A QUESTION OF MANA

The relationship between

Henry Williams and Hone Heke

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A *Research Exercise* towards completion of a P.G.Dip.Arts in History, Massey University, Albany, New Zealand.

November 2004

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Abbreviations

AIM - Auckland Institute and Museum Library

APL – Auckland Public Library

CMS – Church Mission Society

GBPP – Great Britain Parliamentary Papers

GNZMA, GNZMS – Grey Papers, APL

HWs – Henry Williams

JPS – Journal of the Polynesian Society

MS 91/75 – Algar Williams' collection/ Williams papers, AIM

NZJH – New Zealand Journal of History

NIV – New International Version of the Bible.

WWs – William Williams

Note on Quotations: I have used [ ] square brackets to make grammatical or other sense of the quotation; however I have not usually corrected the spelling of place names or persons' names in the same way unless it is necessary to clarify the reference. For similar reasons I have not used '[sic]' unless clarification is required.

Chapter 1 **- Introduction**

There appear to be few studies that have investigated, as their central purpose, the relationship of leading individuals from Maoridom and the New Zealand missionary body. So what kind of relationship did a 19th century Evangelical missionary have with a native chief? This is the central question that has shaped this research. Many works of biography have examined the lives of individual missionaries, while much academic inquiry has been devoted to the question of the nature and extent of Maori 'conversion' to Christianity, and questions of 'culture contact' and 'acculturation'.[1] In this paper these 'older' questions in New Zealand historiography are joined by newer questions surrounding the nature and interpretation of the Treaty of Waitangi. The relationship between 'kawanatanga' (government/governorship) and 'rangatiratanga' (chieftainship) in the Treaty is a question that has lately risen to prominence in New Zealand history, a reflection of the prominence of the Treaty itself in the political and social milieu of New Zealand since at least the mid-1980s. When Binney and Howe and others wrote their articles about 'Christianity and the Maoris' in the late 1960s and 1970s,[2] the Treaty itself was peripheral to the questions they were asking. The date 1840 was a convenient time-marker that represented not the date of the 'founding document of the nation' but more the date marking the coming of British government and organised British settlement. They recognised that 1840 marked a turning point but the document itself was little examined.

This paper will explore the relationship between the CMS missionary Henry Williams and the Nga Puhi rangatira Hone Heke. In explicating the relationship between them it is inevitable that questions of the Treaty's meaning will intrude, for good reason. These questions are central to understanding the two men and the cultural meanings and value systems they carried with them. When Williams acted as translator and interpreter of the Treaty to Maori he was acting in several capacities: one as a loyal subject, and perhaps representative, of Her Majesty the Queen, another as a missionary to Maori. In what ways did these roles interact with each other? To what

[1] For example: Binney, Judith, 'Christianity and the Maoris to 1840: A Comment', *NZJH*, 3:2 (1969), pp. 143-65; Howe, K. R., 'The Maori Response to Christianity in the Thames-Waikato Area, 1833-1840, *NZJH*, 7:1 (1973), pp. 28-46.
[2] See note 1 above.

extent were they compatible in Williams' mind? To which was he most loyal? Hone Heke was Nga Puhi of chiefly descent and a convert in his early years to Christianity, maintaining throughout his life a close association with the Williams' mission settlement at Paihia. He was ambitious to assert his mana. At the Treaty signings he expressed his faith in the missionaries as his 'fathers', saying the Maori were 'children'.[3] But this faith was tested as Heke came to question the Treaty and the motives of the government. Thus, the Treaty became critical to the relationship between Williams and Heke in ways that neither of them anticipated.

It has often been stated (or implied) that the missionaries saw Maori as 'savages',[4] while others are more willing to examine the nature of their evangelical or Calvinist worldview.[5] But to what extent is the term 'savage' an adequate indicator of the CMS missionary worldview (and Henry Williams in particular)? Or is that term more problematic than helpful? Taking this line of questioning a little further: To what extent did Williams see Maori society as having laws or customs which governed it, and in what ways did he think these laws should be respected? To what extent did Williams recognise the role and status of 'rangatira' within the Maori social system? Conversely, how did Heke perceive British law and its connection with Christian belief? In what ways had his Maori worldview been modified by his interaction with missionaries and with Christian belief and practices? It will be seen that such questions are intimately connected to the 'political' question of the relationship between kawanatanga and rangatiratanga, such that this latter question becomes a reflection of deeper issues relating to cultural meanings and assumptions.

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[3] W. Colenso, *The Authentic and Genuine History of the Signing of the Treaty of Waitangi*, Wellington: Government Printer, 1890, p. 26.

[4] For example, James Belich, 'Myth, Race, and Identity in New Zealand', *NZJH*, 31:1 (1997), pp. 9-22, 11: 'The White or Whitening, Savage stereotype, a product of monogenism, evangelism, humanitarianism, and ethnocentric measurement, ranked peoples according to their perceived similarities to Europeans, and assumed that some were eager and able to ascend this ladder with suitable help, though in practice seldom to the topmost rungs…. Adaption was regularly mistaken for adoption, and in some European eyes Maori developed a reputation for being the most convertible of all savages, despite such peccadilloes as cannibalism…. Maori were sometimes archetyped or idealized, as with the Noble Savage and some Whitening Savages.'; Pamela Anne Gillespie, 'Gifted words: the life and writing of Marianne Coldham Williams 1793-1879', MA Thesis in Anthropology, University of Auckland, 1996, pp. 7-8: 'The evangelical middle class assumed it had a moral imperative to reform the rural and the urban lower classes. The presumption that certain sorts of belief and behaviour were evidence of savagery sanctioned the evangelical movement…. The combination of ideological beliefs the English missionaries brought forced a greater distance between the peoples they assumed to be savage and those who claimed they were civilized.'

[5] For example, Judith Binney, 'The Heritage of Isaiah: Thomas Kendall and Maori Religion', *NZJH*, 1:2 (1967), pp. 124-47.

The historiography of the 'Northern War' or 'Heke's War' forms a large part of what we know about Heke, at least in the secondary literature. It is surprisingly voluminous. Cowan, Buick, and Belich are notable examples among many works.[6] Despite its quantity this material is used largely as background. Of much greater value are the primary documents. The Williams papers at the Auckland Institute and Museum Library (AIM) contain many of the principal letters and journals, although many are also published in Carleton[7] and Rogers.[8] Other published missionary writings and biographies have also proved helpful to round out the Williams' material. Henry's wife Marianne was a prolific letter writer and 'journalist' and her recordings often contain lively and informative first hand, as well as second-hand, accounts. As anticipated, obtaining much direct primary documentation on Heke was considerably more difficult. The *Great Britain Parliamentary Papers* (*GBPP*) contain a few of Heke's letters to the Governors, and the Grey Papers at Auckland Public Library (APL) also contain some Heke correspondence. There are also recordings of Heke's letters in some missionary journals. But apart from these jottings directly from Heke's pen we have only the secondary or hearsay reports of what he said or did, notably the missionary jottings. My plan, therefore, has been to build up a relatively consistent picture of Heke's proceedings and reported words from the primary material. Several more recent secondary texts have also proved helpful, for example, Angela Ballara's extensive study of the tikanga constituting Maori warfare.[9]

The scheme of this paper is thus to analyse the texts and the contexts of Hone Heke and Henry Williams. It aims to place their words and actions in their historical settings – cultural, social and theological. In simple terms it attempts to construct a

[6] James Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars: A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period*, vol. 1, Wellington: Government Printer, 1922; T. Lindsay Buick, *New Zealand's First War*, Wellington: Government Printer, 1926; James Belich, *The New Zealand Wars, and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict*, Auckland: Penguin, 1986; see also, for example: R.D. Crosby, *The Musket Wars: A History of Inter-Iwi Conflict, 1806-45*, Auckland: Reed, 1999; J. Rutherford, *Hone Heke's Rebellion, 1844-46*, Auckland: Auckland University College, 1947; Ormond Wilson, *From Hongi Hika to Hone Heke. A Quarter Century of Upheaval*, Dunedin: John McIndoe, 1985; Ray Knox (ed.), 'Hone Heke - The Challenge to the Crown', *New Zealand Heritage*, 2:18, Wellington: Paul Hamlyn, 1971, pp. 482-487.

[7] Hugh Carleton, *The Life of Henry Williams, Archdeacon of Waimate*, vol. 2, Auckland: Wilsons & Horton, 1877.

[8] Lawrence M. Rogers, *The Early Journals of Henry Williams, 1826-40*, Christchurch: Pegasus Press, 1961.

[9] Angela Ballara, *Taua:'Musket Wars', 'Land Wars' or Tikanga? Warfare in Maori Society in the Early Nineteenth Century*, Auckland: Penguin, 2003.

picture of who they were based on what they said and did. In doing so it is hoped that the ‘space between’ them – their relationship – will be in some way described and understood. The paper is therefore a type of history of ideas. For to understand the way people acted we must try to understand the way they thought. In doing so we curtail our tendency to judge them according to our standards; rather we are forced first of all to understand them on their own terms.

The organization of the paper is as follows: Chapter 2 introduces Williams and Heke by locating them in their context and describing some of their early interactions in the ‘pre-Treaty’ years. Chapter 3 discusses Williams’ writings on the Treaty and examines his use of the significant term ‘Magna Charta’ to describe it. Chapter 4 follows on from this, looking at what the flagstaff might have represented to Heke and examining his comments on the Treaty. Having constructed a framework for understanding the two men, Chapter 5 analyses their relationship with each other and with kawanatanga and rangatiratanga. Chapter 6 draws some conclusions about them and our understanding of the times in which they lived.

Chapter 2 – **'Beating Swords into Ploughshares'**

'There are many traits in Heke's character which we cannot but admire, and the Pakehas seem to recognise this at Auckland. There is much that is ingenious about him, and I yet hope to see him a leading man on the right side.' William Williams to Henry Williams, 4 July 1845.[10]

'Sunday 15 [June 1834]. Held service in the evening with the natives, after which had a pleasing conversation with Heke. I certainly have good hopes of this man tho he has always been a daring impudent fellow, but what cannot divine grace accomplish. Is anything too hard for omnipotence?' Henry Williams, Journal, 15 June 1834.[11]

HONE HEKE POKAI

The first recorded reference to Heke in Henry Williams' journal is fleeting but hints at future possibilities: 'Sunday 16 [October 1831]. After service went to Kororarika and Otuiho. Tarea [Tareha] in a great rage at Heke; rest attentive."[12] Heke may well have provoked this rage. Provocation, it seems, was to be one of Heke's principal *modus operandi* in the years ahead. Often the provocation was subtle or 'ingenious' (to use William Williams' word), as in Heke's war with the flagstaff; but often it was coloured by an almost bombastic tendency towards self-promotion. A primary example of the latter is when Heke 'jumped the queue' at the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi - for all his later fame he could not at this time be called a rangatira ariki (principal chief).[13]

Heke traced his descent from Rahiri, the eponymous ancestor of Nga Puhi, so his whakapapa credentials were solid.[14] But at the time of the Treaty's signing Heke was

[10] MS 91/75, AIM.
[11] Rogers, *Early Journals*, p. 376.
[12] Ibid., p. 193.
[13] Danny Keenan, 'Hone Heke – His Mana Endures', *Mana*, 2003, pp. 83-86, 85. Strictly speaking 'ariki' means the first-born in a chiefly family, whether male or female, Williams, H.W., *Dictionary of the Maori Language*, 7th ed., Wellington: GP Publications, 1971, p. 15.
[14] See a genealogy for Heke in Carleton, p. 13.

still young, being around 32 or 33, and was only the third born son in his family.[15] However, what he lacked in seniority he made up for in determination and daring. It is said that he distinguished himself in Nga Puhi's wars in the south in the early 1830s and the inter-Nga Puhi wars of 1837, so by 1840 he was well recognised in the North. By that time too he had married the daughter of Hongi Hika, Hariata Rongo, (in 1837) and so had staked a further claim to mana. Perhaps his choice was partially inspired by the mana that Hariata would bring to him. Mana in the Maori world is both inherited and earned, so in light of his various achievements during the 1830s, by 1840 Heke was well on the way to making a name for himself. [16]

It would be trivializing Heke to suggest he was simply out for fame and fortune, though one cannot help thinking that this may contain an element of truth. That he was motivated by a very immediate sense of his whakapapa and of being a significant man of action, is certainly another part of the explanatory picture. And it could well be that a kind of 'Maui syndrome' drove a personal quest for recognition. Ranginui Walker writes that Maui is the symbol of the impetuous younger sibling in Maori society, 'quick, intelligent and resourceful…bold, yet cunning and deceitful'. Maui is 'the hero who rises above circumstances to prove that the principle of primogeniture [is] not incontrovertible'.[17] This description fits Hone Heke almost perfectly, as by the end of his life he was recognised as one of the pre-eminent chiefs of the North. Perhaps also, it was Heke's interaction with Christian missionaries that gave further impetus to his life. Both Heke and Hariata had had close contact with the Kerikeri mission in the 1820s: Heke attended the CMS mission school in 1824-25, while Hariata had lived for some years with James Kemp's family.[18]

Heke's baptism in 1835 clearly reveals an acceptance of Christian influence. Heke had married Hongi Hika's daughter only after the death of his first wife Ono. Ono was the daughter of Te Pahi, another Nga Puhi chief. She was baptised alongside Heke in 1835 and the evidence suggests it was Henry Williams who baptised them. Heke took

[15] Keenan, pp. 83-84; and see Kawharu, Freda Rankin, 'Heke Pokai, Hone Wiremu ? -1850', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 16 December 2003, http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/dnzb/, accessed 17 April 2004, p. 1.
[16] Kawharu, p. 1.
[17] Ranginui Walker, 'The Relevance of Maori Myth and Tradition', in *Tihei Mauri Ora: Aspects of Maoritanga*, Michael King (ed.), Wellington: Methuen, 1978, pp. 172-173.
[18] Kawharu, p. 1.

the Christian names Hoani (rendered 'Hone') Wiremu, or 'John William', while Ono took the name Riria, the Maori transliteration of 'Lydia'. They were referred to in the register as 'Gentleman – Native Chief' and 'Lady – Native Chief'.[19] Both of their baptismal names came from the family of Henry Williams. In fact the Maori called Williams (almost certainly by this time) 'Te Wiremu', literally 'the Williams' so it is interesting to note that in a sense Heke became Williams' namesake, though he did not become known as Hone Wiremu. During Heke's years of warfare with British kawanatanga, he often used his full birth name – Heke Pokai - in signing letters, or sometimes H. H. Pokai ('Hone Heke Pokai'). It is an interesting question whether this reversion to his birth name represented a kind of rejection of his baptismal name. Certainly taking up the name Pokai again might suggest this, but this must remain speculative, for given the absence of written documentation from Heke's earlier years, we do not know whether or not Heke continued to use his full birth name after his baptism. The missionaries tended to refer to him as 'Hone Heke' or 'John Heke' in any case, thus combining birth name with baptismal name.[20]

What we do know is that the year of his baptism marks the clear beginning, at least in the written record, of Heke's close association with the Williams family, and Henry Williams in particular. Even during the years of political machinations and uncertainty in the mid-1840s Heke continued to make contact with Williams, and vice versa. The fact that William Williams wrote to his brother about Heke in the way he did in 1845 (see quote at beginning of chapter) and Henry Williams' comments as early as 1834, suggest that the Williams brothers saw Heke as an important figure. Their hopes for him most definitely involved Heke leaving off his 'impudence' and engagement in tribal warfare, as Henry's journal entry of Sunday 12 October 1834 makes clear:

> ….Returned home late. Heke came to give me an account of his proceedings during the day, in his visit to Puketona [near Waimate] to preach. It is wonderful to see the effect of the Gospel in this man. He has always been regarded as an illdisposed person, perpetually engaged in mischief, whereas now he is quiet, respectful and attentive, and embraces every opportunity to receive instruction himself, and also to

[19] Kawharu, p. 1.
[20] Kawharu, p. 1; Carleton, p. 13.

> impart to others of that little he may himself possess. He ranks high as a bold daring fellow, a *ware* soldier. I trust by the grace of God he may become an eminent Soldier of the Lord Jesus amongst his benighted countrymen.[21]

What does Williams mean by 'ware'? The tone of Williams' entry is not in the least negative. Does he mean that Heke is a soldier that takes no care of his own safety but charges into battle with zeal only for the cause?[22] If so then this would fit Heke's character and personality as well as the Christian Evangelical ideal of a preacher with no 'fear of man',[23] an apt description of Williams himself.

Williams' comments about the noticeable changes in Heke's character reflect his Calvinist concern that inward change or 'conversion' is marked by outward change and good works. Some of the journal entries record Heke's 'quietness', while others record him in the thick of the mission settlement and its concerns. On one occasion Heke stopped 3 women from carrying baskets of food through the mission settlement on the Sabbath. This occasioned a ritual taua (stripping party) from a group to whom the woman belonged.[24] The incident demonstrates the zeal with which Heke was engaging with his new found faith and enforcing its tikanga (customs/ laws). On a quite different occasion, Heke was involved with tracking down the perpetrators of the armed assault upon the Busby home at Waitangi. Williams records that Heke 'had been to hold enquiry respecting the report of Rete having made the attack upon Mr Busby and had obtained some things which had been stolen from them.'[25] Another entry of Williams' records Heke as having punished a slave for theft.[26]

These records show Heke embracing new Christian ideas and involving himself actively in new 'good works' – the Calvinist Evangelical imperative. Whether they were quite the good works Henry Williams was looking for is hard to tell, but there is no overt expression of disapproval by Williams of Heke's actions. It is also interesting to note that Heke was engaged in preaching, which most likely stems from his

[21] HWs, Journal, 12 October 1834, Rogers, *Early Journals*, p. 396.
[22] One meaning of ware is 'careless or thoughtless', Williams, *Dictionary of the Maori Language*, p. 479.
[23] For example, Proverbs 29:25; Isaiah 51: 7, The Bible.
[24] HWs, Journal, 18 January 1835, Rogers, *Early Journals*, p. 407. Ballara notes this incident in a chapter about taua tapu or ritual taua; see *Taua*, p. 113.
[25] HWs, Journal, 22 October 1834, Rogers, *Early Journals*, p. 397.
[26] HWs, Journal, 8 November 1834, Rogers, *Early Journals*, p. 400.

appointment as a lay reader of the Church of England.[27] This is further evidence of the missions' and Williams' approval of him. Kawharu also notes that during this period 'Heke acquired a deep knowledge of the Scriptures, and often referred to them in later years'.[28]

During the period of August 1834 to January 1835 there are 10 separate recordings concerning Heke in Williams' journal. Heke appears to have been in close proximity to the Paihia mission settlement during these months and often sought out Williams to discuss spiritual matters. It seems that Williams took Heke's sick wife and child into their home at Paihia in the month of September 1834. Williams remarks on this event rather opaquely but with the compassion he often expressed in cases of sickness: 'The poor woman is very ill and should she die, which is probably the case, it will certainly be laid to our charge.'[29] Perhaps Williams' last few words reflect his awareness of Maori expectations that the 'Christian medicine' of the missionaries would heal such cases; if Ono died that could reflect badly on the mission. Heke, for his part, obviously hoped that she might recover in the Williams' care. Williams' journals do not record her death and she obviously rallied for some time as the date of hers and Heke's baptism is recorded as 9 August 1835.[30] Such an act of kindness towards Heke's family probably cemented the friendship of the Williams with Heke, even in the years when loyalties became divided.

HENRY WILLIAMS

Henry Williams has already received a partial introduction through his commentary on Heke, and it is not proposed to set out in detail his early life and naval experience, others having covered the ground admirably.[31] It is also not my intention to do

[27] Kawharu, p. 1.
[28] Though on the occasions when Heke was involved against the flagstaff his uses of Scripture and Christian practices did not always bring approval from Williams. See later chapters for commentary on these incidents.
[29] HWs, Journal, 16 September 1834, Rogers, p. 391.
[30] Kawharu, p. 1.
[31] See, for example, Lawrence M. Rogers, *Te Wiremu: A Biography of Henry Williams*, Christchurch: Pegasus Press, 1973; R. Fisher, 'Henry Williams' Leadership of the CMS Mission in New Zealand, 1823-1840', MA Thesis in History, University of Auckland, 1969; *Dictionary of National Biography*, Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee (eds), vol 21, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1898, pp. 405-407; and Belich, James, 'Williams, Henry (1792-1867) – Missionary in New Zealand', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29510, accessed 4 October 2004.

'biography', therefore, a brief summary of his character and the nature of his mission will suffice. Williams' journals and letters continually reveal the compassionate heart beneath the stern exterior. The naval discipline he experienced seemed to reinforce in him a love for order and regulation. He applied his high standards equally as strictly to himself as to the Maori and the Europeans he came into contact with. He was fond of plain speaking – privately in his letters and journals and publicly - to Maori and various colonial governors. He was literally, and in the way he conducted himself, a man on a mission: determined, direct and consistent in his dealings. As a result, some might have called him 'inflexible', but from his point of view his singleness of focus expressed the vital importance of his mission - a mission he saw as the most important vocation a man could follow.

Fisher[32] argues that Henry Williams' personality, courage, the mana he gained amongst Maori, as well as his mission policy and organisational ability, had at least as much of an influence on Maori conversion to Christianity as the social changes occurring in Maori society – for example, 'war weariness' and European diseases (the Wright/ Binney thesis[33]). Williams shifted the emphasis of CMS mission policy from 'civilisation first' to 'conversion first', in a reversal of Samuel Marsden's policy. This emphasis was in line with the emphasis of Williams' own Evangelical Calvinism: Maori had to first understand the essential tenets of Christianity and to 'know' the Saviour Jesus Christ before they could experience change in their outward condition, as is expressed in Williams' comments on Heke. There was an expectation that a 'saved' or 'redeemed' individual would experience a real inward change or softening of heart toward both God and their fellow human beings. Once individuals had experienced inner change that would lead naturally to group change and social melioration. Thus, 'conversion' would result in 'civilisation' – not the other way around.

It is not my intention to critique Williams' theology or mission policy. It is stated simply so as to explicate much of the impetus behind Williams' missionary enterprise. I am however interested in the connection Williams and the other missionaries saw

[32] R. Fisher, MA Thesis, 1969.
[33] For this thesis, see Binney, 'Christianity and the Maoris', *NZJH*; and for another counter view to this, see Howe, 'Maori Response to Christianity', *NZJH*.

between ‘conversion’ and ‘civilisation’, because it relates to other issues such as seeing Maori as ‘savages’ (or perhaps ‘noble savages’) whose customs and way of life needed to be changed. The title to this chapter made reference to a passage from the Book of Isaiah. This passage expresses the missionaries’ view of the process from conversion to civilisation and also their eschatology. Quoted in full the passage reads:

> In the last days the mountain of the LORD’s temple will be established as chief among the mountains; it will be raised above the hills, and all nations will stream to it. Many peoples will come and say, “Come, let us go up to the mountain of the LORD, to the house of the God of Jacob. *He will teach us his ways so that we may walk in his paths.” The law will go out from Zion,* the word of the LORD from Jerusalem. He will judge between the nations and will settle disputes for many peoples. *They will beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks. Nation will not take up sword against nation, nor will they train for war anymore* [emphasis added].[34]

Williams can sometimes be found employing this exact imagery from Isaiah, as when he records a visit to Te Morenga and his people at Taiamai: ‘Many appear earnestly enquiring the way to Zion.’[35] In the same way as envisaged by Isaiah, the missionaries saw and believed that the Maori would turn their taiaha into garden hoes and their mere into axes to cut firewood; or perhaps (in a different sense) that their physical weapons of warfare would be translated into the new spiritual weapons of God’s word and social renewal. This second meaning is evident in Henry Williams’ desire that Heke would become an ‘eminent Soldier of the Lord Jesus’ (see journal entry above). The first meaning occupied much of Henry Williams’ focus and energies in the years leading up to 1840. On a peacemaking mission in March 1832 (when the taua was heading towards Tauranga) Henry Williams witnessed an extended scene where a tohunga was using a bundle of sticks to divine the outcome of the coming battle. In discussing with the surrounding chiefs their ‘implicit faith’ in this method, he told them that ‘they would soon abandon such things as our forefathers had done and embrace the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. Some acquiesced in what I said others did not.’[36] These words reveal Williams’ view of his own nation’s history that they

[34] Isaiah 2:2-4, *The Bible, NIV* version.
[35] HWs, Journal, 4 April 1834, Rogers, *Early Journals*, p. 367.
[36] HWs, Journal, 4 March 1832, Rogers, *Early Journals*, pp. 228-229.

were once ‘superstitious’ and perhaps he would say ‘savage’, but Christ had redeemed them from such ways. In doing so they had found the way to the mountain of the LORD –Zion – a symbol of a community dwelling in a perfect state of existence, with God. The same would happen for Maori if they received the Gospel. Writing in 1841 to a relative in England, Williams says:

> Our natives [the ones connected with the mission] as yet behave well, but I fear our Mission will soon lose that simplicity it has long known [referring to the pressures that have been experienced since 1840]. How very far do these savage christians exceed those more polished from our highly favoured England. In my native congregation my heart has been cheered, and warmed, and comforted. They come to me for advice on all points, and speak of their failings and weaknesses. Our more polished christians [probably referring to the incoming settlers] are inanimate, cold, insensible, unfeeling, regardless of everything but their present gratification, with neither soul nor spirit. In the Mission there is very much to gratify; beyond the Mission there is much to distress.[37]

Williams’ words are serious and unequivocal, even if they are made with a clear sense of irony. The term ‘polished’ is a synonym for the term ‘civilised’, that is, living in a European way with ‘clean’ clothes, sawn-timber houses, and good quality food. Conversely the term ‘savage’ is synonymous with a low standard of living, poor quality raupo dwellings, poor quality food, and a society often in a perpetual state of war, as well as a ‘superstitious’ society.[38] But this is not what is most important to Henry Williams. The true moral index is the spiritual state of people – the state of their hearts. Hence, ‘native savages’ may soon find themselves ‘civilised’, in Williams worldview, while English settlers are (potentially at least) capable of a descent into ‘savagery’.

[37] HWs to E.G. Marsh, 23 December 1841, Carleton, p. 46.
[38] HWs view is not as simplistic as this however. HWs can be found commenting quite neutrally on Maori customs, as when he attends the hahunga of his ‘friend’ Tohitapu; sometimes HWs almost appears to approve of certain customs as when he presents Waharoa’s hatchet to Tareha: ‘He received it with much ceremony. Before however he would touch it, it was karakiatied [sic] as it was a very sacred thing amongst the Ngapuhi, as having come from an enemy of considerable rank, and one with whom they had been recently engaged.’ Waharoa had given the patu to Williams for this purpose; see Rogers, *Early Journals*, pp. 358-359.

If my view is the correct one, then the missionaries' view of Maori was highly enlightened for their time: their view was not 'racialist'; there was no moral graduation of races in mankind; all have equal capacity for 'degradation' or 'civilisation'. What will have determined that, according to Williams' Calvinist worldview, was their exposure to and acceptance of the Christian Gospel. Before that intersection in history all peoples are 'heathen' or in their natural 'fallen' state of degradation, without the 'saving knowledge of Jesus Christ'.[39] So in regard to the CMS missionaries, at least, Belich is wrong if he suggests that the primary 'conversion' was a conversion to European ways; the primary conversion was, in fact, one of the heart.[40] Belich may be partially correct, however, in that this 'primary' conversion was impossible to detect without a change in outward behaviour – a behaviour which more or less corresponded with the way of life known to the missionaries. They watched closely for outward changes which might reflect a change of heart. They were reluctant to baptise 'converts' until their conversion had been bourne out by a changed life. Williams (in a quotation above) noted what he perceived to be the 'effect of the Gospel' on Heke,[41] in changing him from a mischievous trouble-maker to a 'quiet and attentive' receiver of the Gospel. Thus, the fundamental conversion for the CMS missionaries was a conversion of heart. Anything else was just external and would most certainly fade away with time, although they might also have allowed for a general social effect of Christian teaching and living without that effect being followed by true conversion.[42]

In light of the above discussion it is important not to overemphasize the significance of the word 'savage' or 'civilised' in understanding the missionary worldview. [43] To do so is problematic and even misleading to the modern ear. This is especially the

[39] HWs' evangelical and humanitarian contemporaries fighting the slave trade in Britain were clearly of the view that there was no scale of superior to inferior human beings; see as an entry to this, Michael J. Turner, 'The Limits of Abolition: Government, Saints and the 'African Question', c. 1780-1820', *English Historical Review*, 112:446 (1997), pp. 319-357, 324 (and see his note 4). For a fuller examination of the evangelical view of slavery and its connections with evangelical theology, see Roger Anstey, *The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition 1760-1810*, London: MacMillan, 1975, pp. 157-199.

[40] See above, note 4.

[41] See above, note 21.

[42] This is something alluded to by Marianne Williams in a journal entry I consider in Chapter 5, see below, note 121.

[43] And with regard to the construction 'noble savage', see Ter Ellingson, *The Myth of the Noble Savage*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001. Ellingson argues that there never was any wide spread idea of the 'noble savage' throughout the 18th and 19th centuries until its aggressive proselytising by an English anthropologist John Crawfurd, from 1859 onwards, who also attributed it to Rousseau.

case when the word the missionaries used most often was ‘native’, and occasionally also, ‘the New Zealanders’ and ‘the aborigines’. Only after 1840 did ‘Maori’ become more in vogue.

So by 1840, to what extent had Heke ‘beaten his taiaha into a garden hoe’? The impact of Williams and Christian ideas was marked, and for a period (1833-1837) it did seem to have a ‘quieting’ effect on this aspiring Nga Puhi rangatira; even though it might be said that he embraced association with the Williams’ settlement in a rather ‘active’ manner also.[44] The years of the 1840s will show that Heke did not put down his taiaha forever, but whether he wielded it in quite the same fashion as formerly is a question for determination. And Williams, the staunch peacemaker, became peacemaker not between iwi (as in the past), but between iwi and the British. His defence of the sanctity of the Treaty was also soon to be challenged – from more than one quarter.

[44] As shown, with his prosecuting the law of the Sabbath, and investigating the Busby assault.

Chapter 3 - **'The Magna Charta of the Maori'**

'My view of the Treaty of Waitangi is, as it ever was, that it was the Magna Charta of the aborigines of New Zealand.' Henry Williams to Bishop Selwyn, 12 July 1847.[45]

'The New Zealand Company must fall, crumble to pieces, as a South Sea scheme, numbers ruined by their deeds. With regard to the Waitangi treaty, I am satisfied the British government can never allow its violation, though there may be, as there doubtless are, many individuals who may wish to overturn the whole island as relates to natives. Our ears are saluted frequently with expressions truly savage as to how these people [the natives] ought to be served, - to be "poisoned", to be "flayed alive", to be "shot like dogs." ' Henry Williams to E.G. Marsh, 14 January 1846.[46]

The plan of the following two chapters is to reveal the assumptions of Williams and Heke concerning the 'meaning' of the Treaty. This will be a recurring theme of the remainder. The purpose of these chapters is not to discuss the Treaty texts themselves (though that will come into it), nor to discuss the records of the Treaty signing, nor indeed to examine the Treaty background of Colonial Office policy. Rather, the purpose is to examine how Williams and Heke viewed the Treaty. In particular, what were the cultural symbols that they invested in the Treaty's meaning?

MAGNA CHARTA

The Magna Charta is the word Henry Williams used a number of times about the Treaty. The Magna Charta was the 'great charter' or constitutional settlement between King John and his nobles. To the 19th Whig mind this point in history was one where the citizenry asserted their ancient immemorial rights against the unilateral power of the monarch to exact taxes from them. It did not matter that 'the citizenry' were actually a band of 13th century medieval barons. What mattered was that these barons asserted the constitutional freedoms belonging uniquely to the ancient Britons as a people. The clear message was that the rights of the citizen were to be protected and the power of the King limited. An Englishman was born free and his home was his

[45] Carleton, p. 156.
[46] Carleton, p. 134.

castle. Most 19th century Whigs saw 'constitutional monarchy' in the Magna Charta. So by the end of the 17th century civil wars and the Glorious Revolution, the kernel of historical reality had sprouted into the solid English oak of constitutional reality.[47]

The political sympathies of Henry Williams and most of the low-church CMS missionaries tended to be with the Whig party (rather than the Tory party).[48] More importantly, these Englishmen had inherited the dominant ('Whig') historiographical discourse of their day: the English were a race of free men, and this was their identifying historical mark. These constitutional notions were then wedded to views of the ancient Britons becoming civilised by the Christian Gospel (as discussed above), and probably, to some extent also, by the Romans.[49] But what is significant here is that Henry Williams ascribes to the Treaty of Waitangi the status of a constitutional and cultural fundamental. 'Magna Charta' is a phrase laden with such notions.[50]

The preservation of 'peace' by the means of 'law' is certainly one of the emphases in Williams' writings on the Treaty itself. In the letter to Selwyn,[51] in which Williams refers to the Treaty as the 'Magna Charta', he also explains part of the preamble as

[47] Through the writings and decisions of Coke and the common lawyers of the late 16th and 17th centuries. The idea that the Magna Carta and other more recent constitutional 'settlements' were simply declaratory of ancient 'immemorial' rights of the British can be most associated with the Whig party of the 17th and 18th centuries but also became a wide-spread view of English people; see J.G.A. Pocock, *The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957. This view is also associated with the 'traditionalism' of Burke whereby any changes to the constitution and society must have due regard to precedent. Most of the CMS evangelicals, certainly those of the new industrial bourgeois, like the Williams, would have inherited this Burkean tradition and been thus 'socially conservative'; see J.G.A. Pocock, 'Burke and the Ancient Constitution: A Problem in the History of Ideas', in *Politics, Language and Time*, New York: Atheneum, 1971.

[48] See above note, and also see D. W. Babington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*, London: Unwin Hyman, 1989, pp. 72-74.

[49] This latter view is indicated by Williams interesting words in 1842: 'Frequently are expressions of distrust expressed to me [by the chiefs] of their fears as to the ultimate intention of the Government towards the natives themselves and their possessions, which will require every care to correct. In this I consider their feelings as perfectly natural. What were the feelings and conduct of the ancient Britons toward the first invaders of the country [most probably he means the Romans]?' HWs to James Busby, 20 April 1842, Carleton, p. 46. This statement also requires care to interpret. Is Williams implying the British are 'invaders'? I don't think he is because he is adamant that the Government must act justly so as not to give support to these 'feelings of distrust'.

[50] See above notes. It would be interesting to see how many other missionaries referred to the Treaty in this way. Was Williams the first to use the term? George Clarke junior, who became a sub-Protector of aborigines, certainly uses the term in his memoirs: George Clarke (jnr), *Notes on Early Life in New Zealand*, Hobart: J. Walch & Sons, 1903: '[The Treaty of Waitangi] is the Magna Charta of the Maoris.' p. 36; and see Robert Fitzroy, *Remarks on New Zealand*, London: W. and H. White, 1846, p. 10.

[51] See above, note 45.

follows: '…the Queen is desirous of establishing a *settled government*, to prevent evil occurring to the natives and Europeans who are now residing in New Zealand *without law* [emphasis added].' And he goes on to explain the first article of the Treaty as follows: 'The chiefs surrender to the Queen for ever the *Government* of the country, for the *preservation of order and peace* [emphasis added].'[52] Williams here renders the Queen's 'sovereignty' as equivalent to the Queen's 'Government'. Thus, in a private letter, Williams is found using the English translation of the missionary-Maori word that he used to translate sovereignty – 'kawanatanga'. It is clear to me that Williams' use of the new word kawantanga to translate the foreign concept of sovereignty (foreign that is to Maori) did not represent to Williams any 'reading down' of the meaning of sovereignty. As an English layman and missionary, and not a constitutional lawyer, Williams' understanding of the term sovereignty was fairly culturally generic and imprecise. It was identified almost exclusively with the law-making and law-keeping authority of the British monarch (or her Government).[53]

Thus, 'sovereignty' means 'Government', and 'Government' means 'law and order' or the 'preservation of peace'. This 'law' is also invested with notions of 'the rule of law' as well as a Christian-derived law, which makes sense considering Williams' close association of the Christian conversion of his nation with civilisation and its laws[54]:

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[52] Carleton, p. 156.

[53] Alan Ward comments perceptively on the translation issue, and largely in support of my argument: 'The missionaries and officials did not use the term mana to translate 'sovereignty'. It has been suggested that this amounted to a deliberate deceit, but this is too harsh a judgement. With reason the British [and the missionary translators] did not believe that Maori had a well-developed concept of *national* sovereignty. Hence the use of the term kawanatanga to denote the new thing the British were claiming. They were quite prepared to recognise tino rangatiratanga – the mana of rangatira – at the local level. The misleading aspect of this lay in their not discussing fully how kawantanga would impinge upon rangatiratanga, though this was certainly discussed to some extent in relation to the prohibition of warfare and violent retribution.' Alan Ward, *A Show of Justice: Racial 'Amalgamation' in Nineteenth Century New Zealand*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1973, p. 44. In relation to Ward's last sentence, it probably expects too much of Hobson and Williams and company for them to have delineated at the Treaty signings the way British government would interact with chiefly authority. In relation to Williams, at least, it is precisely the purpose of this paper to investigate this interaction as it he conceived it. Alan Ward has most recently summarized his view of the translation issue in, *An Unsettled History: Treaty Claims in New Zealand Today*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1999, pp. 7-18. His view is materially the same, although at p. 18 he does make the qualification I made above, agreeing with me that any more detailed discussion of the relationship between kawanatanga and rangatiratanga 'would have been considered too remote and theoretical for practical discussion.'

[54] See discussion in chapter 2.

> We gave them [the chiefs] but one version [of the Treaty], explaining clause by clause, showing the advantage to them of being taken under the fostering care of the British Government, by which they would become one [Christian] people with the English, in the suppression of wars, and of every lawless act; under one Sovereign, and one Law, human and divine.[55]

This is a fairly uncomplicated view of government. It certainly does not carry with it the modern connotations of legal 'sovereignty' – an absolute and unqualified power. Admittedly this latter view is also an older Hobbesian view of sovereignty, but it is not one shared by Williams. With his Whig notions of constitutional history Williams saw the authority of government as limited by the subject's rights.[56] And, although the Sovereign's rule was to be respected, Williams' low-church Calvinist view of human government meant that this rule would itself be subject to God's government and God's law.

Even without reference to these 'cultural' interpretations of Williams, by his understanding of Maori rights under the second article, it is obvious that Williams viewed the Queen's sovereignty as limited and qualified. In his letter to Selwyn he renders the second article: 'The Queen of England confirms and guarantees to the chiefs *and tribes*, and to *each individual* native, *their full rights as chiefs*, their rights of possession of their lands, and all their other property of every kind and degree [emphasis added].' And he renders part of the preamble as follows: 'And [the Queen] was desirous to protect them *in their rights as chiefs*, and rights of property [emphasis added].' Interesting here is Williams' recognition that Maori, as Maori, had rights as individuals, as tribes and as chiefs. This is not a narrow understanding of the second article as simply protecting 'property rights' – there are different rights depending on the status of the person. So the Treaty, as the Maori Magna Charta, limits the

[55] HWs, 'Early Recollections', Carleton, p. 14. This being a much latter recording it will be a paraphrase of what Williams' said; but there is no reason to think the sense of the words are inaccurate.
[56] McHugh has an interesting account of what he describes as a 'Whig' view of (representative Parliamentary) government in New Zealand, which is conceived of as a unitary and absolute legal power without any other effective (legal) limitations (i.e., a Hobbesian Leviathan). He characterises this view as that of the 'Anglo-settler state', a view which has not been challenged by a Treaty-based account of government origins until recently. This view would not however apply to Henry Williams for whom the Treaty was a 'Magna Charta', and therefore the full nature of NZ government could not be explained without reference to it; see P.G. McHugh, 'Law, History and the Treaty of Waitangi', *NZJH*, 31:1 (1997), pp. 38-57; and P.G. McHugh 'Constitutional Voices', *Victoria University of Wellington Law Review*, 26 (1996), pp. 499-529; and Paul McHugh, *The Maori Magna Carta: New Zealand Law and the Treaty of Waitangi*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.

authority of the Government as a compact ensuring not just the rights of individual subjects (which is really article 3), but the tribal and chiefly rights of the indigenous people.

Supporting this interpretation is Williams' statement from the late 1830s in which he writes about a kind of protectorate where the British would provide administrative assistance to enable the chiefs to govern as a collective body for New Zealand:

> The only protection I can propose [from the New Zealand Association/ Company and the incoming settlers] is that the English Government should take charge of the country, as the Guardians of New Zealand; and that the Chiefs should be incorporated into a General Assembly, under the guidance of certain officers, with an English Governor at their head, and protected by a military force; which would be the only means of giving weight to any laws which might be established, and preserve that order and peace so required. The natives have many years since proposed this should be done, and have repeated their desire from time to time.[57]

Thus, it appears that Williams supported Busby's idea (if it was exclusively Busby's in the first place) for the United Tribes of New Zealand, as represented by the 1835 Declaration of Independence.[58]

That Williams saw the Treaty as protecting Maori rights against, or perhaps 'alongside', the sovereignty or 'kawanatanga' of the Crown is without doubt. What 'Maori rights' meant though, in this context, demands some inquiry. That he saw it as protecting their property rights is clear. Magna Charta was, after all, originally about property rights and the right to be free of taxation except by consent of the governed. That Williams envisaged these property rights as involving the rangatiratanga and traditional authority of the chiefs is also clear, in that Maori property was owned tribally or in common, and the authority of the chiefs was required before any land was purchased. He expressed this understanding clearly in the way he transacted the

[57] HWs to CMS, 11 January 1838, cited in Caroline Fitzgerald, *Letters from the Bay of Islands: The Story of Marianne Williams*, Auckland: Penguin, 2004, pp. 244-5.
[58] T. Lindsay Buick, *The Treaty of Waitangi. How New Zealand became a British Colony*. New Plymouth: Thomas Avery & Sons, 1936, pp. 28-29.

purchase of his children's lands at Pakaraka/ Pouerua from various chiefs.[59] And there are also various records of the ways in which the missionaries conducted land transactions.[60]

But how far did Williams perceive the 'rangatiranga' of the chiefs as involving the continuance of tribal law and dispute resolution mechanisms? He clearly dismissed the rituals of the tohunga.[61] However, there are several early incidents where Williams plays intermediary between Maori and the British authorities concerning Maori expectations of Maori tikanga being recognized. In one case the police had attempted the apprehension of a European at a Maori settlement at Kawakawa – at night and without warning. Williams writes that: 'In the scuffle, the finger of Hori Kingi's sister [a high-born Maori woman] was cut, drawing blood, which, though never so little, is by Maori law a serious aggravation of offence.' This passage is illuminating because Williams here reveals his understanding of Maori *tikanga* as fulfilling the same function as English 'law'. He continues: 'The natives in the pa, so soon as they heard of the affair, were very indignant, denouncing the transaction as a *kohuru*, coming without notice and in the night.' Williams again demonstrates his comprehension of the Maori procedures, describing a *kohuru* as an attack without warning, and contrary to Maori dispute resolution mechanisms.[62] A *taua* was sent to the magistrate at Kororareka 'for redress' (Williams' words). The magistrate ignored their plea. After several demands over three days the taua took the law into their own hands and stole eight horses from a Captain Wright. In the end the magistrate was forced to ask Williams for advice. Williams recorded that: 'I said that as there had been

[59] See land deed for Pakaraka which lists at least 15 chiefs including Heke and the chieftainess Ana Hamu: Old Land Deeds, 21 January 1835, H. Hanson Turton, 'A true transcript of certified copy of original deed and translation, Wellington, 29 January 1879'.
[60] See 1837 House of Commons Select Committee Report on New Zealand, *GBPP*, especially testimony of John Flatt, CMS catechist, re description of purchase of land by William Fairburn at Tauranga: '2 foolscap sheets were prepared, one in English, one in Native; Chiefs signed or made mark; witnessed by Henry Williams, W. Fairburn, James Preece; the chiefs anxious to sell and have land cultivated by native workman; [Flatt] satisfied as to the fairness and security of transaction'; and testimony of J. Watkins, CMS missionary surgeon, who says he was offered land free of payment so that he might show the Maori medicine and healing and comments on Henry Williams going to buy land at Waimate: Question from the Committee: 'Did the natives understand they were parting with the land?' Answer: 'I have heard him [Te Morenga who sold to Williams] say that the land he had sold to the English was not any more the Land of the Natives; it was for the English….he [the chief] told them [the natives] it was never to return to them again; or their sons, or their children after them.'
[61] See chapter 2.
[62] Even in war Maori were known to not fight at night, not to engage in surprise attacks and even to let in water and food to a besieged pa to enable the fighting to continue on an even basis; see William Pember Reeves, *The Long White Cloud, Ao tea roa*, rev. ed., Christchurch: Golden Press, 1975, p. 57.

undoubtedly an assault on the part of the police, the more quietly it was settled the better. I mentioned the circumstance which had occurred at Pakaraka [the Williams' boys' farm], in the killing of a pig, for which a colt worth 10 pounds had been given, the European being in the wrong. The magistrate was perplexed and displeased, but there was no alternative, and a colt was given to the worth of 10 pounds, though with bad grace.'[63] In the end it appears Williams negotiated the return of the stolen horses in return for the colt, which was given for the cut finger.[64]

This incident is described because it indicates that Williams thought Maori custom should continue to be respected, even in the new era of British law.[65] There are also overtones that Williams saw this course of action as the best way to preserve peace. Although it would be going too far to suggest this was simply (in Williams' view) an expedient, it is true that civil peace was important to Williams, as we have already seen in his writings on the Treaty. In some respects civil peace can be seen as a key sign of civilization; it should therefore be sought after and preserved, whether it was British law or Maori tikanga that was being recognised in the process. It is clear, however, that in Williams' view, due deference should be paid to the chiefs and Maori custom, quite apart from its connection with maintaining peace.[66]

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[63] The pig story I have seen independently recounted by Henry Williams jnr in private Williams family papers.

[64] HWs, 'Early Recollections'/ 'Reminiscenses', Carleton, pp. 82-85; and see also Carleton, 'Plain Facts', Appendix C, p. xxiii.

[65] Some other incidents: (1) HWs opposed the death penalty for Rete, who fired at Busby and his two accomplices, saying to Busby that the missionaries/ Williams were the 'Guardian and Father' of the natives, Rogers, *Early Journals*, p. 398; (2) The murder of a European farmer in the employ of the Williams' sons. HWs recorded the 'ignorance' of Willoughby Shortland in not understanding the nature of the armed haka performed by Haratua's party (actually performed in support of the government), Carleton, pp. 20-22; (3) HWs commented with some dismay on the arrogance of the British magistrates in felling 'grand Pohutakawas' at Paihia, without any consent or authority of the locals, Carleton, p. 22; (4) HWs recorded Hobson's mistake in buying land from Nopera Panakareao that was not his to sell. HWs represented the aggrieved chiefs' case and in the end Hobson relinquished the land deeds and they were destroyed, Carleton, pp. 62-64.

[66] This view was also one held by George Clark snr., Chief Protector of Aborigines and closely aligned with Henry Williams. Clarke wrote, in a letter to the Colonial Secretary, 19 October 1844: 'In order to restore confidence, speedy redress in cases of native wrong should be adopted; a deference to native customs paid, together with kind treatment, would be much towards its restoration. The Europeans would feel less distrust could they be assured that the young men could not be allowed, but in some way punished, when they take the law into their own hands. In order to accomplish this, I would submit that something should be done to raise the influence of the chiefs; nothing has been attempted at present; a regular correspondence should be kept up with the chiefs of every district, and that they should at all times be rewarded for their services in keeping the peace; also they should be given to understand that both the peace and prosperity of the country depends very much upon the exercise of their own powers in connexion with that of the Government.' *GBPP*, p. 36. Alan Ward describes Clarke's view further in *A Show of Justice*, pp. 63-65.

Chapter 4 – **'Slaves of the Flagstaff'**

'The Treaty of Waitangi is all soap. It is very smooth and oily, but treachery is hidden under it.' Hone Heke, meeting with Henry Williams, Kaikohe, 5 February 1845.[67]

'There is much excuse to be made for Heke and those with him. There are many Europeans and Americans who have poisoned their minds with stories of other days, impressing them with the idea that their country was gone, and they themselves sold for slaves. Heke has been represented as a patriot, until he really believes himself to be such.' Henry Williams to E. G. Marsh, 24 January 1845.[68]

The historiography of Heke's War is fairly clear in its enunciation of the reasons for Heke's riri (fight) with the kara (flag or flagstaff). There were two main root causes: money and mana.[69] With the seat of government and the majority of Pakeha settlement in the upper North Island locating itself at Auckland, trade also began to diminish in the Bay of Islands. Combined with this, was the imposition by Fitzroy of customs or import duties on goods entering the Bay. When those ships' captains passed on these increased costs for tobacco, muskets, and other foreign implements to their customers, the local chiefs began to suspect that the promises of economic prosperity that they had associated with the coming of the British Governor might perhaps be less than solid. Men such as Heke lost directly from the new regime. Prior to 1840 he had, along with Pomare, exacted his own duty from ships entering the Bay. Now a foreign system was being imposed that was emptying his pocket, as well as being an affront to his mana.[70]

In contrast to the existing historiography, this study seeks to interpret Heke's actions and words from his cultural point of view, having regard also to the various influences upon his life from the 1830s, notably Henry Williams and Christian belief and

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[67] HWs, account of events surrounding sacking of Kororareka, Carleton, 'Plain Facts', Appendix C, pp. xxvi-xxvii; and see Buick, *New Zealand's First War*, p. 57.
[68] Carleton, p. 86.
[69] As most recently described by Laurie Barber and Garry Clayton, 'Mana and Money: The Causes of New Zealand's First War', *New Zealand Legacy*, 12:1 (2000), pp. 10-11; and see historiography listed at note 6.
[70] Cowan, pp. 16-17; and see a Maori account of this, F.E. Maning, Old New Zealand: A Tale of the Good Old Times, together with A History of the War in the North of New Zealand against the Chief Heke, in the year 1845, told by an Old Chief of the Ngapuhi Tribe, rev. ed., Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1948, pp. 221-222.

practice. Therefore the Northern War is not analysed for its own sake but as an insight into the clash of cultural understandings and cultural, governmental and economic regimes, which, in turn, provide insight into Heke's mind and which impinged upon his relationship with Henry Williams.

It is an interesting historical question of causation whether Heke would have fought a war if there had been no British kara flying on Maiki. To answer this we really need to understand what the flag represented to Heke. The common interpretation, and one often cited by the missionaries, is that he was told that by the flag the Maori had become taurekareka (slaves) of the Queen. In this context the concept of taurekareka probably had both symbolic and practical connotations. Firstly, it could mean political or symbolic inferiority. Secondly, it could mean a loss of economic independence, or even more basically, the fear that the government would seize upon their lands.[71]

Both the symbolic and the material aspects of the taurekareka threat almost certainly encroached on Heke's understanding of himself as a rangatira of Nga Puhi. Many missionaries (among them Williams) noted the association of Heke with the Americans resident at Kororareka. It was reported, or supposed, that they had provoked Heke with stories of the successful rebellion of the American colonies against Britain. When Heke flew an American flag on his canoe this certainly gave some credence to the allegations of American influence.[72] However, even without this incitement – real or imagined – it would seem that Heke's particular jealousy in maintaining his chiefly status within (or perhaps alongside) the new British order would ensure his resentment of any perceived subjugation. The very earliest European observers had noted the keenness of the Maori to have their whakapapa and mana acknowledged and respected.[73] It would seem this value was particularly acute in Heke. No nation was going to subjugate Hone Heke Pokai beneath her flag. Fitzroy captures perceptively the whakapapa imperative:

[71] A somewhat brief but comprehensive recitation of this view is J Rutherford, *Hone Heke's Rebellion, 1844-46*, Auckland: Auckland University College, 1947. Rutherford argues that Heke's war was about mana and maintaining chiefly authority; that the flag was a symbol of 'sovereignty' and therefore – to Heke – must not fly, or, at the least, must not fly alone.
[72] Thomas Beckham, letters to Gov. Fitzroy re Hone Heke's war, 1845-46, GNZMS 240, APL.
[73] John Liddiard Nicholas, *Narrative of a Voyage to New Zealand*, vol. 2, London: James Black and Son, 1817, p. 28.

> Probably, there is not in the world a race of men more truly democratic with respect to civil and personal independence, and yet equally aristocratic in their regard for descent and family connexion. On these subjects their feelings are sensitive in the highest degree. As an instance, when the now notorious Heke first heard the Queen prayed for in Waimate Church, instead of the chiefs (who were considered the principal authorities previous to 1840), he asked, indignantly, why the Queen of England was exalted to the skies, and the chiefs of New Zealand were trodden under foot.[74]

Heke had even more reason than most to be affronted by the flag. He had supplied the first pole for the first flag – the 'national' flag supplied by Busby in 1834, which effectively became the flag of the United Tribes of 'Nu Tirani' (New Zealand) after the Declaration of Independence.[75] That first kara flying on that first rakau (staff) was symbolic of the mana and independence of the tribes of Nga Puhi and Te Rarawa. And that rakau was Heke's. The first important meeting concerning Heke and the flagstaff, which gathered together a large number of the chiefs and missionaries at the Waimate mission, took place in July 1844. At that meeting William Cotton recorded Heke's words to the assembled gathering to the effect that 'the staff was erected for the NZ flag (i.e., of the United Tribes) and not for the Queens'. Cotton records that this statement was included in a letter to the Governor, which all the chiefs signed, including Heke. Cotton remarks that this letter 'was very unsatisfactory to the Bishop'. Bishop Selwyn and Heke had already locked horns by this time and had done so again at the meeting.[76]

[See Plate 1: meeting of chiefs, missionaries and Bishop Selwyn, July 1844.]

Heke did not appear at the second important meeting at the Waimate mission on 2 September 1844, when Governor Fitzroy was present. All the principal rangatira of the Bay of Islands, Kawakawa and Hokianga were invited, by written notice, to discuss with the Governor the question of the flagstaff, but Heke chose to stay away.

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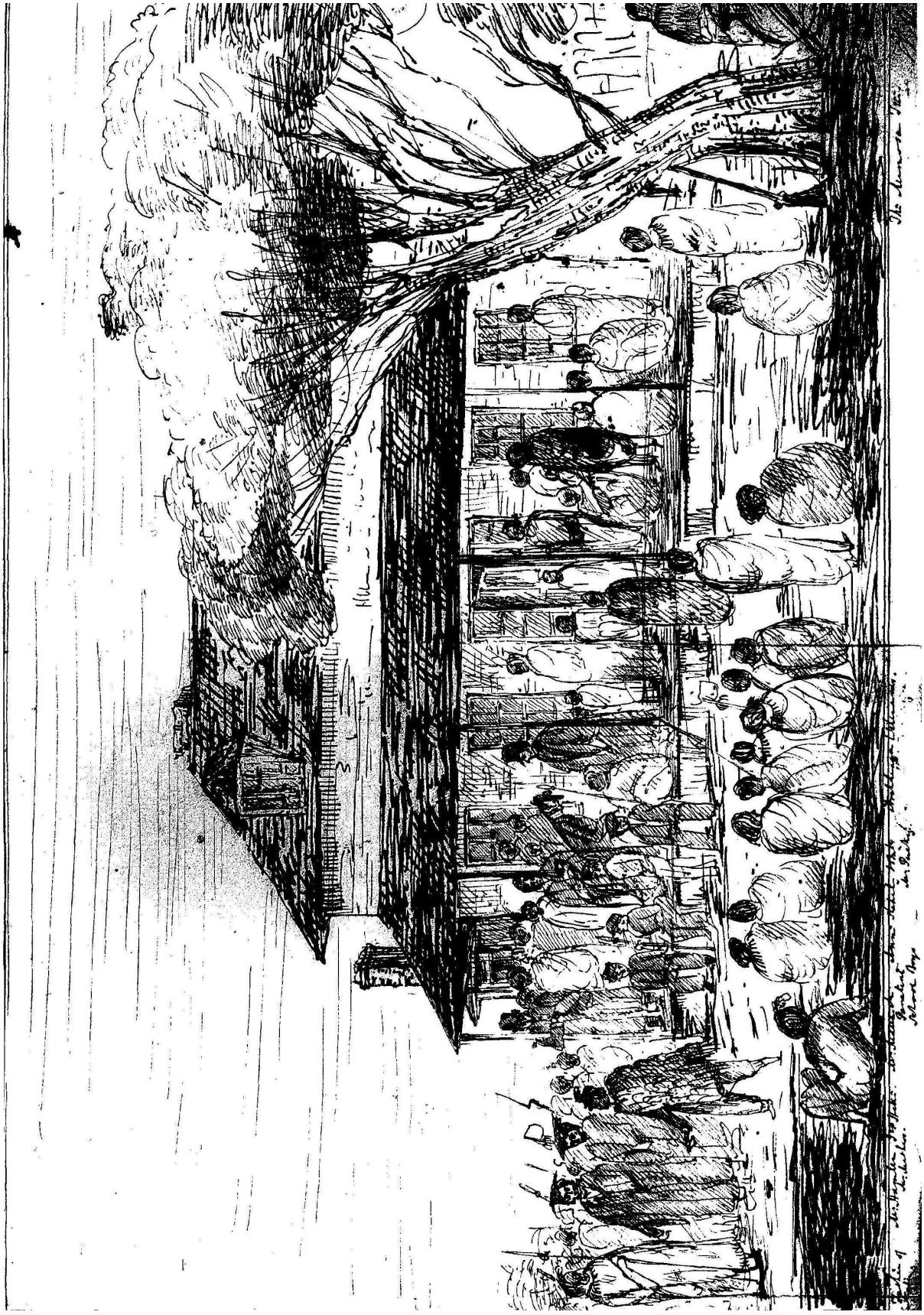
[74] Fitzroy, p. 12.
[75] See Buick, *The Treaty of Waitangi*, pp. 21-23.
[76] Perhaps Selwyn saw such a statement as an affront to the Governor or just simply insolent; William Cotton, Journals, vol. 7, 17 July 1844, p. 192, St John's College Library; and see R. Burrows, *Extracts from a Diary kept by the Rev. R. Burrows during Heke's War in the North in 1845*, Auckland: Upton & Co, 1886, p. 6, ('Heke did not acknowledge any Episcopal authority over him').



Perhaps he feared the opinion of a majority of the other chiefs.[77] Perhaps it was a chiefly snubbing of the Governor. William Williams records Heke's anger that the Governor had re-erected the kara, contrary to the chiefs' letter to him in July (after the first meeting), which had stated Heke himself would re-erect it.[78] In a letter to Fitzroy, Heke stated rather bluntly that he would erect another staff and continues: 'Let your soldiers remain beyond the sea, and at Auckland; do not send them here. The pole that was cut down belonged to me, I made it for the native flag, and it was never paid for by the Europeans.' With his characteristic opacity Heke (in the rest of the letter) does not make clear what flag the new pole would be flying, but it is implied that it will not be the British flag.[79]

On 7 September, a few days after Governor Fitzroy had departed, Heke arrived at Waimate with around 250 followers. Again Heke snubbed Bishop Selwyn by refusing his offer of a quiet talk in the Bishop's study. Cotton records Heke as saying he wished all to hear the korero. Heke wanted to know what the governor had said in his speech. After a translation by William Puckey[80], Heke was not satisfied and was concerned that 'some point had been kept back'. Although Heke was 'quiet in his manners', he was suspicious that the missionaries were not telling him all the truth of what the Governor said and 'kept harping on all the old grievances'. During this verbal engagement Heke then said something symbolically significant. Cotton writes: 'He [Heke] said he wanted the Governor to come with him and take down the present

[77] Heke states to Fitzroy in a letter sometime after the meeting: 'The reason I did not attend the meeting at Waimate was for fear of collision (or quarrel) with the natives.' Enclosure in letter from George Clark dated 19 October 1844, *GBPP*, p. 37.
[78] William Williams (WWs), Journals, 18 July 1844, *The Turanga Journals 1840-1850*, Francis Porter (ed.), Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1974, p. 291; and see 16 August 1844, p. 295: 'Heke according to report is showing a more hostile spirit and is much incensed because a new flag staff has been erected at Kororareka without waiting for his proposal to the Governor.'; see also 24 August 1844, p. 296: 'Went to Kaikohe to see Heke hoping to place his case in a better position before the arrival of the Governor. He received me very civilly & we talked for about two hours but he seemed obstinately to defend the propriety of cutting down the flag staff and as I could say nothing about the grievous intentions [of the Governor/ government? to make them slaves?], I left him with a promise of returning again as soon as the Governor arrives.'; and 26 August 1844, p. 296: 'Learnt from the Bishop that the Governor's wishes respecting Heke are most pacific, only it is required that he shall come forward to meet the Governor. Rode into Kaikohe to see Heke on the subject but found him altogether opposed to any reasonable proposal.'
[79] *GBPP*, p. 154. This letter is tacked onto the end of a translation of the speeches from the Governor's meeting with the chiefs at Waimate. The translation appears to be dated 19 July 1844. Since the meeting with the Governor did not occur till late August/ early September this letter was obviously inserted by the compiler of the materials without strict observance of chronology; but it seems likely that this is the letter (or part of it) that was written in mid-late July to the Governor with Heke's 'proposal' regarding the flag-staff.
[80] CMS missionary.

flag staff and then erect two, side by side, one for the English [flag], and one for the Maori [flag].'[81] These words, if correctly recorded, make Heke's concerns quite plain. He was not against the English flag per se. He was not against the Governor per se. But he wanted the Governor, at the least, to recognise him and his mana as equal to the Queen's.

In a further letter to Fitzroy around this time (September1844), Heke requests the Governor to come and talk and 'bring to a conclusion this affair about the flag-staff'. Again his expressions are vague and also contain an example of his use of Biblical imagery: '… but if you will not come, I have nothing more to say than this, that I shall cease to look and think favourably of your good works; and I shall call to the infernal gates to burst and deluge the world with darkness…' Fitzroy responded in a letter dated 5 October 1844, in which he defends the British flag as a 'signal of freedom and security', thus engaging with Heke's central concern about the symbolism of the flag:

> The treaty of Waitangi, which contained this regulation [the Crown's right of pre-emption in land purchases – article 2], was agreed to by the chiefs, and then the British flag was hoisted, to show that the British nation and the New Zealand people were one body, united as brothers and friends. That flag is now the flag of all those New Zealanders who wish to be the brothers of the Englishmen, to be a part of the great British nation, which is like a faggot of sticks, strongly bound together.… This is the reason why that flag, the signal of great advantages, is held sacred; and why it was an insult to cut down the staff. [82]

Such reasoning was not to Heke's satisfaction and, suffice it to say, did not have the impact desired by Fitzroy. Heke lay quiet for several months, but not obtaining his desired meeting and resolution with Fitzroy, Heke again took an axe to the flagstaff in January 1845.

Interestingly, the Governor, in his speech to the gathered throng at Waimate, had said he would give the chiefs a flag for themselves. Cotton again gives us the detail: 'An English Ensign with the Motto Hoa Tiaki o nui Tireni – allied guardians of New

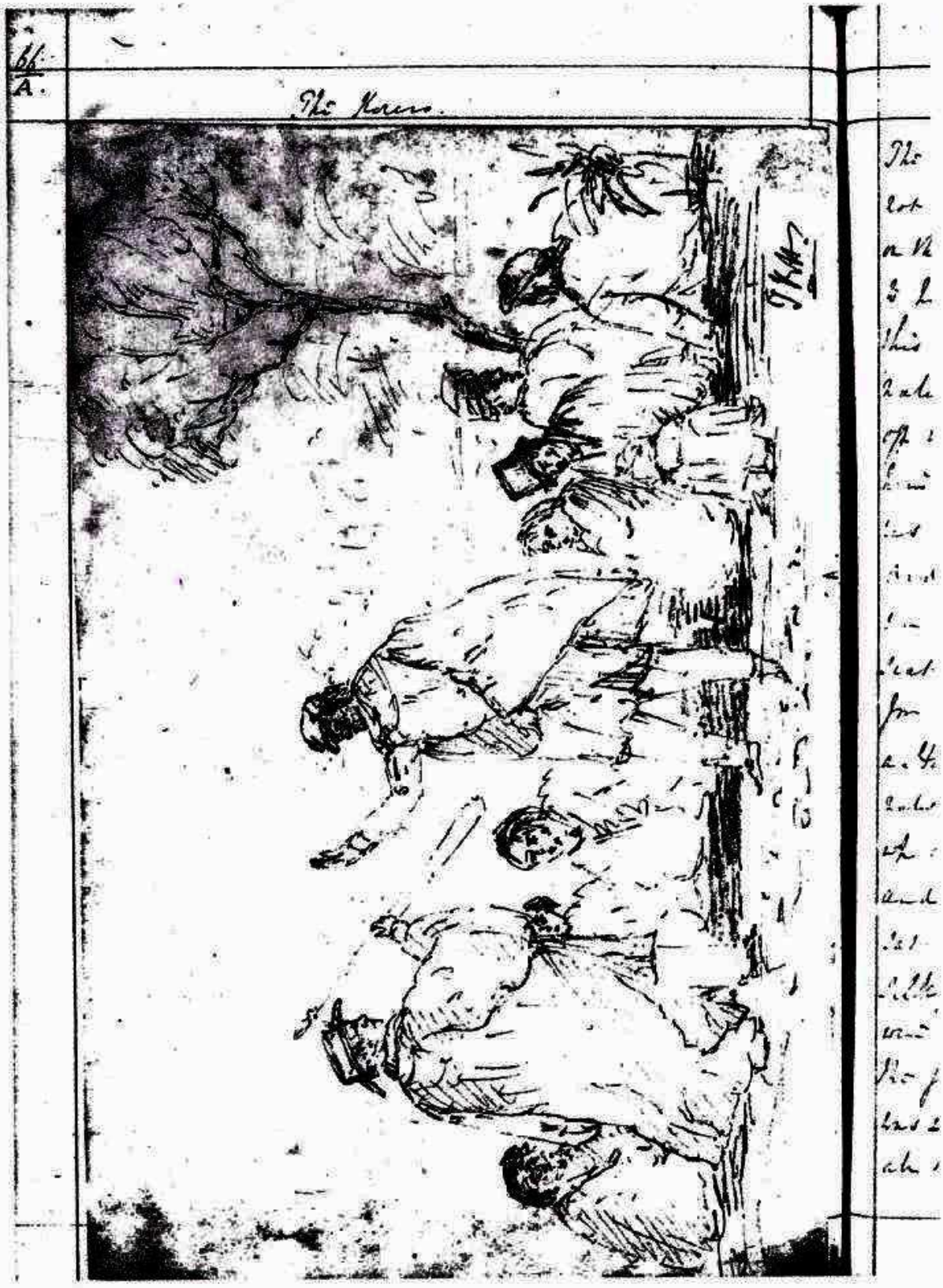
[81] Cotton, Journals, vol. 8, pp. 35-36.
[82] *GBPP*, pp. 36-7, being enclosures 6&7 in George Clarke's letter to Colonial Secretary, 19 October 1844.

Zealand. This seemed to please them [the chiefs] much, and is as Colonel Hulme says, in accordance with English policy toward the native princes of India.'[83] This concept seems to accord with the general concept hinted at by Henry Williams, of the British government acting as a protector against external foreign powers and internally as preserver of peace and order, but with the chiefs recognised as a sort of tribal aristocracy having a mixture of both ceremonial and functional positions within the legal structure of the country.[84]

Henry Williams was away in the south during the months of the Waimate meetings but returned to unsettled chiefs, tribes and mission body on 16 September. Within a few days there was a further animated meeting at Waimate on 23 September, where the chiefs, including Heke, had gathered to express their unwillingness to see Bishop Selwyn remove to Auckland. The records of this meeting present a rare conjunction of visual and written record. Firstly, Mary Martin records, in writing, the fascinating spectacle of Henry Williams at the whaikorero (oratory) with a 'spear' in his hand walking up and down in the Maori style (the 'rere') as he was speaking.[85] Secondly, there is a drawing, most probably by T.B. Hutton, which appears in Cotton's journal and shows the 'spear' as almost certainly a Maori taiaha. Standing opposite the speechifying Te Wiremu is Hone Heke wearing his unmistakable cap. These records provide evidence of the missionaries adapting themselves to forms of Maori ceremonial culture. They demonstrate the ways in which the missionaries contextualised the modes of their mission to make their utterances comprehensible to their Maori listeners, who were also their potential converts.[86]

[See Plate 2: main meeting number 3 at Waimate, 23 September 1844.]

[83] Cotton, cited in WWs, *Turanga Journals*, p. 298.
[84] See chapter 3 above, and George Clarke's views above, note 66. WWs also records in his journal having a private discussion with the Governor concerning the issue of a flag. He writes that the Governor was not opposed to the natives wishing to possess flags of their own, and even 'proposes to distribute flags among some of the principle chiefs', WWs, Journals, 31 August 1844, MS 91/75, AIM; and see *Turanga Journals*, p. 298.
[85] Martin, Lady (Mary), *Our Maoris*, London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1884, p. 37.
[86] See Cotton, Journals, 2 September 1844, cited in WWs, *Turanga Journals*, p. 300, where two other missionaries, Robert Maunsell and James Hamlin, are also recorded by Cotton as speaking in the Maori style.


66
A.
The Horses.

It appears that even though Heke had locked horns with the Bishop, the Bishop's mana was acknowledged and like the other chiefs he did not want it to be removed to Auckland.[87] Selwyn leaving was a question of mana, different but not unlike the principal issue we are discussing – the issue of what the kara flying on Maiki meant to Heke. Evidently it meant the treatment of his mana (and hence whakapapa) as inferior to that of the Queen's and the Governor's. What he did not perceive, perhaps, was that the flag to Fitzroy and Williams meant something rather different and did not exclude the mana of the chiefs being recognised.

If Heke wanted his mana recognised and respected by the British in symbolic ways, (with a Maori flag flying from Maiki), it is quite clear that to him this was intimately tied to being materially and practically in control of the 'political' and economic destiny of his people. A symbol is, after all, no symbol without representing something. And a Nga Puhi flag represented to Heke that he was in charge, or that Nga Puhi were in charge. Conversely, the British flag indicated his fear of losing control and losing land. This is the second (practical) meaning of the 'taurekareka' threat. While the Treaty was meant to remove obstacles to economic progress, by ensuring that Nu Tirani was protected against foreign nations and that British settlement was regulated, it would seem that to Heke, and probably to many other rangatira, 'regulation' did not mean British laws would automatically replace Maori tikanga. As Ward notes:

> The most experienced observers [of the 1840s] were agreed that the Maori's intelligence, sense of equity and need for a basic social stability led them to appreciate many of the principles which British justice sought to purvey. Operating against this was the fact that traditionally 'judicial' matters were imbedded in the wider context of prestige and power seeking.[88]

The words were perhaps more true of Heke than of any other rangatira. Mana did not simply mean the 'prestige' of a Nga Puhi flag flying on an important hill. Mana meant actual control, actual 'power'. This is demonstrated by various incidents: firstly,

[87] As early as 6 September 1844 William Williams records, 'It is said that Heke is come to request the Bishop not to go away.' WWs, Journal, MS 91/75, AIM; and see *Turanga Journals*, p. 300.
[88] Ward, *A Show of Justice*, p. 55.

Heke's anger against the murderer Maketu being subjected to British courts;[89] secondly, his resistance to the Crown investigating his pre-1840 land sales to Europeans; thirdly, as already noted, the imposition of customs dues on ships entering the Bay, ousting his previous jurisdiction.[90] These, among other things, represented to him that Nga Puhi was not now master – they were literally slaves, or in real danger of becoming slaves. He even went so far as to compare the state of Nga Puhi to the persecuted children of Israel.[91]

In Heke's mind, the exercise of both juridical powers and revenue-collecting powers (often the same thing, as with taua muru or 'stripping parties') was integral to his prerogatives as a rangatira. Prior to the Treaty it was well known that Heke exacted tolls on travellers through his Puketona lands (part way between Waimate and Paihia).[92] The early stories already canvassed, from his years at the Paihia mission settlement, show him actively engaged in investigating and prosecuting activities perceived to be contrary to tikanga; tikanga sometimes modified by Christian practice (as with the women not carrying bread on the sabbath). After 1840 he developed a reputation of interfering in other peoples affairs – whether of a moral, criminal or economic nature – travelling around the wider Bay area executing a modified form of muru or utu.[93] In one case, Heke had sent Haratua, a rangatira in his own right, to carry out a taua upon Kemara because of the unfaithfulness of one of Kemara's wives.[94]

According to Carleton's account, Kemara was one of the many instigating forces behind Heke's riri with the kara. After this taua, Kemara sent word back to Heke encouraging him to leave off his petty judicial proceedings and take up issue with the flagstaff. Kemara told Heke about the Acting American Consul (Mayhew) saying

[89] Carleton, pp. 36-38. A meeting was called at the intervention of HWs, which resulted in a resolution and letter from most of the chief's to the Governor to the effect that they disapproved of the murder and possessed a kindly disposition towards the Europeans. HWs, in a letter to James Busby, states his opinion that it was only because one of the victims was the half-caste grandchild of the chief Rewa that the chiefs were happy for Maketu to be given up to the British. He also states, most interestingly: 'In regard to British law, the natives do not yet consider that it applies to them.', HWs to Busby, 20 April 1842, Carleton, p. 46.
[90] Cowan, p. 17.
[91] Burrows, cited in Buick, *New Zealand's First War*, p. 29.
[92] Carleton, p. 13; Buick, pp. 27-28.
[93] See Burrows, p. 6, refers to Heke as a 'busybody in other men's matters'.
[94] Carleton, pp. 76, 79-80.

that as a result of fines imposed on two American whalers for smuggling, the whalers would leave the Bay and that this could be attributed to the fact that the British monarch was now in charge and the chiefs were not. In light of their very real economic context, such communications were likely to influence Heke's proud mind. Another piece of the puzzle, perhaps, was that Heke himself had been the subject of an assault by a carpenter in the employ of Henry Williams. Williams remarked that, because the authorities did not investigate the incident, charge Collins, or express any 'sympathy' towards Heke, he thought this was one of many incidents playing on Heke's mind and leading to his distrust of British authority.[95] Williams also recorded, on a number of occasions, the verbal insults hurled at chiefs, including the charge of being made taurekareka.[96] He had discovered, over many years, what a verbal insult meant to a chief.[97] All these factors, and more, are present in Heke's letter to the Governor of 21 May 1845, and hence it is worth quoting a large portion of this:

> I have no opinion to offer in this affair, because a death's door has been opened…. Where is the correctness of the protection offered by the treaty? Where is the correctness of the good will of England? Is it in her great guns? Is it in her Congreve rockets? Is the good will of England shown in the curses of Englishmen and in their adulteries? Is it shown in their calling us slaves? Or is it shown in their regard for our sacred places?… The Europeans taunt us. They say, "Look at Port Jackson, look at China, and all the islands; they are but a precedent for this country. That flag of England which takes your country is the commencement". After this the French, and after them the Americans, told us the same. Well, I assented to these speeches… and in the fifth year [of these speeches] we interfered with the flagstaff for the first time. We cut it down and it fell. It was re-erected; and then we said, "All this we have heard is true, because they persist in having the flagstaff up." And we said, "We will

[95] HWs, 'Recollections', Carleton, pp. 30-31.

[96] See Carleton, p. 31. Long before 1840 missionaries had encountered the problem of Europeans inciting Maori to fear their slavery at the hands of the British, or at least noted a general fear of being overrun by a foreign people: see testimony of J. Watkins, CMS missionary surgeon and testimony of J.L. Nicholas (who accompanied Marsden in 1814 to New Zealand), 1837 Commons Select Committee Report on New Zealand, *GBPP*. Watkins stated: 'They were very much alarmed at the Idea of their Country being taken away from them, and their being reduced to Slavery; but they were very anxious to have something done to increase their Knowledge, and to allow their Independence at the same Time to remain.'

[97] For example, HWs to Fitzroy, 20 March 1845, MS 91/75, AIM, where Williams gives Fitzroy his report of Kororareka and mentions the insulting language used by the Hazard's crew and Lieutenant Philpotts about Williams being a traitor and threatening to 'seize' him and 'cut him to pieces' – 'to a New Zealander [i.e., Maori] ear [these threats were] peculiarly disgusting'. Williams said he was raising this issue because of the effects of such language on the Public Service and interests of Great Britain, which 'must suffer materially' and lead to much distrust and bloodshed.

> die for our country that God has given us…. If you demand our land, where are we to go? To Port Jackson? To England?… [98]

To become slaves, to lose land, to lose control, to lose mana. This was the fear Heke had very good grounds for, based on what he had been told and based on the objective record of English colonisation. At the time of the Kororareka sacking, news and rumours of the 1844 House of Commons Select Committee Report on New Zealand had begun filtering through to the country, even reaching Maori ears. It is quite possible Heke had heard about the Committee's declaration that the Treaty was wrong to make the natives think that all their unoccupied or waste lands would be preserved in their ownership (as opposed to the Crown's). [99]

When Henry Williams heard of these reports he could not help but feel that Heke had some right reason for his fight.[100] In an enlightening letter to James Busby, dated 15 January 1847, Williams stated that he was 'repeatedly accused' by the natives 'of concealing the truth from them because I maintained the faith of the Treaty'. (Richard Davis also complained of this allegation.[101]) He then acknowledged that in light of the 1844 Select Committee Report the fears of the natives respecting their lands 'were not groundless' and that, in this sense, the 'Pikopos' (Catholics) were telling the truth.[102] Williams may well have been referring to Bishop Pompallier's correspondence with Heke in which Pompallier had suggested that, by the Treaty, the Maori had surrendered their sovereignty to England – 'their rights as chiefs'. Williams quite indignantly commented, in some note on this letter, that the Bishop's words regarding the Treaty were not true, that Maori rights *were* protected. [103] However in another

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[98] Cited in Buick, p. 133.
[99] *GBPP*, vol. 1844, 'A Report of the Select Committee on New Zealand to inquire into the state of the Colony of New Zealand, and into the proceedings of the New Zealand Company'; chaired mostly by Viscount Howick – later Lord Grey, Secretary of State for the Colonies and a man with New Zealand Company interests.
[100] See quote from Williams at beginning of this chapter.
[101] Richard Davis, *A Memoir of the Rev. Richard Davis, for thirty-nine years a missionary in New Zealand*, John Noble Coleman (ed.), Christchurch: Kiwi Publishers, 2002, p. 304.
[102] HWs to James Busby, 15 January 1847, MS 91/75, AIM. Williams is also here arguing that on the whole the CMS natives did not oppose the government, but adds that in light of the official pronouncements on the Treaty etc, the natives opposition to the government 'was not a pokanoa' (ie., not a random or strange course of action), and that, in fact, the feeling of distrust in the government was more general. Therefore the 'rebellion' was not a question of religious sects or differences – it was the result of a more general fear.
[103] Bishop Pompallier to Heke, 31 January 1845, MS 91/75, AIM; and Henry Williams' notes on this letter, MS 91/75, AIM.

memoir, as in his letter to Busby, he also acknowledged the cruel fates and fortunes of the document:

> Heke was the first who signed the Treaty of Waitangi, but was afterwards drawn aside by white people impressing upon his mind that the Country was seized by the Queen of England, which idea was strengthened by various statements in the Colonial and English Newspapers, and certain acts of Council in New Zealand, and finally confirmed by the minutes of the Committee of the House of Commons, which arrived in New Zealand in 7 February 1845. The actual opponents to the Govt were but few until a few days previous to the cutting down of the flag-staff in March 1845 [i.e., the sacking of Kororareka].[104]

In these notes, therefore, Williams resigned himself to the fact that the Treaty he had interpreted and defended 'the faith' of had now fallen into other hands beyond his control; as a result Heke's attack on the flagstaff was not without some justification. The question of Williams' principal loyalties and the quandary in which he found himself in relation to both Maori and government is a key concern of the following chapter.

[104] Notes by HWs on Heke's War, MS 91/75, AIM.

Chapter 5 – **'A Question of Mana'**

'It is astonishing to see Heke, how close he keeps to his Testament and Prayer Book. I am disposed to think he considers he is doing a good work, as, previous to his attack on the flag-staff, he asked a blessing on his proceedings; and after he had completed his mischief, he returned thanks for having strength for his work…' Henry Williams to E.G. Marsh, 24 January 1845.[105]

'A party of fifty men and boys have cut down the signal staff three times. All the tribes are under arms, some for the Government and some against. Troops are sent for with all the implements of war. As we stand between the two I expect we shall have no favour from either.' Henry Williams to E.G. Marsh, 24 January 1845.[106]

A LASTING RELATIONSHIP

Marianne Williams' journal during the events of Kororareka illustrates how closely Williams and Heke kept in contact. It is worth quoting an extended passage of the journal so as to receive a full impression[107]:

> January 6, [1845]. Henry went on a three days visit amongst the natives. One object was, to see Waikato and Tareha, about the utu of Hone Heke, who is again stirring up the natives to evil.
> January 9, Hone Heke and his party, to eat twenty pots of stir-about [i.e., at the Paihia mission] and to say that the stolen property was carried back to Mr. Busby's.
> January 10. Hori [George] came to tell us that the flag-staff was cut down [for the 2nd time]. Henry went off to Kororareka. Met Heke returning. Quite dispirited with the prospect of affairs.
> January 11. A message from Heke, desiring Henry to go with him to Paroa to make peace. Word sent back to say that Heke must first set up the flag-staff.
> January 12. Native sacrament. Heke came to church with his party, behaving well. They did not attempt to stay the sacrament. Rewa sent letter to Henry, urging him to keep Heke from going to Paroa till the Governor should arrive.

[105] Carleton, p. 86.
[106] Carleton, p. 86.
[107] Marianne Williams, Journals, 6 January – 17 March, 1845, Carleton, pp. 95-99.

January 13, Henry went to see Heke. In the evening Mr Kemp told us of the reports at Kororareka that Heke was going to attack the Police Office; also of the reports among the natives that Te Wiremu had told Heke to cut down the flag-staff, - as preposterous as any former ones. Henry resolved to pass the night in Heke's camp at Haruru, to watch proceedings, and quiet the minds of the pakeha.

January 16. Henry returned after dinner. He had seen Rewa, and sifted Heke's abominable conduct. The man [Heke] had stolen into the company of Rewa and other chiefs; had sat up all night to talk, telling them that Te Wiremu, Parata [William Williams], and the Bishop had told him [Heke] to cut down the flag-staff. Henry was enabled to undo much mischief, and left a copy of the Treaty behind.'

January 17…. Henry excited and troubled to see the English flag up again before they have the strength to keep it without bloodshed and defeat.

January 19. A canoe from Kororareka, with the news that Heke had again cut down the flag-staff last night [for the 3rd time]. He had strengthened his force, now numbering two hundred. The flag-staff, in consequence of Henry's remonstrance, was in the charge of natives; not of soldiers, as had been at first intended; so there was no blood-shed.[108]

March 5…. At daylight Henry went to meet Heke's war party. He returned, bringing back Heke's hatchet, given to him as an assurance of friendly intentions. Heke arrived, and danced the war dance in front of Paihia [i.e., the Williams' settlement].

March 6. A visit from the Captain of the "St Louis [U.S. man-of-war];" my husband interpreted for him to Heke. The natives had been led to understand that the Americans would send a man-of-war to help them, and present them with an American flag. They could not understand the captain's familiarity with the Archdeacon [Williams].

March 7. Heke and his party on the move to join Kawiti, from whom, up to this time, they had kept aloof, Kawiti being bent on plunder and bloodshed, while Heke had only one object, to cut down the flag-staff. Heke called at Paihia before breakfast. Henry tried to dissuade him from going, telling him he would be killed. Heke seemed very undecided; he went [to think? to Kororareka?] and returned several times. At length he decided upon joining Kawiti, but before he went he gave the Archdeacon his gold-laced cap to tangi [cry] over, in the event of his being killed.

[108] HWs own account of this period (9 January – 8 March) is recorded in William Williams, 'Plain Facts relative to the Late War in the Northern District of New Zealand', Carleton, Appendix C, pp. xxiv – xxviii. This record has the decided appearance of something collated after the period of these events, rather than a journal recorded from day to day. It seems likely, however, that Williams would have elaborated on his probably sparser journal record for the purpose of his brother's 'Plain Facts'.

> March 8. The Archdeacon took Mr. Beckham to Heke's camp, to see if peace could be made, one having been killed on each side. The natives told Mr. Beckham not to come again; and that had he not been in company with Te Wiremu they would have killed him.[109]
>
> March 17. Heke paid my husband a first visit after the battle, trying to persuade him to move inland.

This is a most fascinating private record. Several points are worth noting. Firstly, Henry Williams is actively engaged as a mediator between the two sides as well as an advocate for peace. Not included in this journal record is Williams' visit to Ururoa (from Whangaroa) and Waka Nene, and a gathering of other chiefs who, according to Williams, were in a state of disquiet over the governments' intentions and considering joining Heke. On 30 January Williams again employed the Treaty, 'requesting the chiefs to notice any expressions which favoured the assertion that their interests had been betrayed by the Government, or that there was any design to deprive them of their just rights. At length they all expressed themselves satisfied…'[110] Shortly after this, on 5 February, Williams met Heke 'by appointment' at Kaikohe. At this meeting Heke referred to the Treaty as being 'all soap. It is very smooth and oily, but treachery is hidden under it'.[111]

The second point to note about Marianne's journal is that despite Williams' clear insistence that Heke need not take up arms against the flagstaff, Heke himself still maintained contact with Williams. He visited Williams at the Paihia mission at least 6 times during this period (9 & 12 January, 5,6,7 & 17 March), even more than Williams visited him (13 January, 5 & 8 March). And it would seem that Marianne played host on a number of occasions, on one of these feeding his men with 'stirabout' (a water, flour, and sugar mix) for breakfast. Not only this but Williams was twice given significant gifts or taonga (treasures) by Heke – the hatchet on 5 March and his gold-laced cap on 7 March; the last gift 'to tangi over' in event of his being killed.

[109] See HWs commentary on this in a letter to the editor of the 'New Zealander' newspaper, 23 June 1845, Carleton, Appendix B, pp. xii-xiii.
[110] 'Plain Facts', Carleton, Appendix C, p. xxvi.
[111] 'Plain Facts', Carleton, Appendix C, pp. xxvi-xxvii.

What conclusions can we reach about Heke and Williams' relationship at this time? It seems that without a doubt Heke recognised and respected the mana of Williams and so giving him these gifts made sense. The request to 'move inland' (17 March) either meant that Heke wanted Williams to live near him at Kaikohe, or that perhaps he wanted Williams protected from the turbulence of the immediate Paihia and Bay area. The former I think seems more likely and would reflect the recognition of Williams' mana by Heke. It is difficult to deny the presence of some personal feeling between the two during these events, even despite the strain of the circumstances and the tension between their different perceptions of the flagstaff and its meaning. It is even harder to deny the basic fact of a continuing relationship between them at this time.

Whether that relationship ever abated at all is difficult to determine from the record, even though Williams may often have felt at this time that his influence with Heke was weak.[112] It is apparent that Heke and Williams had less contact between the felling of the 4th flagstaff (the sacking of Kororareka) and the battle of Ruapekapeka. It may well be that Williams experienced the low point of his influence among Maori at Ohaeawai when he was not allowed by Maori in the pa to approach close enough to recover a number of soldiers' bodies for burial. This should most probably be explained by reference to the exigencies of war; and it seems doubtful whether this can be attributed to Heke, as Heke did not play a significant part in the battles at Ohaeawai or Ruapekapeka due to his previous injury at Mawhe. It was Pene Taui who was in charge at Ohaeawai and only then is any sort of previous Maori practice obvious in the record: the body of Captain Grant was mutilated and Lieutenant Philpotts was scalped.[113] (Interestingly however, 5 years later, in 1850, it was Pene Taui and his people who personally escorted the Williams in their move from Paihia

[112] Marianne Williams to daughter Marianne, 14 April 1845, MS 91/78, AIM: 'Your father [Henry] says he cannot go amongst them or say anything to them. Heke and his party resisted all his arguments and trampled upon his advice, and must now take their own course.'

[113] See Carleton, p. 114; Maning has an insider's account of these events, which seems to accord with older Maori practices and beliefs, pp. 271-274, 'But the body of the soldier chief who had been killed [must be Cpt. Grant] was not given up, for much of the flesh had been cut off. This was done by the advice of the tohunga [most probably Te Atua Wera], so that the soldiers having been dried for food they might lose their mana (prestige, good fortune), and be in consequence less feared. And the scalp had been taken from the head of Philpots [although not before Williams had taken a lock of his hair on the field of battle] to be used by the tohunga in divination to discover the event of the war. This was not done for revenge or ill-will to him, but because, as he was a toa (courageous fighter) and a chief, his scalp was more desirable for this purpose than that of an ordinary person.'

to Pakaraka.[114]) In a letter to Fitzroy after Ohaeawai, Heke in fact blamed Waka Nene and the Hokianga natives for cutting up the bodies of the British soldiers. He also stated that his 'only sin' was in cutting down the flagstaff: 'I had no desire to kill the Europeans'. He also called for peace with Fitzroy and talked of 'reconciliation with God for our sins'[115] These words demonstrate the effect of Christianity on Heke's religious and moral reference points, at least in the language he used. Whether these words were used as polemical devices or whether he actually felt the guilt associated with them is an interesting and open question.

After Ruapekapeka, Heke again established definite contact with Williams. Marianne Williams' journal from this time is colourful and informative, due to the first hand nature of the account. On the morning of 28 January 1846, Heke turned up with about 100 men and assembled in front of the Williams' fence, 'where they danced and speechified and tangied and eat large masses of flour' (which Marianne mixed with water in their iron boiler). Henry was called out to Heke. Later in the day Sir Everard Home, captain of the *North Star*, was announced and at Sir Everard's request 'Henry went to fetch Heke who came with his suit and motley group'. Marianne wrote:

> Sir E. took Heke on the sopha and seated him between himself and Mr [Lieutenant] Curtis. Henry was interpreter. We were afraid Heke would have been impudent but he became moderate and then reasonable. He first called Sir E. the King of Babylon and said he was as big as a whale [the natives called him the kopunui – 'large stomach'], while Henry skilfully worded interpreting when Sir E. asked what he said. Sir E. had a long conversation with Heke. Heke drank wine with the rest.

Here we have a rather colourful account of a quite remarkable meeting. As the naval officers reflected, it was quite unbelievable to think they were meeting the man they had been fighting only three weeks previously. Henry Williams is seen protecting Heke from the effect of his insult against the captain, while Heke shows no qualms about meeting his opponents on the neutral territory of the mission. This reflects his trust in the missionaries. His willingness to meet the captain and lack of any obvious resentment against the naval officers themselves perhaps reflects the truth of his claim

[114] See Marianne's account of the departure from Paihia, Journals, 30 May 1850, MS 91/75, AIM.
[115] Heke to Fitzroy, 19 July 1845, MS 91/75, AIM.

that he was fighting the flagstaff and not people. That night (28 January) Heke and his followers encamped outside the Williams' front fence. The next day:

> Heke was at church and walked leisurely in with Henry [and] staid [for] our family prayers and breakfast. Hone Heke talked a great deal of nonsense – *still Hone Heke*. Sir E. provided several bags of flour for the natives…It was a day of excitement[,] the encampment before the sounds of tangiing and speechifying[,] the various callers all made writing to England impossible…A party of soldier officers talking an immense time with Heke on the bank about the late engagements…[later in the day] Heke had hoisted his flag in honour of the North Star but no one could tell what it was or what the letters upon it.

An observer unfamiliar with the circumstances would hardly be aware that these events were taking place only a few weeks after armed conflict and before any formal peace had been cemented. Both Heke and Williams acted as if the war had hardly happened, although Marianne also noted that Heke was invited aboard the *North Star*, but did not go; perhaps for fear of being detained against his will. The next day, 30 January, Heke again invited himself to breakfast:

> Heke and Herapui and another came in while we were at breakfast. He talked great nonsense[,] one might suppose to hear him all were going to fight, but Herapui talked more sensibly[,] he had been with Waka and his people and said peace was made…Henry had a long talk with Heke in the front verandah and then went to Tepuna just as Pomari [Pomare] landed. Our bank [outside the front fence] still a fair[,] many officers on shore to see the Lion…

Once again Heke appears in the record larger than life. He had earned his reputation for being a courageous fighting chief – 'the Lion' – and the officers wanted to meet him. It seems likely he was enjoying the attention. Marianne further noted that Heke got drunk on Pomare's rum and that their son Edward refused Mr Clendon to write Heke's letter for him (presumably to the Governor) – 'it being quite dangerous'. Marianne then explained the import of these words:

> Hemi Tautari [who lived with the Williams] had heard Heke tell the soldier officers on the bank that Te Wiremu was the "Pukati" [or "putake"? – the reason/cause?] of

> the evil and told him to cut down the flag-staff. Heke took himself and his party to the Ti taking Henry's new tent with him which had been lent for the expectation of a wet night.[116]

So the Williams had again offered Christian hospitality to Heke, but, if Marianne's journal is correct, he continued to take liberties with the truth by casting the blame of the flagstaff war on Williams. There is a distinct possibility, of course, that Heke's making this allegation was mere rumour; the missionaries often heard unfounded statements. On the other hand it seems backed up by a previous extract from Marianne's journal (16 January 1845), and also Richard Davis' journal where Heke is also found to have made the same allegation.[117] The question then must be: why did Heke make these statements about Williams and the flagstaff, knowing them to be untrue? Did he simply want to tell a good story to the soldiers and naval officers? Was he intoxicated at the time? Was he actually trying to extricate himself from the blame for the wars? Or was he trying to get Williams into hot water with the authorities? The last option seems rather callous considering the relationship between the two. But perhaps the truth includes aspects of all these reasons. There is another reason cited by Richard Davis that, 'by falsely using our [the missionaries'] names, he could gain influence among the natives generally.' If Davis' perceptions were correct then his conclusion that Heke was 'unprincipled' was not without just cause.[118] If correct then Heke's pursuit of mana rendered all other considerations (including telling the truth) merely secondary in importance. Still, Heke's motives must to some extent remain a mystery.

A MAN BETWEEN

The question of Williams' loyalties is an interesting one: was he ultimately loyal to his Christian mission or to the government? It seems clear that the duty Williams felt, to offer his services to the government, was not by any means absolute. If anything,

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[116] Marianne Williams, Journals, 28-30 January 1846, MS 91/75, AIM.
[117] See Richard Davis, Journals, 17 March 1848, p. 342: 'Heke was always an enemy to all that was good, although at times, particularly during the war, or in his other quarrels with the Government, he appeared more friendly. And why? because, by falsely using our names, he could gain influence among the natives generally. The glaring falsehoods he coined against us during the war were of the most abominable nature, and calculated to cause us to be very justly suspected by the Government.'
[118] Richard Davis, Journals, p. 342.

he conceived of his role as primarily a peacemaker and mediator between Heke's forces and the British in the event of conflict. That role of mediator did not however mean that either side could trample on his sense of the proper role of the mission. In a letter to Marsh of 28 May 1846 he expresses concern about the military's use of the Waimate mission:

> The far-famed Waimate station has been sorely degraded in consequence of the military having been quartered there during the war. I have written to the Church Mission Society to ask if protection cannot be afforded us against any future visitation of the like nature; for what concord can there be between missionaries and their proceedings with military men and their proceedings.[119]

Williams clearly did not wish the Christian mission settlement to harbour the implements and forces of war.[120] As for the function of a Christian missionary, Marianne's journal entry of 12 February 1846 is telling. Marianne had been told that the chief Kemara, 'though still a heathen', had said in answer to the accusations against 'Te Wiremu', that he had given flour to the rebels and healed their wounds – 'What of that text? – "If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him a drink".' Marianne comments on this report approvingly:

> This is the lesson to Christian women [referring to some of the European women in the Bay] who talked of putting poison in their wounds. It shews that christianity meliorates, even where it does not convert.[121]

This is telling because it expresses an aspect of the way the Williams viewed

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[119] Carleton, p. 136.

[120] That this was not merely a reaction to the way he had recently been treated by the government can perhaps be seen by the attitude of his sons almost 2 years before this. When Fitzroy first arrived in the Bay in late August 1844 he sent an 'order' to the missionaries to deliver their horse teams and drays to Kerikeri for the purpose of conveying guns and ammunition for the troops. All the older Williams' sons were involved in making a deputation to the Governor to protest against this request. The Governor relented in part, saying they did not have to take the drays and teams themselves but should make them available to the soldiers if necessary. The best construction to put on this is that the Williams' sons did not want to be made direct accessories to the soldiers' mission; Marianne Williams, Journal, 26 August 1844, MS 91/75, AIM.

[121] Marianne Williams, Journals, 12 February 1846, Carleton, p. 132; and see Marianne Williams to HWs, 3 July 1845, MS 91/75, AIM, (when Henry is at Ohaeawai), where she speaks of Capt. Clendon's wife talking violently against the natives and the Williams because of the Williams 'healing their wounds' and 'harbouring them' (i.e., the natives).

their missionary enterprise. They recognised the general social affect that their actions might have on the surrounding community. Providing hospitality or 'giving flour to the rebels' was a key demonstration of the Christian's concern for his fellow man, with the hope that this might bear out the Gospel message. The fact that the Williams provided this hospitality regardless of whether they approved or disapproved of Heke's actions was therefore important. They viewed it as an act of mercy and mission as unto God, rather than being simply earthly hospitality. Beyond being a good witness, they probably also hoped that peaceful behaviour might be encouraged from those (like Heke) disposed to disturb the peace.[122]

Of course, acts of mercy in time of war were not solely the prerogative of the missionaries. Heke himself was also shown to have dispensed such mercy, as Marianne Williams again can tell:

> The poor boys [the Williams' sons] have had great losses, but great preservations. When Heke encamped his army there [at Pakaraka] they ate twenty tons of potatoes, - all their winter stock; burnt a quantity of fencing, and many tons of valuable kauri gum (purchased for export), for firewood. Much wheat destroyed; all their poultry and pigs, and yet the barn was not burnt, though the natives lay upon the wheat, smoking their pipes, and carrying fire-sticks in to light them. Great friendship was professed; when eight horses were caught and about to be sent off, Heke ordered them to be delivered up to our son Henry.[123]

While the Paihia hospitality of Henry and Marianne was for the most part voluntary, it would seem that the Williams' boys had rather less say in the hospitality offered at Pakaraka to rangatira Heke. (This is not to say, of course, that they would not have voluntarily offered hospitality). Heke's name was on the original Deed for Pouerua/ Pakaraka,[124] which was part of his ancestral whenua,[125] and hence he may have felt some liberty in taking advantage of the Williams' sons' resources – though not

[122] See Anstey on 'benevolence', pp. 163-164.
[123] Marianne Williams to Catherine Heathcote, 5 July 1845, Carleton, p. 116.
[124] Old Land Deeds, 21 January 1835, H. Hanson Turton, 'A true transcript of certified copy of original deed and translation, Wellington, 29 January 1879', see above, note 59.
[125] See Kawharu, p. 1.

without some appreciation (in preserving the horses and barn).[126] In Maori terms it may not be necessary to explain Heke's actions by reference to the exigencies of war, although these are obviously a factor. Considering his close connections with Pakaraka, Heke may be viewed as exercising his mana whenua (chiefly authority over land) by exacting some 'economic return'.

It is clear, however, that the hospitality extended by the Williams family to Heke and his party was providing ammunition to those who wanted to cast aspersions on Henry Williams or perhaps topple his influence among the Maori. It was after Ruapekapeka that Williams was subject to the most serious charge yet – by Governor Grey – that he had written treasonable letters to Kawiti and others, which were found in Ruapekapeka pa. Although the letters were destroyed by Grey, under the guise of a unilateral 'pardon', the inference was that Williams had been inciting the natives to war. Such rumours as those alleged to have come from Heke supported this charge.[127] As far back as Kororareka Williams was subject to the charge of 'traitor', of being in league with the natives, by Lieutenant Philpotts. This did not stop his work of mediator between British authorities and Maori. However, after the Grey allegation he retreated from this public role. He refused, for example, a request by Waka Nene that a great meeting of all the chiefs to make peace might be held at Paihia. Marianne recorded: 'Mr Williams declined, on account of the many accusations against him.'[128] This background explains the refusal of Edward Williams to write Heke's letter to the Governor for fear of being misrepresented (see above).

[126] Perhaps such 'dual use' (if it can be called that) of the Pakaraka estate was what Heke was referring to in some words of his recorded a few years later by Richard Davis: 'We want no more Towns, each mission Station is a Town to us, we must have no other. Should any of the lands belonging to [the missionary] children be taken, we shall view ours as lost. It is true these lands have been made sacred to the children, but we can still walk over them without treading on needles, and sit down quietly on them without sitting on needles & of getting our fire-wood without molestation. Whereas, if the lands go to other people, if we walk or sleep on them we shall be pierced and if we attempt to get firewood our hands will be tied. Now all is common we go on the children's land and they on ours and a good feeling exists, let things remain as they are, &c, &c.', Richard David to CMS, 23 August 1847, cited in Ormond Wilson, *From Hongi Hika to Hone Heke*, p. 285. It is not within the scope of this paper to consider issues relating to concepts of land tenure and land gift or sale, but a recent Maori interpretation of this is given by Margaret Mutu, 'Tuku Whenua and New Zealand Land Sales', in *Voyages and Beaches, Pacific Encounters, 1769-1840*, Alex Calder, Jonathan Lamb, and Bridget Orr, (eds), Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999, pp. 317-328.
[127] See Richard Davis, Journals, 17 March 1848, p. 342.
[128] Carleton, pp. 121-141.

After Ruapekapeka Heke remained an elusive figure. He did not meet Governor Grey for some time; in fact he refused to receive him.[129] Perhaps he was playing with Grey – by not seeing him he was refusing to recognise Grey's mana. The two did eventually meet, but their correspondence reveals a tug-o-war between two ingenious wills.[130] Often Heke was openly obstinate, as in one of his first letters to Grey:

> …our land shall not be taken from us…it cannot be sliced…you return to your own country, to England, which was made by God for you. God has made this land for us, and not for any stranger or foreign nation to touch (meddle with) this sacred country.

Note again the reference to (presumably) the Christian God. In this same letter he concluded with a 'war song', which says 'fight, fight, fight for the land…' – a clear and open challenge to Grey.[131] Often he mixed blatant insults with cryptic insinuations against Grey's motives:

> Don't say that with me lies revenge, or obstinacy – No it is with yourselves entirely – as witness your Europeans – who soon returned to bring me your words [Grey's messengers/agents?]…. the children of the one side will be embraced closely by the one – who kicks them back…. Enough, it is good – it is not my fault – it is the letter, the speech, the newspaper [Grey's speech in the newspaper?].[132]

The sentence about 'the children' is as if to say - 'you embrace us but only to harm us'. It is vintage Heke, now a seasoned political campaigner, aware even of Grey's ability to appear wonderfully warm and reassuring, and yet harbour covert plans. And once again we see Heke's penchant for casting the blame for his 'obstinacy' on the other party.[133]

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[129] See Carleton, footnote, p. 144.
[130] See for example, Heke to Grey, 2 July 1849, GNZMA 373, APL In this letter Heke refers to the mutual respect and love between himself and Grey but also expresses reservations that Grey has not visited him for over a year (since the first time at Waimate). This of course conflicts with his earlier policy of not meeting Grey.
[131] Heke to Grey, 2 December 1845, MS 91/75, AIM; also in *GBPP*, dated 26 August 1846, p. 15.
[132] Heke to Grey, 2 July 1849, GNZMA 373, APL.
[133] Sometimes it is hard to tell whether he is just engaged in wordgames with Grey or being serious, as in a letter of 4 July 1850, where he offers some of his cows to Grey and asks Grey to come and collect them from Wahapu (on the Kawakawa) with a vessel. He refers to his earlier failed attempt to deliver pigs to Grey (in his letter of 2 July 1849), and so says that Grey will have to do the collecting himself; GNZMA 373, APL.

In the context of civil strife, Henry Williams perceived his main role as a peacemaker. He supported neither government nor Heke. To actively support either party would risk losing the trust of his Maori Christian constituency, and it would betray his principal purpose to be a missionary of the Gospel. What in fact happened was that many Maori began to question his motives while many settlers perceived him as Maori sympathiser. His prediction to Marsh that 'as we stand between the two [parties] I expect we shall have no favour from either' was at least partially fulfilled.[134] The risk of being caught between the opposing parties was always present, arising from divergent views on the meaning of the Treaty and the meaning of a British flag on Maiki hill. Williams had supported British intervention if only to regulate what became inevitable British settlement and in this context to ensure an overarching authority to preserve law and protect Maori interests. Before 1840 the spectre of the New Zealand Land Company loomed large in the minds of Williams and the CMS body generally. As time wore on that spectre came to dominate the New Zealand landscape, as Company and settler interests handled the Treaty of Waitangi with little regard for Maori concerns. With Grey appearing to side with the New Zealand Company and appearing to dispense with Williams' services as adviser on native matters, Williams retreated to his foremost role of missionary to the tribes.[135] For his part, Heke came to see the Treaty and British intervention as threatening his mana whenua (chiefly authority over land) and his mana tangata (chiefly authority with people). Although his lands were not confiscated, his ability to exercise the full prerogatives of a rangatira perhaps became limited by the presence of British law making and law keeping authorities. For both men, therefore, their interactions with British kawanatanga and their relationship with the Treaty were subject to the vicissitudes of the times. And for both of them it seems that their interaction with kawanatanga ultimately became a question of mana.[136]

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[134] See above, note 105.

[135] He quite literally 'retreated' in May 1850 when after a long struggle with the CMS in London, Bishop Selwyn and Governor Grey concerning forfeiture of his land holdings he was dismissed from the CMS and moved inland to his son's farm at Pakaraka. A fine home (which still stands today) was built for Henry and Marianne by their sons and they called it 'the Retreat'. The CMS latter offered to formerly re-instate Williams, acknowledging their error, but he firmly refused.

[136] See HWs to Bishop Selwyn, 18 January 1847, MS 91/75, AIM. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that HWs is concerned about his mana or reputation as a respected adviser to 'H.M. Govt' respecting native questions.

Chapter 6 – **Williams and Heke: An Assessment**

This paper has documented the existence of a relationship between Henry Williams and Hone Heke. It has enquired into the nature of that relationship: How 'close' was it? What were its characteristic features? Most importantly, how can an understanding of the worldview of each man illuminate the way they viewed each other and thus related to each other? Lastly, how did each man relate to the phenomenon of the Treaty and the twin spheres of 'kawanatanga' and 'rangatiratanga'?

From the material explored it can be confidently said that a relationship existed and that it possessed a surprising degree of sympathy. Looking through Henry Williams' eyes we detect a certain respect for Heke; an appreciation of his enterprising and daring character, not unlike Williams' own, that responded quite vigorously to Christian ideas and practices. Williams' non-racialist Evangelical worldview meant that to him Heke was an equal and not inferior. But he also firmly believed that Heke must receive and experience the Gospel of Jesus Christ, which he viewed as essential to Heke's earthly fulfillment and 'liberty' as well as his eternal destiny.[137] In a similar way, Williams saw Heke's culture and the society in which he lived as in a pre-Christian state, exhibiting a certain likeness to the superstitious and even barbaric practices of his own pre-Christian forbears in England before the advent of Christianity (and perhaps also, Roman 'civilisation'). Williams' view of Heke was thus religiously and historically constructed. It possessed a strong eschatological tendency in viewing the history and future of the New Zealand natives as part of the worldwide march of Christian conversion, as well as being under the sovereign hand of God's 'Providence'.[138] Conversion of the mind and heart came first for Williams. It then followed logically that a civilized society would be the working out of the 'law of love' in the lives of 'redeemed' individuals.[139] So Heke was an equal to Williams, a human being created by God just as Williams was, and like Williams requiring a saving knowledge of Jesus Christ.

[137] See Roger Anstey, *The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition*, pp. 162-163, see above, note 39. Anstey discusses the Evangelicals' incorporation of the contemporary concepts 'liberty' and 'happiness' within their Christian worldview.
[138] See Roger Anstey, pp. 158-183 on 'Providence'.
[139] See Roger Anstey, pp. 163-164 on 'benevolence'.

Hone Heke was resolute in identifying himself with the mana of famous ancestors. He married Hongi Hika's daughter. He employed Hongi's last words in enlisting the help of Ngapuhi against the 'red garments' of the British soldiers.[140] He built one of his inland pa near the spot where Hika had uttered his dying words.[141] His strong sense of Maori identity is illustrated by his courage in defending it against a foreign force of which he knew not the strength. His fight was against a symbol, the flagstaff, but it was also a fight to preserve and maintain the practical exercise of chiefly mana: the mana he had inherited from Rahiri, from Kauteawha[142], and from Hongi Hika. Some words of Binney in describing Te Kooti Arikirangi are pertinent:

> His messages were couched in the prophetic terms of the bible and he used the catechetical method of asking unexpected questions, thereby teaching people to see, judge and act. Similarly he drew on the Maori oral world, whereby knowledge of the past is conceived as lying before one and encompassing one, helping to shape decisions and actions in the present. This ever-broadening past threads back to the ancestors but it is also reinterpreted for the present.[143]

Although not quite of Te Kooti's 'prophet' genre, Heke's words and actions from the 1840s often exhibited the marked impact of Christian ideas. He often referred to Biblical imagery in his letters to governors Fitzroy and Grey, even images of hell. He often employed them to justify his actions or reinforce his sense of right and wrong, including identifying Maori with the plight of the Old Testament Israelites. Williams can be found commenting with some 'astonishment' about Heke keeping his Testament and Prayer Book close to him when he was engaged against the flag-staff, asking for a 'blessing on his proceedings' and 'after he had completed his mischief' offering thanks to God 'for having strength for his work'.[144] Williams might not have approved of Heke's uses of scriptural teaching, but this can perhaps be seen as Heke modifying a Maori practice of seeking the favour of the divinities before engaging in warfare or in any significant activity. Williams perhaps should not have been

[140] Maning, pp. 215-216, 223-224.
[141] Maning, p. 233.
[142] Carleton, p. 13.
[143] Binney, Judith, *Redemption Songs, A Life of the Nineteenth-Century Maori Leader Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997, p. 6.
[144] HWs to E.G. Marsh, Carleton, p. 86.

surprised, since asking for the blessing of God's Providence was a key Evangelical teaching.[145]

If Maning can be believed, Heke was found to have 'transgressed the sacred rules' of Maori warfare when he picked up the bloodied weapons of a dead man from Waka Nene's forces.[146] The tohunga Te Atua Wera chastised Heke for doing this, saying that the Maori atua were now arrayed against them and that Heke's protection from death was now gone. But Heke roared out: 'What care I for either men or spirits? I fear not. Let the fellow in heaven look to it. Have I not prayed to him for years? It is for him to look to me this day.' One wonders whether Heke's trust in the 'fellow in heaven' – presumably the Christian God – was disappointed when a few minutes later he was in fact injured. Heke's association with a traditional tohunga, who was intent on enforcing the tikanga of war, is suggestive of some ambiguity in Heke's religious stance. However, whether Heke himself saw any stark incompatibility between Christianity and his Maori identity is an open question. His statement about praying to the Christian God 'for years' must represent a degree of truth about the spiritual focus of his life.[147]

There is much that is enigmatic about Heke. If the impressions of contemporaries were at all accurate he could be flamboyant and boisterous in his manner, and he carried himself with an air that held in contempt any rules or restrictions – whether manmade or divine. Yet, he must be taken seriously. Of all the chiefs of the North who foresaw the whittling away of mana as a result of European settlement, he was one of few who had the courage to act. He felt the imposition of a flag and sensed what it might lead to.

How can Heke's relationship with Williams be understood? There is little doubt that Heke respected Williams as a man of mana. Kawharu says that he saw Williams as a father figure.[148] There also seems little doubt that Heke was genuinely impacted in a personal way by the hospitality and generosity of the Williams. During the 1830s they

[145] See Anstey, above, note 138.
[146] During Heke's battle to re-take his Te Ahuahu pa from Waka Nene. This engagement fell in between the Puketutu and Ohaeawai battles.
[147] Maning, p. 255, and see p. 233.
[148] Kawharu, p. 1.

had cared for his first wife and children, who were baptized, along with Heke, with Williams' family names. During and after Kororareka a bowl of stirabout, it seemed, was always available. Heke dined with them and even brought his men to church after Ruapekapeka and before the cementing of peace.

Christianity provided a foundation for their relationship and enabled some continuity. With respect to 'politics', however, their relationship became strained. Williams' Christian witness was compromised by the way the Treaty was handled by others and this distressed him greatly.[149] Heke reportedly accused the missionaries of misleading the chiefs about the Treaty and these accusations gained currency. Williams felt the sting of these accusations and found his situation increasingly untenable when the Treaty was interpreted adversely to Maori interests. Perhaps though, if the government had listened to Williams (and his CMS comrades like George Clarke) beyond the years of the mid 1840s, then the political landscape of New Zealand might have been different, notably in its recognition of rangatiratanga. Those who deride Williams for 'mistranslating' the Treaty often simplistically exchange 'mana' for 'sovereignty', and thus fail to see that the ordering of the nation's governance was not set in concrete at 1840 and that rangatiratanga could potentially – if other voices had been listened to – have found greater recognition.[150] In that scenario Heke would have had little reason to accuse.

Lastly, the 'space between' Heke and Williams was a matrix of their background experiences and cultural and religious imperatives. Yet these should not be allowed to totally define them. Their interactions show us that each was capable of appreciating the cultural priorities of the other. Williams and Heke were both men of mana and standing within their own worlds. They both acted with a strong sense of conviction and destiny. They were caught in a time when the socio-political aspects of their

[149] For example, HWs to E.G. Marsh, 10 November 1862, Carleton, p. 346, re the Waitara dispute: 'It would appear that the Government cannot make the amende honorable in admitting their error, and taking a fresh start [i.e., by returning Waitara to the rightful owners], by which the Maories would see that there is much protection for their rights and interests. But now there is much confusion, and general distrust and threats passing from one to the other. The Government ought long since to have learned that "honesty is the best policy;" to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with their God.'

[150] Key proponents of the 'mistranslation' view are, Paul Moon and Sabine Fenton, 'Bound into a Fateful Union: Henry Williams' Translation of the Treaty of Waitangi into Maori in February 1840', *JPS*, 111:1 (2002), pp.51-63; but see the response to this: John Laurie, 'Translating the Treaty of Waitangi', *JPS*, 111:3 (2002), pp. 255-258.

respective cultures began to clash. In the midst of this conflagration they still largely respected each other's human qualities and demonstrated an uncommon generosity of spirit. They are fascinating and dynamic exemplars of their representative groups - an Evangelical missionary and a rangatira Maori. Both who they were and their relationship deserve greater attention.

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