

THREE

Strangers Landing in Strange Lands

IN THE WAKE OF COOK'S FINAL GLIMPSE OF NEW ZEALAND ON 26 February 1777, no further European vessels are known to have visited the country until George Vancouver's British expedition on board the *Discovery* and *Chatham* in 1791. Thereafter, visits became much more frequent, especially to the northern and southern extremes of the country. Yet Māori were — whether out of choice or otherwise — also beginning to explore the outside world for the first time. Their knowledge of European society came to be influenced to a large degree not just by those members of it who chose to visit them in Aotearoa, but also by the various travels made by Māori to far-off lands. Contact and encounter was a global phenomenon as Māori became the original architects of the great Kiwi OE — their quest for knowledge and experience of new lands and cultures in many respects no different to that of young backpackers heading offshore for the first time today. Strangers were landing in strange lands in both directions. Over time those strange lands became increasingly familiar, even while being viewed through particular cultural lenses. In this way, the middle ground was slowly being constructed not just on the New Zealand frontier, but also on the basis of experiences of interaction further afield, on Norfolk Island, in Sydney, and even in London.

Kāwana Kingi and the Norfolk Island connection

For fully 20 years after the tragic French visit to the Bay of Islands in 1772 of Marion du Fresne, no further European vessels are known to have ventured near Northland.¹ This might have come as something of a relief for northern Māori, who despite their newfound eagerness for iron and other European articles, could hardly have failed to see these initial encounters as anything other than calamitous. They had, indeed, all too often resulted in a 'fatal impact'. But although the renewed contact after 1792 commenced under the most dubious of circumstances, it was ultimately to result in the establishment of a significant political relationship with representatives of the British Crown. And as Britain and other powers extended their influence throughout the South Pacific, there was increasingly little option for Māori of returning to their former isolation.

More than anything else, the event which made increased European contacts with the people of Aotearoa inevitable was the establishment of New South Wales as a penal colony in 1788. Hereafter, the proximity of New Zealand, its apparent abundance of resources deemed vital to the success of any British settlement, and large indigenous population would result in significant political, missionary and commercial interest in the country, much of it stemming from the increasingly important settlement of Port Jackson (Sydney). Whether Māori liked it or not, their world was on the verge of expanding considerably.

Initially, however, renewed contact came not directly from Australia, but from the convict outpost established on Norfolk Island. It was here that Lieutenant-Governor Philip Gidley King decided to secure the services of two or three New Zealanders in order to teach the convicts how to dress the flax plants that grew in abundance on Norfolk Island.² Instructions were duly issued to Captain George Vancouver in August 1791 to call at New Zealand and 'use his best endeavours to take with him one or two flax-dressers'.³ Vancouver passed on these instructions to Lieutenant Hanson, the commander of the *Daedalus*, in December of that same year.⁴ Meanwhile, unaware of these developments, a month earlier King had asked the master of the *William & Ann*, which was about to proceed to New Zealand waters to try whaling there for the first time, to 'endeavour by fair means to obtain Two of the Natives from about the Bay of Islands, & Mercury Bay' for the same purposes, on promise

of a £100 reward should he succeed.⁵ Although the whaler subsequently visited Doubtless Bay with this objective, its master later reported that he ‘could nor [*sic*] prevail on any of the Inhabitants to go with him’.⁶ That was perhaps hardly surprising given the fate of the chief earlier taken away by de Surville, who had never been seen again.

No requirement for ‘fair means’ to be employed was included in the instructions issued to Hanson, although that was probably implicit in the requirement to use ‘civil treatment’ at all times possible in his dealings with the inhabitants of the ‘South Seas Islands’. Hanson, though, was of no mind to try ‘civil’ means to persuade potential flax-dressing tutors to join him, despite evidently having on board a Hawaiian chief who might have been able to communicate the request to potential prospects.⁷ His own report said nothing about the means employed to comply with his instructions.⁸

Others were more forthcoming. Some six months after the visit of the *Daedalus* to the Bay of Islands in April 1793, Hanson’s dinner conversation with an officer from the *Chatham* was noted. According to a manuscript journal from the latter ship, Hanson commented:

At New Zealand they did not anchor, their business at this place was to endeavour to get two or three of the Natives to go with them to Botany Bay, for the purpose of cultivating the Flax plant, but as the Natives came off to the vessel in great numbers, and knowing them to have the character of a very troublesome, daring, insolent people, Lieut. Hanson did not think it prudent to stop to make a strict scrutiny into the abilities of any particular people, more especially as the crew of the *Daedalus*, at all times weak, but then were much more so, from a number of sick among them, he therefore by presents inveigled two young men out of a Canoe, and taking them below, under pretence of giving them something more, he instantly made all sail; Victuals were given to these poor fellows, and different methods used to keep their attention alive below for a couple of hours, when going on Deck, instead of finding themselves in the same place as when they Came on board, and their canoe alongside, into which they were ready to jump – to their inexpressible grief and astonishment they found themselves some Leagues from the Land, and no Canoe to get on shore in; In a little time they appeared contented.⁹

The two young men seized off the Cavalli Islands by Hanson, Tuki Tahua (‘Tooke’) and Huru Kokoti (‘Woodoo’), later told King of their ordeal. Tuki

had been visiting Huru when the *Daedalus* appeared in sight. ‘Curiosity and the hopes of getting some Iron’ had induced them, the local chief and tohunga and some companions to paddle out to Motukawanui Island for a closer look:

[T]hey were some time about the ship before the canoe in which Tooke & Woodoo were ventured alongside, when a number of Iron Tools and other Articles were given into the Canoe; the Agent Lieutenant Hanson (of whose kindness to them they speak in the highest terms) invited and pressed them, to go on Board, which Tooke and Woodoo were anxious to do immediately, but were prevented by the persuasion of their countrymen; at length they went on Board, and according to their Expression, they were blinded by the curious things they saw, Lieutenant Hanson prevailed on them to go below, where they eat [*sic*] some meat; at this time the ship made sail. One of them saw the canoes astern, and perceiving the ship was leaving them, they both became frantic with Grief, and broke the Cabin windows with an intention of leaping over Board, but were prevented.¹⁰

Youthful curiosity and an apparently overwhelming desire for iron had made the two chiefs overcome the more watchful approach of their elders. After three days at Port Jackson, the pair were placed on a ship bound for Norfolk Island, where it quickly became apparent that their knowledge of flax-dressing techniques was extremely limited, this being ‘the peculiar province of the women’.¹¹

Contrary to statements that the pair were soon ‘contented’, King recalled that Tuki and Huru were, for some time after their arrival, ‘often sullen, and as anxiously avoided giving any information respecting the Flax, as we were desirous of obtaining it’.¹² Reassured by King’s promises that they would be allowed to return home, and by the kindly treatment of the Lieutenant-Governor, the pair soon divulged what little information they knew on the subject. King treated the pair as honoured guests rather than captives and this recognition of their mana helped a close friendship to develop between King, his family and the two young chiefs.¹³ Tuki and Huru lived with the King family and regularly dined at their table. After six months living together, King learned to speak a little Māori and Tuki and Huru made enough progress in English for both parties to be able to communicate with each other tolerably well in a kind of mixture of the two languages.¹⁴ The pair became well known on the

island and surprised many of its residents — whose only knowledge of New Zealand was of a place inhabited by ‘ferocious cannibals’ — by their conduct and demeanour.¹⁵ Certainly, the Assistant Surgeon on the island, Thomas Jamieson, was impressed by the young chiefs, writing to a friend in England that:

[t]he New Zealanders are pleasant and good-natured beyond anything one could expect to meet with amongst so barbarous a people as they have always been considered to be. One of them is called Odoe, the other Tugee. The former is son to one of the princes of that country; the other is son to one of their priests. They live constantly at the Lieutenant-Governor’s, and eat at his table.¹⁶

If Tuki and Huru made a favourable impression on the people of Norfolk Island, less information is available on what the pair made of the society they encountered there. King, though, offered a strong clue in writing that:

Woodoo, like a true patriot thinks there is no Country, People or Customs, equal to his own; which makes him less curious in what he sees about him, than his companion Tooke, who has the happy Art of Ingratiating himself into every person’s esteem; except when he is lamenting the absence of his Family and Friends he is cheerful, often facetious and very intelligent.¹⁷

Yet even the apparently sociable and more curious Tuki pined to return to his own country, threatening to hang himself (as Huru also did) if they were not permitted to leave.¹⁸ Both men were said to have spent nearly every sunset while on Norfolk Island lamenting their separation from their families and friends ‘in a sort of half-crying and half-singing, expressive of grief’.¹⁹ Whatever the pair thought about their situation on Norfolk Island, they clearly did not wish to remain there longer than necessary.

In November 1793 King finally secured the services of a government vessel for the trip back to New Zealand and determined to personally escort the chiefs home in order to ensure no harm came to them during the journey. After four days sailing, the *Britannia* rounded the North Cape. Several large canoes soon raced out to meet the ship, and affectionate embraces followed when Tuki and some of his relations recognised one another. King recorded that a trade soon commenced, with iron goods being exchanged by the British in return for manufactured flax, patu, taiaha and other items, all of which was conducted ‘with a scrupulous

honesty on both sides’.²⁰ Tuki advised King on the appropriate distribution of various presents of axes, chisels and other items to local rangatira.²¹ The Lieutenant-Governor was also by this time conversant enough with Māori custom to readily comply with Tuki’s request that the stern of the ship be declared tapu, forbidding all but the most senior chiefs from accessing it.²²

Anxious as to his absence from Norfolk Island and with unfavourable winds ahead of them, King determined to abandon his plan to deliver the chiefs to the Bay of Islands, and asked the pair whether they wished to remain in ‘Moodee Whenua’ (Muriwhenua, the Far North) or return to Norfolk Island. Tuki wished to do neither, but was reassured when a local chief offered to safely return him home to Oruru and confirmed that a state of peace existed between the tribes in these two districts. King remained concerned about their well-being nevertheless, but in turn was informed by Tuki that a chief never deceived (that is, his word was binding). A relieved King offered to return again in three months’ time with substantial presents for ‘Ko-to-ko-ke’ should he honour this engagement and wisely decided against warning of punishment should he fail to do so — an action which would surely have caused serious offence. He recorded that the chief’s only response to this request:

was by putting both his hands to the sides of my head, making me perform the same ceremony, and joining our noses; in which position we remained three minutes, The Old Chief muttering what I did not understand — after which he went through the same ceremony with Our Two Friends, which ended with a dance, when the two latter joined noses with me, and said “That Ko-to-ko-ke was now become their father and would in person conduct them to Ho-do-doe [Oruru].”²³

While King was making preparations to leave, a large crowd had gathered around Tuki, whose stories of what he had seen were met with frequent shouts of admiration. Doubts that Norfolk Island was just three days’ sailing away were quickly put to rest when Tuki showed the group a cabbage freshly cut from King’s garden just a few days before. King, before leaving, happily complied with a request to fire the ship’s muskets and cannons for the entertainment of the crowd, but at the same time informed them, through Tuki, ‘that it was our intention and wish to be good neighbours and friends’ with all of the New Zealanders, and their

guns would only ever be turned on the Māori people if injured by them.²⁴ As it was now time to depart:

Tooke and Woodoo took an affectionate leave of every person on board, and made me remember my promise of visiting them again when they would return to Norfolk Island, with their families. The venerable Chief, after having taken great pains to pronounce my name, and made me well acquainted with his, got into his canoe, and left us; On putting off from the ship, they were saluted with three cheers, which they returned as well as they could by Tooke's directions.²⁵

King had obviously left a profoundly positive impression on Northland Māori, as indicated by the ceremonial exchange of names with the local chief prior to departing, an act which also clearly indicated that King was accepted as a rangatira of at least equal standing (since a senior chief would be unlikely to enter into such a ritual with someone of lesser status). As such, his words of friendship to local Māori were of great significance, bearing in mind the Māori attitude to such utterances, highlighted by Tuki's assurance during their stay in Muriwhenua that a rangatira did not deceive.

King failed to fully honour his commitments in one respect at least, in that he never returned as promised. Tuki, for one, appears to have felt this deeply. When the captain of the *Fancy* called in at Doubtless Bay early in 1795, Tuki spent a considerable time on board, and evidently had not forgotten his English. But he would not consent to return to Norfolk Island with his family until King personally returned for him, as he had pledged to do. Two others who had intended to undertake the trip changed their minds at the last minute, when suffering from seasickness during an aborted attempt to leave the harbour.²⁶

To judge by later enthusiastic responses to King, this failure does not appear to have undermined his standing in the eyes of Northland Māori to any great extent. As Anne Salmond has suggested:

Much of the content of the term "Kaawana" (Governor) in Northland Maori in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries derived from what people knew about Philip Gidley King. He was the Governor whom Maori people knew best, who had learned some of their language, had treated their kinsfolk with honour and had shown his chiefly prestige with generous hospitality and gifts. The taonga (treasures) that King gave Tuki and Huru were widely distributed

in the north, establishing reciprocal relations between King and his people and a number of ranking chiefs. And when in later years, other Maori went to visit King in Port Jackson, taking return gifts of their own, they were reinforcing those bonds. Utu and the power of mana were shaping history.²⁷

King had come the closest of any of the eighteenth-century Europeans who encountered Māori to finding the middle ground, helped in no small measure by Tuki and Huru, who after six months at Norfolk Island were able to operate in some respects as cultural intermediaries or advisers to King on his arrival in New Zealand. And while Grant Phillipson is right to sound a note of caution concerning King's standing with Northland Māori, the fact that he could be fondly remembered more than 50 years later is surely a telling point.²⁸

At a practical level, King's presents to Tuki and Huru appear to have been responsible for the first *effective* introduction of pigs and potatoes into the Northland Māori economy, helping to spark an agrarian revolution which would intensify over the early decades of the nineteenth century.²⁹ Conceptually, King's visit 'made the world a much smaller place', sparking an interest in and curiosity about Port Jackson and elsewhere that saw significant numbers of northern Māori travel overseas by 1840.³⁰ And appropriately enough, the first such recorded visit of any note, in 1805, was directly to King, by now the Governor of New South Wales.³¹

By this time, too, whalers were beginning to regularly visit northern New Zealand for provisions, though not in large numbers. In the 1790s no more than three or four whalers in total had ventured anywhere near Northland waters, but from 1802 a similar number began visiting the area every year, and from 1804 onwards at least some of these called into northern harbours for supplies.³² King took a great interest in these developments and when he learnt that the son of a significant Bay of Islands chief had worked his way to Sydney on board a whaler in 1803, King presented him with various tools and other articles as a gift for his father, Te Pahi, who had already gained a reputation for his hospitality to visiting whalers.³³

Te Pahi, a principal chief of the Te Hikutu people of Rangihoua and Te Puna, set out to visit King late in 1805, but was treated poorly by the captain of a whaler who had taken him to Norfolk Island, and who had threatened to kidnap one of his sons travelling with him for failing to pay for the passage — payment which the chief does not appear to have

thought expected of him.³⁴ The rangatira dismissed such actions as those of a mōkai (slave) and received kindly treatment from the commandant of the island, who arranged for Te Pahi's passage to Port Jackson, which he reached late in November 1805.³⁵ Greeting King at the commencement of his three-month-long stay in the colony, Te Pahi, who was clad in Māori costume:

took up a number of his mats, laying them at my feet, and disposed of a stone patoo patoo in the same manner, after which he performed the ceremony of Etongi or joining of the noses. After many exclamations of surprise at the house and other objects that attracted his passing attention, he gave me to understand that he had long designed the visit he had now accomplished, to which he had been encouraged by the reports of my two visitors at Norfolk Island in 1794 [*sic* — 1793], the request of his father, and the prospect of his country being benefited by his visit, as it had been for the great blessing bestowed on it by the introduction of potatoes at Tookee and Woodoo's return from Norfolk Island. He also added that leaving New Zealand was much against the wishes of his dependants, but that objection was much outweighed by the probable advantages they would derive from his visit, and concluded by saying that he considered himself under my protection.³⁶

Te Pahi's trip had clearly been motivated not just by the need to reciprocate the gifts he had received from King, but also in the expectation of establishing an ongoing relationship with the Governor for the benefit of his people. Like Tuki and Huru before him, Te Pahi and his sons lived with the Governor, dined at his table and mixed freely with the elite of colonial society. King informed Joseph Banks that Te Pahi's manners were those 'of a well bred Gentleman allowing a little for the Country he comes from; he is about 50 Completely Tattowed, & possessed of much good natured facetiousness, In short his Company & manners has been highly interesting to us.'³⁷ For his part, Te Pahi 'never missed any opportunity of gaining the most particular information respecting the cause and use of everything that struck his notice, and but few things there were of real utility that did not entirely engross his most serious attention'.³⁸

While King and his European companions studied the chief, Te Pahi closely scrutinised the society he encountered in turn. European carpentry, gardening, spinning and weaving techniques earned his approval,³⁹ but other aspects of European society were less to his liking. Indeed, as King

noted, '[i]n communicating observations of his own country he was always very anxious to make himself understood, and spared no pains to convince us that the customs of his country were in several instances better than ours, many of which he looked on with the greatest contempt, and some with the most violent and abusive disapprobation'.⁴⁰

One aspect of European society that particularly appalled Te Pahi (and many subsequent Māori observers in the nineteenth century) was the British justice system.⁴¹ During his time at Port Jackson he witnessed the trial of a man sentenced to hang for stealing some pork from the government stores. After attending Sunday service with the condemned man the day before his scheduled execution, Te Pahi returned to Government House. There he confronted King:

[H]e came into the room where I was writing, and in a very earnest manner, and I believe from the full force of conviction, he endeavoured to reason with me on the injustice of slaying men for stealing pork, and at the same time shewing the severest sorrow and grief for their fate, which he concluded by taking the petition out of his pocket and giving it to me, at the same time shedding tears. He threw himself prostrate on the ground, sobbing most bitterly. Observing that I did not give him any answer or hopes [other] than by saying I should consider of it he left the room and did not make his reappearance until the hour of dinner . . . and appeared very violent, exclaiming in most furious manner against the severity of our laws in sentencing a man to die for stealing pork, although he admitted that a man might very justly be put to death for stealing a piece of iron, as that was of a permanent use; but stealing a piece of pork which, to use his own expression, was eat and passed off, he considered as sanguine in the extreme.⁴²

Te Pahi pleaded with the Governor to allow the man sentenced to death, and two others convicted of the same crime but given lesser sentences, to be allowed to return with him to New Zealand, 'where taking provisions was not accounted a crime', and even made preliminary arrangements with the master of an American vessel then in port for their passage. Told during a dinner party at Government House that British law 'secured to each individual the safe possession of his property, and punished with death all those who would deprive him of it', Te Pahi retorted by pointing to a captain sitting at the table, who had ordered his crew to dig up some potatoes without payment while in New Zealand, and asking why King did

not in that case hang the captain — a rejoinder that intensely embarrassed the individual concerned but amused his other dinner companions.⁴³

The chief was scarcely less contemptuous of Aboriginal notions of justice. Attending a ceremony at which a man who had killed another was ritually speared, Te Pahi reportedly expressed much impatience at the length of intervals between the flights ‘and by signs exhorted them to dispatch’, at the same time considering the use of a shield to deflect the spears ‘an unnecessary appendage’.⁴⁴ King recorded that ‘[o]f the natives of this country he had the most contemptible opinion, which both he and Tookey [his son] did not fail to manifest by discovering the utmost abhorrence at their going naked, and their want of ingenuity or inclination to procure food and make themselves comfortable’.⁴⁵ According to the *Sydney Gazette*, Aboriginal people who came into contact with the chief ‘formed some extravagant notions of this stranger; they dreaded to approach him, and as much as possible avoid him’.⁴⁶ Such notions clearly appealed to Europeans, who placed Māori higher on the social scale than Aborigines and were pleased to report similar views from a figure such as Te Pahi. Yet as the chief’s attempted intervention in the case of the condemned man clearly indicated, there was nothing to suggest that he viewed European society as inherently superior to Māori culture and customs. If anything, it was the very opposite. Te Pahi, as Judith Binney notes, ‘was assessing everything he saw. He was intimidated neither by European nor by Aboriginal displays.’⁴⁷

Te Pahi was clearly confident in his own culture and assessed others he came into contact with against the standards of Māori society. While being prepared to adopt and adapt particular ideas and technologies from the British where some benefit was perceived in doing so, there is no indication that he saw any need for wholesale or fundamental changes to the way Māori viewed the world. As John Liddiard Nicholas recalled: ‘On our remonstrating with him on the absurdity and inconvenience of his customs, he immediately censured some of our own as far more ridiculous, and many of his arguments were both rational and convincing.’⁴⁸

King and others of the officer class with whom he came into contact at Port Jackson were clearly perceived by Te Pahi as rangatira.⁴⁹ Te Pahi even sought King’s reassurance that the hospitality which he offered whalers visiting the Bay of Islands met with the Governor’s approval, probably deeming it appropriate to consult with their ‘chief’ on this point. Meanwhile, he observed that the captain of a visiting whaler who

had had a Māori man flogged ‘must have been a very bad man in his own country to commit such violence on a stranger who he had nothing to do with’.⁵⁰ King promised to ‘impress on those who might visit him the necessity of their conducting themselves and [their] people in a peaceable manner, and to give them articles in exchange for their potatoes and what stock he may in future have to spare’.⁵¹ Asked for advice as to the merits of encouraging Māori to come and work as shepherds in New South Wales, Te Pahi warned against allowing mōkai (slaves) to do so, and ‘insisted on sending the middling order of people’.⁵² By the time of Te Pahi’s return he had ‘acquired a fair understanding of colonial social hierarchies, which in some aspects seemed akin to his own notions of rank’.⁵³

Prior to his departure from Sydney, Te Pahi received many presents from King, his officers and their wives, which would have further boosted their chiefly standing in his eyes. King had a special medal struck, and further gifts of iron tools, pigs, fruit trees and even the materials for a prefabricated European house were also presented to the chief.⁵⁴ But one much smaller present was the cause of serious offence. The wife of an officer had presented a pair of earrings to Te Pahi, which in keeping with the usual distribution of such gifts by a rangatira he had then presented to a young woman. According to King:

The donation was soon after discovered, and the ear-rings taken from the girl, in which Tip-a-he was reproached for his want of respect for the original donor, who, before this unlucky event, was very much respected by him. However, the instant he found that the ear-rings had been taken away, he packed every article up which he had received from that person (and among which were some useful things) and sent them by one of his sons; nor could he ever be persuaded to speak or see the lady who gave him the things, and constantly expressed his disgust at hearing of the presents he had received being in any way mentioned except by himself; and, to do him justice, he always took every opportunity of speaking of the donors with the most grateful respect.⁵⁵

Yet despite this misunderstanding caused by conflicting cultural attitudes, what was effectively the first state visit by an important Māori chief to a foreign power could hardly be judged anything other than a huge success.⁵⁶ Te Pahi returned to the Bay of Islands with a useful knowledge of European society, and an even more useful supply of European goods and items. He had established a warm and friendly relationship with

King, and made clear his willingness to engage with Europeans for the benefit of his people, but without abandoning his own cultural terms of reference. He had, it would seem, found enough similarities in what he saw of colonial society in Sydney to believe that such mutually beneficial engagement could take place without compromising core aspects of his own culture. Yet less than four years later he would be dead, ‘destroyed by the men and the trade he had been encouraged to cultivate’.⁵⁷

A native abroad: Savage and Moehanga

At the same time that Te Pahi and his sons were making their way to Port Jackson, the seeds were being sown for an even more ambitious overseas journey. In September 1805 John Savage, a New South Wales military surgeon, was one of a number of passengers to disembark at the Bay of Islands en route to London, where he was due to face court martial for refusing to attend a woman in childbirth. Savage’s time at the Bay of Islands provided the basis for the first book to be published specifically on New Zealand. His *Some Account of New Zealand*, published in London in 1807, has been variously described as ‘generous but ill informed’ by James Belich to ‘excellent’ and ‘a considerable achievement’ by Anne Salmond.⁵⁸ Either way, Savage’s work also clearly owed something to his primary Māori informant, Moehanga (or Mahanga), who was selected by Savage from many willing volunteers to accompany him to London. Although there had been earlier Polynesian travellers to Europe such as Ahutoru and Mai, Moehanga was the first Māori known to have made the journey.⁵⁹

Moehanga, according to Savage, was ‘a healthy stout young man, of the military class, and connected with families of the first consideration in these parts’.⁶⁰ But although he was a rangatira in his own right, Moehanga was no Te Pahi, and his trip to London was more in the nature of a private adventure than diplomatic mission. Nevertheless, Moehanga was the object of considerable curiosity in Britain. And like Te Pahi, Moehanga interpreted all that he saw before him within a peculiarly Māori cultural framework. His curious impressions of this strange land, albeit filtered through the writings of Savage, provide a further interesting insight into cultural contact in reverse.

Savage, for his part, found the melancholy rituals by which the young man was farewelled by his relations almost too difficult to bear, and

considered leaving Moehanga behind, before learning that such scenes were common when Māori took their leave of one another. Moehanga, according to his companion, bore up well against these farewells:

[B]ut as our distance from the land increased, his feelings suffered exceedingly. The sun set beautifully over his native island, and his eye dwelt steadfastly upon it till darkness concealed it from further view. The recollection of scenes of youthful happiness, which he was leaving to traverse an element that affords but little of pleasure or repose, frequently brought the big tear into his eye; but Moyhanger was determined to be a man: he sung his evening song and retired to rest.⁶¹

He soon recovered his spirits, even taking to mimicry at the expense of the sailors during the long journey, but was greatly disappointed by the snow-covered lands at Cape Horn ‘and concluded that he had done wrong in leaving a fine fertile country for one that appeared to be sterile in the extreme’.⁶² St Helena proved more to the young chief’s liking and when informed that the island produced an abundance of excellent potatoes ‘his native country was almost forgotten’, though on closer inspection he declared it to be ‘very bad land’.⁶³ A battery fired in salute as the ship came to anchor caused severe apprehension, but on going ashore he was soon astonished by the vast range of iron implements freely available and greatly fascinated by the military men and their uniforms. But a disposition to quiz all those the object of his curiosity could cause problems for one unfamiliar with the cultural mores of another society. Savage wrote that ‘in all probability he would have been roughly handled, had I not been present to assure the offended party that no insult could be intended, and that his rudeness proceeded entirely from his ignorance of our manners and customs’.⁶⁴

Oxen were an object of wonder, Moehanga having never seen an animal of that size before, and his first sight of a man on horseback pleased him so much that he laughed heartily, and set off in chase, before returning to Savage to declare his approval of this mode of transport. He soon became a great fan of European music and especially liked listening to the regimental band and violin performances. As Savage wrote, ‘[e]verything was new, and most things pleased him’.⁶⁵

The novelties of St Helena were as nothing compared with those of Europe, however, and the abundant supplies of fish, meat and vegetables



Cook's dealings with Māori ranged from the violent and unpredictable to more friendly encounters. LOUIS JOHN STEELE, 'ARRIVAL OF CAPTAIN COOK: AN INCIDENT AT THE BAY OF ISLANDS', 1890, B-077-003, ATL



Joseph Banks is depicted here wearing a Māori cloak and surrounded by other souvenirs of his Pacific adventures. BENJAMIN WEST, 'SIR JOSEPH BANKS', 1788, C-017-016, ATL