which have been brought forward against me by Messrs. Fitzgerald, Nairne, & Deighton. To me, the aim of these two latter persons is plain enough: the all but systematic opposition which I, in the execution of my duty, have endured now nearly four years, (and of which not a tithe has been told,) from licentious Europeans, Infidels and Papists,⁸ (and which the few facts written on these sheets

6. WC: Extracted *verbatim* from Journal written at the time.

7. WC: See, Enclosure, No.5. 8. WC: Note. I have used the word “Papist” here purposefully, to shew another source (or, rather, channel) of opposition, occasioned by some P. Priest residing at Wellington; who, not content with telling the Natives of Wairarapa that I was mad! actually wrote a letter to the Bishop of New Zealand against me!!

evidently enough shew,)—firstly, against the Faith, the Holy Sacraments, and my private character—secondly, against both my moral, and public character, before the Natives—and, now, thirdly, against my public character before the Government—all having but one aim, the separating me from my charge, if not physically (which has been loudly and often vaunted), at least morally—and against which opposition no man could have stood unsupported by God and a good conscience; such inveterate hostility too clearly shews the Author, and the animus of his agents. In charity, however, I would hope, that Mr. Fitzgerald’s zeal for the Service in which he is engaged, (coupled with, perhaps, an easy unsuspecting disposition,) has led him to give too implicit confidence to the reports of designing and evil-disposed persons, both among Whites and Natives, whom he may unwittingly have about him.—

15. I yet feel inclined, Sir, to make a few observations upon the Charge ii.—“You Maories are fools for making a road for your own destruction.” And this, I am led to do, in hopes of throwing a little additional light upon the matter, as well as the more fully to inform His Excellency of my mode of acting.—Although it may be quite unnecessary for me to remark, that the Natives need not anyone to tell them the uses of the Road; it being notorious, that, (always shrewd and apprehensive even to a proverb,) they had, long before any of the Government Roads were even so much as commenced, not only freely discussed the matter over in their own assemblies after their own fashion, but had spoken very strongly indeed upon the subject. Who has not heard of the speech made by one of the principal Chiefs of Waikato, now some years ago—in which he compared the then contemplated Great Road running throughout the Island to the back-bone of an animal,

from which, he said, smaller ones will, if we allow this proceeding, be made, at the Governor’s pleasure, like ribs to all our villages, by which means he can easily and at any time cut us all off”?—I venture to think, Sir, that it should not be altogether lost sight of, that the Natives still look up to their Missionaries as their “Matuas” (advisers, strengtheners, peacemakers, &c. among themselves,) hence they have necessarily very many secular things of an unpleasant nature to attend to “for peace-sake” when travelling among them. It is at such times that they have many differences to settle, which but for their doing, would often end in bloodshed. At such times, too, when the Chiefs are assembled together, many Speeches are made and important questions asked, respecting the Land, the Roads, the Military, the Governor, the Queen, the probable destiny of the Natives, &c. &c.;—all, more or less, of a high nature, and to which definite answers are required. As a rule, I always endeavour to elude such questions, and have sometimes succeeded; but have ever found that the safer way is to tell the plain truth, without circumlocution, or twisting, or hiding, which, when obliged to speak, I invariably aim to do basing the same upon first principles. For instance:—I have, without doubt, often been asked, such a question as,—“What of this Road?” If I should reply—“What is that Road to me that I should talk about it?”—or, “I have no time to talk about the Road;” or, “Let us turn to something more immediately concerning ourselves”;—they would immediately say, “There is evil towards us intended by this Road, and you know it and therefore it is that you hide it”;—and so saying they would both think and talk among themselves the more, and certainly not in favour of either the Road or the Missionary. And not only so, but once lose their confidence in small secular matters, and your usefulness is in a manner gone in the higher and more momentous matters of the soul.

So that when questioned by the Native Chiefs upon the Road, I should perhaps reply,— “For your benefit, undoubtedly,— your pigs, &c., will get easily to market.” They would immediately rejoin,— “Yes, but we don’t need such a road for such a purpose, nor is it made for us;—will not the Soldiers come over it with their big guns?” and what should I answer?—I should, perhaps, follow “the safer way,” and say, “If you are very disobedient and break the Laws, such a use will undoubtedly be made of the Road; but, listen, turn to your Book, read,— “Rulers are not a terror to good works but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same. But if thou do that which is evil be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain.” Such an answer may possibly be wrested, by designing and interested men, ignorant of the Native language, to mean, “You Maories are fools for making a road for your own destruction;”—at all events, such persons would, without doubt, be “perfectly at a loss to find out” its true meaning. But, could a Christian Minister (whose lips should pre-eminently keep the truth, and to whom in a most especial manner, his flock looks up as their “Matua,”) answer in any other way? And, perhaps, in addition I might also say, to quiet their fears,— “The Queen’s word is sacred; the Faith of the English Nation is also sacred, and that has been pledged to you all in the Treaty signed and sealed at Wai-tangi.”—And this, Sir, is what I have called “basing my answers upon first principles,”—the Word of God, and the word of the British Nation.

16. And here I may, also, remark, that if the Natives needed any Information relative to the purpose and use of the Government Roads, the Public Newspapers, every where circulated and often (as I know) freely translated by many Whites

residing among the Natives, would have been more than sufficient for that end. For, curiously enough, a Wellington Paper, which came to hand with your Letter, (dated, January 15/48,) has the following words:— “It is reported that the works on the Porirua and Hutt Roads, which have been for some time almost suspended, are by the direction of the Governor-in-Chief to be immediately resumed with fresh vigour. — — — — — It is absolutely necessary on grounds of public policy and economy that these works should be proceeded with as fast as possible. They are Military Roads undertaken for the protection of the Settlement and approved of by the Colonial Minister; their execution is consequently not a question of expense but of time, not how much they will cost but how soon, by means of these Roads, the force stationed in this Settlement can be rendered most efficient for its defence, and the danger of fresh disturbances in this Settlement lessened by the increased facilities of conveying Stores and provisions to the force engaged in suppressing them.” &c. &c. Now, only let those words be translated into the Native Language (and I do not quote them as being the strongest of the kind I have met with,) and given to the Natives to meditate upon, (with their well-knowing already the meaning of the adjective “Military” prefixed to “Roads,” from the pungent taste they have had of the summary retribution of “Military” Law,) and I venture to think, that their construction would be even a worse sentence than, “You Maories are fools for making a road for your own destruction”!

17. I would also offer another remark or two upon the Charge made against me, of hindering Natives from going to work upon the Public Roads. Now this is very like those charges formerly made against me by Masters of Whaling-Stations in this Bay when I first came among them; who felt

themselves aggrieved, because (as they said) I taught the Natives not to work for them! But the truth was, I taught the Natives,— “Not to work on the Sabbath-day:—Not to drink Spirits:—Not to swear:—Not to omit their Daily Prayers:—Not to sell nor fetch women for prostitution—for you cannot do these things as Christians.”—And when, by-and-bye, they found that they could not remain at the Whaling Stations without doing such things they left. Just so it is on the Public Road, and not only there but in very nearly all the places in which the Natives work for Whites.—I have it, Sir, from their own confessions, and could illustrate my position from very many cases which could be fully attested. I have taught them (and shall continue to do, God being my helper,)— “to abstain from Sin—to have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness—to go not in the way of the Scornful—to remember, that evil communications corrupt good manners—to withdraw themselves from every brother that walketh disorderly—to keep God’s holy Commands—to prize their Christian privileges—Cautiously to avoid temptation—and, to walk as Children of the Light.” Now when they think on these words and their meaning, they consider within themselves, and say, We cannot do these things and work on the Public Road, or with the Whites (as the case may be.)—Hence it is that some of them leave their Employ. In thus writing, I do not mean to say, that the only reason why the Natives can not work on the Public Roads, &c., and maintain their Christian profession, is, owing to their having bad, licentious, and atheistical men as overseers; but, chiefly owing to their being so greatly exposed to temptations there, from many of which they would be comparatively free at home in their own villages. I have, I think, therefore, good reason to believe, that the Case would not be very materially altered in the main, even were the overseers moral men themselves.

And, lest my views should unfortunately be deemed singular, allow me to bring forward a witness, who—though no friend of the New Zealand Missionaries, and but a poor Christian—has, in this matter at least, plainly and humanely and honorably given us the result of his personal observations. Dr. Dieffenbach, says,⁹— “Of all measures which could be proposed for the benefit of the Aboriginal population, the most important is to leave them undisturbed. — — — — Placed amongst a European colonial community, a Native is little regarded. — — — — He is soon made sensible of the differences of rank, and perceives that he is not treated as one who is made of the same flesh and blood as his Master. Of all the better enjoyments of civilized life he is deprived, as in Colonial Society every one gives up his mind solely to the acquisition of money. In the lower orders, with whom he comes in contact, he can perceive nothing desirable; nothing to prevent his regretting that independence which he enjoyed in his own home, and from the fruits of his own land: he is expected to forget his language; in fact all the sacrifices are on his side. In his own village, on the contrary, he lives in the midst of his kindred and is respected. — — — — I have always observed, that the Natives who hover about the Settlements of Europeans are far inferior to those in the country: they are not only more unhealthy but also become an ill-conditioned compound of the dandy, beggar, and labourer. — — — — Being unaccustomed and unwilling to drag on a life of labour and exercise, the Native has no means of procuring in a town that which is necessary to enable him to equal even the lowest of our labourers in comfort and appearance. — — — — Distilled spirits have not failed to corrupt, mentally and bodily,

9. WC: Vide, Dieffenbach’s N. Zealand, vol. ii part 1, ch.9

the Natives as well as the European Settler.”—Of course, it will be borne in mind, that those remarks of the Doctor have scarcely any reference beyond that of the physical condition of the Natives. How very much stronger language then, may we not suppose he would have used, could he have seen and felt that their spiritual interests were in danger? The Truth is, the Native neophytes cannot withstand temptation, and, consequently, ought not to be placed where such abounds; more especially, seeing their real wants are very few, and soon supplied, and as Christians are taught to pray—“lead us not into temptation,” and, “having food and raiment to be therewith content.”—

18. And further, lest it should be only inferred, from what I have written, that the evil inflicted is confined to those natives who go upon the Roads to work, I feel in duty bound, to add, that such is, alas! not the case—would that it were only so! But, on the contrary, the many quiet and well-disposed chiefs who now Confess to the Faith, see, that coextensive with the progress of the Roads is the Demoralization worse and worse of their people; that those very persons whose characters are well-known to the Natives, and upon whose morality the very Heathen have long-looked down with unutterable scorn, are not only set over them, but are the legitimate though vitiated medium between themselves and the Government (and that, too, not only in reference to their work upon the Roads, but in all matters whatever, whether it be communications from themselves to the Government, or from the Government to them,)—as well as the means of destroying the peace of their villages—of enticing away their daughters—of making (for the first time) divisions between themselves and their lawfully appointed Minister—and of raising doubts against the Truth of God which had never before entered their minds; and all

this, too, under the semblance of authority from the circumstance of their being in the employ of the Government!!—Sad stumbling-blocks these to the advancement of the Natives in Christianity, and a no less one to their arriving at a proper opinion and due respect for the Government; as well as to the carrying on of those Public Works which may, or might be, conducive of much good.

19. If the Information which I have casually received is correct (for I have hitherto made it no business of mine to enquire into such matters,) W. Swainson, and J.C. Nairne, are also (in addition to those persons already named) in the habit of cohabiting with Native Females, on the Road on which they are employed as overseers.

21. It must not, however, be forgotten, that a love of novelty, and a disinclination to any thing like steady work have ever been great traits in the character of the New Zealander, in common with most of the Polynesian Islanders. Another peculiarity of theirs is, when one of them wishes to leave his employer, he rarely mentions it, but chooses rather to do some little act, or leave undone some little duty, through which he may get a few words from his Master which will serve him as an excuse for leaving; or, he will ask leave to go to see some friend, or to plant potatoes, &c., faithfully promising to return, but at the same time never intending to return again to his employ. This manner of acting is quite common all over the Island, so much so, that all parties who have had much to do with Natives must have frequently proved it.

21. Before, however, Sir, I finally close this Letter, I must beg permission of the Lieutenant Governor to remark, that I thought (and still think) my many past services of various kinds voluntarily and constantly rendered as opportunity offered to H.M. Government and to the European Residents

and Settlers, and which His Excellency though newly-arrived among us must surely know somewhat of, would have effectively shielded me before him from any attacks upon “my character, as a loyal subject of the Queen, and as a Man:”—and the manner in which I have endeavored to fulfil my heavy duty since my arrival in this District, together with the evident blessing of God upon my labors among these Tribes, should certainly have been duly considered ere any “serious reflection” could fairly have been entertained upon “my character as a Minister of Religion.” Be this as it may—the many testimonials I possess,—from Lieut. Governor Hobson, Mr. Willoughby Shortland, Mr. Busby when British Resident, the late Colonial Treasurer, the Land Commissioner, the Superintendent of the Southern Division, and others, for “valuable services” rendered to Her Majesty’s Government, (some of which, if I mistake not, have been honourably mentioned in “the Blue Book,”) not to notice particularly my having last year succeeded in hindering Te Rangihaeata and his party from being aided by the powerful Tribes of his neighbourhood—will ever, I doubt not, serve, if needs be, to shew, that the imputation of disloyalty is utterly unfounded.—

22. And so with reference to the reflection upon my character “as a Man”—meaning thereby (if I understand it aright) my utter recklessness as to the welfare of my fellow-country-men, residing in New Zealand—let my successful exertions in all the cases which have come under my notice during my residence in this District, and very often made at the imminent peril of my own life and property,—let them be heard in my defence. Let Mr Barton, of the Hutt, relate, how I acted in the cases of the plundering his Sheep Station at Kurawawanui, and the subsequent annoyance he received from the Natives about him there:—let the Letter of His Honor the Superinten-

dent of the Southern Division be read, to shew how I acted in the case of the “Royal William,” cutter, Lovett, master; in which matter, although Lovett was the aggressor, I got back from the Native Chiefs every article of property, and sent them on to Wellington:—Let the share which the Native Tribes about me had in the affair of the U.S. brig “Falco” be investigated, (or rather the share which the Native Tribes about me had in it,) and it will appear, that after much and long continued exertion I succeeded in recovering from among them all the property which remained, even to the arms and powder and ball, and that, too, at a time when such munitions of war would have been most acceptable to Te Rangihaeata and other Chiefs then fighting against H.M. Government:—let Capt. Mulholland of the Schooner “Flying-fish” (or, his letters, which I happen to possess,) testify, what assistance I afforded him in the hour of need, when even his own Crew went against him, and when—but for my interference and the lessons I had previously taught the Natives about me—his vessel would in all probability have shared the fate of the “Falco”:—let Capt. Salmon, of the Schooner “Kate”; Mr. C.B. Perry, of Table-Cape; Mr W. Morris, of Cape Kidnapper; (whose Letters of thanks I possess for services rendered,)—let them, with many others (including also the more respectable and peaceable Settlers of Wairarapa,) be asked, and surely they will unanimously respond—I have ever to the utmost of my ability shewn myself a Man, and proved their friend.

23. And so, also, with reference to the “Serious reflections upon my character as a Minister of Religion”:—let the well-known strict examination and requirements of the Church Missionary Society, made at home on the spot—a subsequent Ten Years of unblemished and active Service in their Employ,

in times of no small trial to principle—a residence during two long Terms at St. John’s College, under the eye of the Bishop of the Diocese—my consequent admission by His Lordship to Holy Orders—and my now more than three years of active duty (already, indeed, alluded to) in my spiritual vocation in the midst of no small opposition, unrebuked by my Ecclesiastical Superiors—let these plain truths, well known to all, be allowed their proper weight, and, I venture to think, that even in this peculiar age and place, it will require somewhat more than has yet been advanced (even if true) to fasten any “Serious reflections upon my character as a Minister of Religion.”

24. *I regret much that your Letter did not reach me earlier, or at a season when, having more leisure, I should better be able to arrange my answer to it.—As I have to leave this Station in a few days, (on the 22nd.) according to appointment, on my usual autumnal journey of 3 months throughout the District; intending (D.V.) to be in and about Wellington during the first fortnight in May. Consequently I have very much to attend to just now before I leave.—*

And now, in conclusion, Sir, allow me to express the hope, that I have, in what I have herein written, placed within His Excellency’s reach a sufficiency of plain statements fully and satisfactorily to afford him “the power to deny that there is any truth in the allegations against me.”—Awaiting which, and with every respect,

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

William Colenso,

Missionary, C.M.S.

Footnoted in the letter and filed with the original in the Archives are three of the five enclosures, (2) Colenso to George Selwyn 19 November 1845, (3) Colenso to Mr. Russell 18 November 1845, (5) extract from William Williams to Octavius Hadfield 13 March 1848.

On 2 May 1848 Eyre sent a note to A Domett, the new Colonial Secretary,

Mr. Domett,

Write to Mr. Fitzgerald in reference to his letter of the 4th. Decr. last enclosing a communication from Messrs. Nairne & Deighton, in which certain very grave & serious charges were made against the character and conduct of the Revd. Mr. Colenso and which indeed cast such reflections upon him as a Minister of Religion, as a British subject, and as a man that I considered it my duty to the Public and only justice to Mr. Colenso at once to forward copies of the letters and afford him the opportunity of vindicating himself from the imputations cast upon him in them.—clearing

I have recently received Mr. Colenso’s reply which most fully and satisfactorily rebuts the whole of the charges made against him, and at the same time clearly proves that there were not the slightest grounds for any one of the accusations, but on the contrary acts on his part which in themselves were highly meritorious have been misinterpreted & made the basis of most foul imputations—I would charitably hope that this has been their ignorance rather than design on the part of those making the charges, and the more readily so as the charges against Mr. Colenso were based upon reported statements of the Natives which might have been incorrectly translated or imperfectly understood—

A copy of the extract from a letter of Archdeacon Williams herewith forwarded, will at once shew Mr. Fitzgerald the

origin and gross misrepresentation of the circumstance relating to the expression quoted in Messrs. Nairne & Deighton's letter, "Kei hoki koutou ki tena mahi he mahi wakaheke toto" said to have been used by Mr. Colenso in reference to the road but in reality to a very different subject.—The other charges appear to have arisen under similar circumstances. Let Mr. Fitzgerald be requested to send a copy of your letter to him in this subject (and of the enclosed excerpt from Dr. Williams' letter) to Messrs. Nairne & Deighton.

It is annotated in Domett's hand, "Mr Fitzgerald accordingly May 3/48". On the same day Eyre sent a further memo (a masterpiece of Victorian redundancy) to Domett,

Mr Domett,

Acknowledge Mr. Colenso's letter of the 15th. March and state that having read it over very carefully and attentively I have much pleasure in conveying to Mr. Colenso my opinion that his reply to the malicious and scandalous reports which had been circulated to his prejudice is most full and satisfactory. It is my own conviction such a refutation was not required. I could not and did not believe any Christian Minister capable of acting in the way Mr. Colenso was represented to have done—nor would such accusations ordinarily have arrested my attention for a moment—but they assumed another and a more important character when placed officially on record and by officers of the Government—it then became my duty to the Public and an act of justice to Mr. Colenso himself not to let the matter rest but at once to make every practical enquiry into the truth or otherwise of the allegations as well as to afford to Mr. Colenso the opportunity of rebutting charges of so gross and serious a character.—I rejoice therefore that Mr. Colenso has placed within my reach so ample

and so complete a vindication—by doing so he has put it in my power not merely unequivocally to deny the truth of but at the same time to explain the origin of the allegations which were made against him—I would hope therefore that if under unjust imputations Mr. Colenso has experienced some degree of painful feeling, it will be consolatory to him to know that his character stands higher and his conduct appears purer from the very investigations which those imputations led to—it will also perhaps be some little satisfaction to him to learn that his letter has drawn the attention of the Government more forcibly to a very important subject and one about which they have ere felt most anxious but in regard to which unfortunately they have but little means of obtaining much or accurate information on the character and conduct of persons employed as overseers over the Natives at the road parties.—

I lament as sincerely as Mr. Colenso does the evils which result from the mixture of a large number of European males with a Native population of both sexes but I fear such evils are in some degree inseparable from Colonisation and that it is not in the power of any Government to do more to check them than endeavour to raise the standard of morality by shewing their disapprobation in instances of gross vice or misconduct on the part of these individuals the which may be brought under their notice—they cannot prevent such evils altogether and even the majority of them, much as they are to be lamented, are beyond their control or interference.—

And here I would beg to call Mr. Colenso's attention to one very important fact—I mean the rapid progress of Colonisation and the impossibility humanly speaking of checking its onward course. It would therefore be well worth Mr. Colenso's most serious consideration whether he ought not rather

to wish the Natives under his care at sea tho' partially to mix among Europeans, and endeavour to prepare them to resist the temptations which they must be subject to whenever such a contact does take place than to desire that they should be kept for a time apart and secluded from such evil influences until from the natural and I believe inevitable course of events the torrent of civilisation pours in like a flow upon them and instead of bowing temporarily before the stream to flourish more vigorously after it has passed onwards from the invigorating influence which it imparts they are overwhelmed and uprooted by a current which they are unprepared and unfitted to resist.

Besides notwithstanding the evils to which the Natives become subjected whilst working amongst Europeans at the road parties, there are also considerable and great advantages accruing to them from such an intercourse.—Such are among others, an attention to personal cleanliness, a desire for decent & comfortable clothing, or for a better description of food, the requiring habits of order and regularity, of steady and continuous industry, of discipline and obedience and of working together in a continued manner and without reference to distinctions of rank or tribe, their gaining a knowledge of the use of tools and of a variety of useful employments and there being many of those prejudices or giving up many of those customs which superstition or ignorance had established but which as long as they remain tend both to degrade their character and to retard their progress in civilisation—besides many other collateral or direct advantages which it is needless to enumerate but all of which tend to raise them in the social scale to further their individual prosperity & happiness as to promote their general and collective interests and welfare.

It is annotated in Domett's hand, "Mr. Colenzo accordingly, 11th. May 1848".

Colenzo arrived in Wellington on 3 May and noted in his Journal on 4 May, "Closely engaged, all day, in writing a second Letter to the Colonial Secretary, with enclosures, being copies of Letters to me from Native Teachers." He would not have seen Eyre's reply by then,

1. On my arrival at the head of the Wairarapa valley on the 13th. ult., I lost no time in forwarding by a special messenger my answer to yours of the 13th. Decr. last; and which Letter, I believe, you received on the 24th. ult.

2. While at Te Kaikokirikiri village I happened, most accidentally (I may, truly enough, say, providentially), to obtain possession of a Note written by the Chief Ngatuere to the Native Teacher of Te Kaikokirikiri in September last. A copy of which, numbered 1, I enclose. During my stay at this village, I enquired of the Native Teachers, Campbell Hawea and Samuel Pakaiahi, whether they had seen and conversed with those white men (Messrs. Nairne and Deighton) on their visit to Wairarapa in the spring, and, on their replying in the affirmative, I requested them to write briefly the substance of their respective conversations, and to send the same on to Te Kopi in Palliser Bay, where I intended being on or about the 30th. ult. They accordingly did so, and I also enclose copies thereof.— That of Campbell Hawea, the Native Teacher at Te Kaikokirikiri, being numbered 2; and that of Samuel Pakaiahi, the Native Teacher at Hurunuiorangi, being numbered 3. I may, in passing, remark, that I had very little conversation with them upon the subject of the charges contained in your Letter; and though I saw and spent several days in company with the Chief Te Ropiha, I never once mentioned the matter to him, but treated him in the same friendly manner as heretofore.—

3. *Leaving Te Kaikokirikiri and proceeding down the valley, I met the Native Teacher of Huaangaru, Lot Paioke, who (I was told) had both seen & conversed with Messrs. Nairne and Deighton; I, therefore, requested him, also, to write briefly the substance of their conversation, which (as I perceive he has addressed the same—though I believe unintentionally—to His Excellency) I also enclose, numbered 4; taking, however, a copy of the same.*

4. *While at Te Kopi I received a Letter from Te Ropiha, a copy of which, numbered 5, I also enclose.*

5. *I did not pass through the lower part of the Wairarapa valley, my route, on this visit, being to Te Kopi by the coast: I have, therefore, not yet seen Ngatuere and the other Wairarapa Natives.*

6. *I was sorry to find, that, in spite of my repeated remonstrances, backed too by those of the Native Teacher, the little daughter of Nicodemus had been taken by her parents to the “Araturi” — — — —*

7. *I can but hope that these enclosures will prove as satisfactory to His Excellency as they have to myself.*

8. *I have only to add, by way of elucidation,—that Campbell said the “turituri” (disagreeable noise) which annoyed the whites, (mentioned in Ngatuere’s Letter to him,) was their, the Natives, rehearsing their Catechisms, &c., when they had School together in the evenings. “Taare,” or “Tare,” is Nairne; and “Ritara,” or “Tiki” (Dick?), or “Taitene,” is Richard Deighton. Those three Native Teachers are all quiet respectable men, who have been for several years regular Communicants,—*

With every respect, Believe me, Sir, Your most obedt. Servt.....

On 10 May Colenso went to Government House, where (he wrote in his Journal) he was

“received most cordially by His Excellency. Remained till a late hour; the Governor closely talking all the evening. He seemed much interested in the welfare of the Natives, though of opinion they must necessarily fall before the stream of Colonisation. He thanked me for my Letter; expressed his surprise at my not having had an answer thereto from the Col. Secretary, and spoke warmly concerning those vile Europeans, assuring me they should not escape.”

On 15 May Fitzgerald wrote to Eyre,

Sir, in returning the enclosed letter of the Revd. Mr. Colenso which with the documents attached His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor was pleased to hand me a short time since for perusal. I would beg leave to remark in explanation of my not having mentioned to the Revd. Mr. Colenso when I called on him at the Revd. Mr. Cole’s in December last the reports I had heard of him—(referred to in page 4) that the reason was simply that, although I had every intention of doing so when I proposed calling upon him yet when I found him to be a Gentleman so very different to what he was always wrongly represented to me to be and of excellent information and sound judgement, apparently anxious to give every useful information (and accurately) in his power that I felt quite ashamed at the time to mention to him reports which after my interview with him I could not but conclude were wholly false. And it was not till some time after when the subject had been repeatedly forced on my attention by tales of what he had said to the Natives on his return that I could bring myself to report the matter officially to His Excellency. A careful perusal of His long letter has however completely satisfied me that he has

not in any way done that which is not consistent with his duty, and honourable to himself. And I can only regret very much that my omitting to speak to him on the subject in November last when he could have personally explained all so satisfactorily should have caused him the trouble and annoyance which I fear the mode afterwards adopted has given him.— Since I first read the Revd. Mr. Colenso's letter I have had a personal opportunity of instituting a strict enquiry into the conduct of the Mr. Grindell referred to in that document the result of which I will now state for His Excellency's information.

With respect to the libel on the Revd. Mr. Colenso's character attributed to Mr. Grindell as the author mentioned in Paragraph 9 Page 10 it maintained beyond a doubt by the evidence of Mr. Swainson and several Europeans who were present at the time and some of whom are still members of the Party that the origin of the report was shortly this

On returning one morning to the station after work Mr Grindell with some of the Natives of whom he had the charge happened to stop at a fire where some of the Europeans who had got home before them were assembled and by whom in course of conversation Mr. Colenso's name was mentioned it being reported that he might be expected to pass that way on his return from Wellington where he then was. One of the Natives wanted to know what they were talking about when a man named Charles Street wishing to joke with him for being inquisitive, told him they were talking of Mr. Colenso who he said had slet with his (Street's) wife. As he stated this in imperfect Maori they did not understand him and requested Mr. Grindell to tell them what he said which he did—and this was the origin of the whole affair—there were many witnesses present who can

attest the truth of this amongst whom are Sandy McLoughlin who is still south and Hugh McQuarrie residing at Kaiwarra and Morgan Connell now in the Wellington Police Force.

Mr. Grindell certainly did not act prudently in translating a joke of so serious a nature but arising in the manner and without malice or premeditation, it cannot be considered so grave a charge against him as appeared at first, especially as Mr. Swainson affirms he took care on subsequent occasions to explain to the Natives that what Street said was only in jest as he had no wife at all, which the Natives present at the conversation knew very well.—It was this man Street—who was never employed on the road except as a labourer—that, afterwards he has tried to implicate James Grindell and others to Mr. Colenso when near Cape Kidnapper probably to try and shift this matter from his own shoulders.

With respect to the story of the sale of a little girl to Mr. Grindell for a piece of print, I have the united evidence of the whole Party to prove that, since she came to the road at two different periods always with either her relations or Parents that, Mr. Grindell has had no connexion whatever with her—and as it is well known that, things of this nature can never be long or effectually concealed I feel bound to believe such to be the fact—That he has given her Print he does not deny but says that it is not more than he has done to many others with whom he has never been supposed to have had illicit intercourse.—

In this case however he states that he has been pressed very much by the relatives of the Girl to take her but he would not consent, as he would by doing so have forfeited his situation as soon as it became known that he had done so.—

Mr. Grindell was first recommended to me by Mr. Swainson

for his knowledge of the Natives and their language and has proved himself very useful and intelligent on many occasions—and writing a good hand and being a very good accountant, he makes an excellent Foreman—and although on the first perusal of Mr. Colenso's letter—before I had enquired into the statements in it, relating to him, I thought it would be advisable for example's sake to dismiss him from his employment on the road I am now obliged to alter my opinion on the subject and could not recommend the adoption of such a measure as there would be apparently no good cause to justify it.

In conclusion I would respectfully represent to His Excellency that, as even Mr. Colenso himself has been misrepresented to others it is just as probable that many of Mr. Grindell's actions have been equally misrepresented to him.—

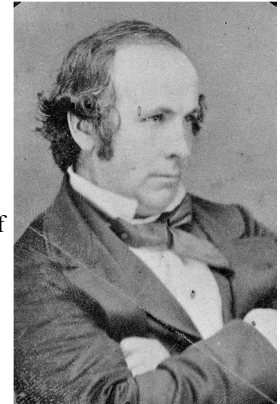
I have the honor to be, Sir, Your most obedt. Servt.

Colenso noted in his Journal on 16 May that he had received

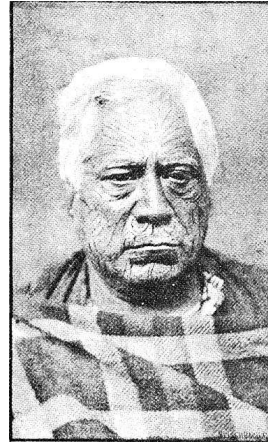
“a Letter from Mr. Fitzgerald, the Surveyor of the Roads, being a copy of the letter of the Col. Secretary to him, but without note or comment of his own. Received, also, from the Governor, Mr. Fitzgerald's Letter to him, in reference to mine to the Col. Secretary, which I copied.... Evening, went to Government House, and remained till a late hour. The Governor said, If I could bring forward Natives or others from Wairarapa or the Coast to testify sufficiently against J. Grindell, he should be turned out of the Government employ, &c. — — —I told him, I had (I thought) given in quite enough, which I left in His Excellency's hands.—That his conduct towards me, I well knew, fully acquitted me before Europeans, but that if those men were still employed by the Government, the Natives would scarcely believe I had come off vic-

torious, or, if so, then they would be led to conclude, that the Governor and men were alike in principle! &c, &c.—At which His Excellency laughed heartily.”

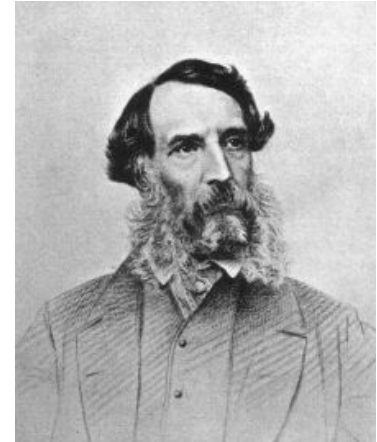
TH (Tommy) Fitzgerald would become the first superintendent of the new province of Hawke's Bay and a close friend of William Colenso. MPC.



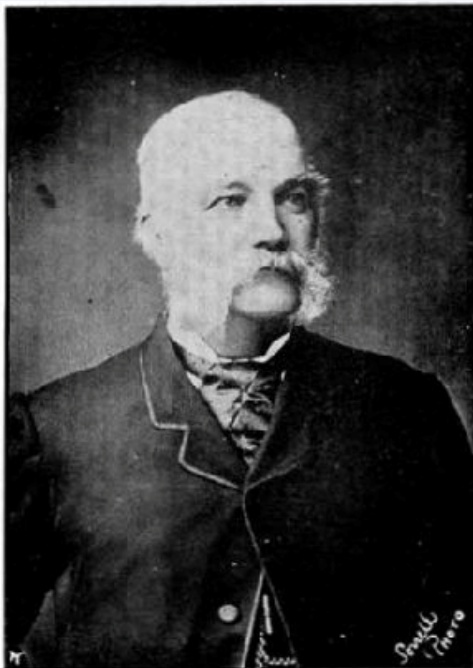
Thomas Henry Fitzgerald



Ngatueru Tawhirimatea Tawhao



Edward John Eyre

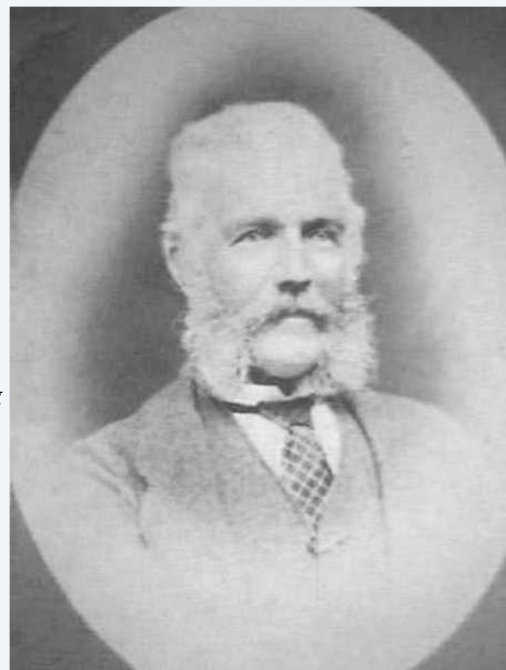


THE LATE MR. C. J. NAIRN.

“**Mr. Charles James Nairn**, who was a well-known and respected colonist of Hawke's Bay, was born in Carshalton, Surrey, England, came to New Zealand in the year 1849, by the ship “London,” and landed in Wellington in December of that year, with many other prominent settlers. Early in the “fifties” Mr. Nairn settled at Pariri, Hawke's Bay, and entered into the work of a pioneer sheep-farmer so successfully that many years before his death he bequeathed to the Church of England in Hawke's Bay land valued at £10,000, from which a rental of £900 a year is derived. Mr. Nairn was a member of the Patangata County Council, and chairman of the Patangata Road Board. During a visit to England he married a daughter of Mr. Thomas Wright, of Boston, Lincolnshire. His last visit to the Old Country was in 1891, when he was accompanied by his wife and family. There he died on the 21st of July, 1894, and Mrs. Nairn, with three sons and two daughters, afterwards returned to the colony.” (THE CYCLOPEDIA OF NEW ZEALAND [TARANAKI, HAWKE'S BAY & WELLINGTON PROVINCIAL DISTRICTS]).

Although this account has Nairn arriving in NZ in 1849, records at Puke Ariki, New Plymouth, say “Mr and Mrs John Nairn and family with the exception of

Charles Nairn arrived at New Plymouth with the first ship the ‘William Bryan’ on 31-3-1841. Charles Nairn came by the barque ‘Brougham’ in February 1841 as one of the original survey party.” There is a photograph of Charles James Nairn (lower) which looks like a younger version of that from the Cyclopedia (upper)—Ed.





Dickie Deighton
Native Interpreter Wellington N.Z.

Richard Deighton's exploits are related in T. Lambert's *Pioneering reminiscences of old Wairoa* (<http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-LamPion-t1-body-d34.html>)...

"The story of 'Dick' Deighton's connection with the early settlement of New Zealand is one worthy to be told in the schools of this land, embalmed in history, and the descendants in our town to-day might well be the proud possessors of decorations for deeds as doughty as any that won the Victoria Cross. History is still extant in his diaries, for as a diarist he might be said to outclass Pepys or Evelyn—for he saved the infant city of Wellington and its people from sack and slaughter....

.... [The story is told in considerable detail]

The rest is a matter of history, for two days later Rauparaha was seized and spent two years or so on H.M.S. Calliope as a prisoner, and little did that warlike chief like it. Deighton received the thanks of the Government and a small interpreter's post, but nothing commensurate with the value of the services rendered to the infant colony."

Either he or his brother Samuel (there are claims for each) was the first settler ashore on Petone beach when the NZ Co's ships arrived in 1840.

◀ "Richard Deighton, seated at a small round table, writing" (*actually, drawing—Ed.*). He is formally dressed in a bow tie and jacket. Pearse, John, 1808–1882 [Local personalities. 1852 to 1856] (Alexander Turnbull Library E-455-f-050)

William Swainson's name is mentioned several times. This was not William Swainson, New Zealand's second Attorney-General, but William Swainson FRS FLS, a well respected English naturalist and natural history artist, whose disappointments in England had led him to give up his studies, to come to New Zealand and to farm in the Hutt Valley. Disputes over the ownership of his land (and domestic strife) forced him to seek other employment and "during the operations against Māori in 1846 he was an officer in the militia in charge of a body of friendly natives". It must have been shortly after that when he became an overseer on the road—recommending Grindell to Fitzgerald—and when Colenso took a swipe at him,

If the Information which I have casually received is correct (for I have hitherto made it no business of mine to enquire into such matters,) W. Swainson, and J.C. Nairne, are also (in addition to those persons already named) in the habit of cohabiting with Native Females, on the Road on which they are employed as overseers.

