

ANNE SALMOND

TEARS *of* RANGI

EXPERIMENTS ACROSS WORLDS



*This is an absorbing historical narrative with bigger and bolder political and ethical arguments. The book is engagingly written and a worthy successor to Salmond's *Two Worlds and Between Worlds*, from which it picks up chronologically, as well as to more recent works on Cook and Bligh.*

– NICHOLAS THOMAS, UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

'This book was an absolute joy to read. It engages in highly relevant and topical issues for all of us as New Zealanders. By anchoring our colonial history in contemporary issues of sovereignty and property, it has the potential to be a landmark book for Aotearoa New Zealand.'

– JACINTA RURU, UNIVERSITY OF OTAGO AND NGĀ PAE O TE MĀRAMATANGA

Six centuries ago Polynesian explorers, who inhabited a cosmos in which islands sailed across the sea and stars across the sky, arrived in Aotearoa New Zealand where they rapidly adapted to new plants, animals, landscapes and climatic conditions. Four centuries later, European explorers arrived with maps and clocks, grids and fences, and they too adapted to a new island home. In this remote, beautiful archipelago, settlers from Polynesia and Europe (and elsewhere) have clashed and forged alliances, they have fiercely debated what is real and what is common sense, what is good and what is right.

In this, her most ambitious book to date, Dame Anne Salmond looks at New Zealand as a site of cosmo-diversity, a place where multiple worlds engage and collide. Beginning with a fine-grained inquiry into the early period of encounters between Māori and Europeans in New Zealand (1769–1840), Salmond then investigates such clashes and exchanges in key areas of contemporary life – waterways, land, the sea and people.

We live in a world of gridded maps, Outlook calendars and balance sheets – making it seem that this is the nature of reality itself. But in New Zealand, concepts of whakapapa and hau, complex networks and reciprocal exchange, may point to new ways of understanding interactions between peoples, and between people and the natural world. Like our ancestors, Anne Salmond suggests, we too may have a chance to experiment across worlds.



JANE USSHER

Dame Anne Salmond is Distinguished Professor of Māori Studies at the University of Auckland and author of books including *Hui: A Study of Maori Ceremonial Gatherings* (1975, A.H. and A.W. Reed); *Amiria: The Life Story of a Maori Woman* (1976, A.H. and A.W. Reed); *Eruera: The Teachings of a Maori Elder* (1980, Oxford University Press); *Two Worlds: First Meetings between Maori and Europeans 1642–1772* (1991, Viking Press, University of Hawai‘i Press); *Between Worlds: Early Exchanges between Maori and Europeans 1773–1815* (1997, Viking Press, University of Hawai‘i Press); *The Trial of the Cannibal Dog: Captain Cook in the South Seas* (2003, Penguin UK, Penguin NZ, Yale University Press); *Aphrodite’s Island: The European Discovery of Tabiti* (2007, University of California Press, Penguin NZ) and *Bligh: William Bligh in the South Seas* (2011, University of California Press, Penguin NZ). Among many honours and awards, she is an International Member of the American Philosophical Society, a Foreign Associate of the US National Academy of Sciences and a Corresponding Fellow of the British Academy; in 2013 she became New Zealander of the Year and winner of the Rutherford Medal from the Royal Society of New Zealand.

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Decline and Fall

DURING HIS TIME IN ENGLAND, HONGI HIKA IMPRESSED MANY people, including King George IV, with his acute intelligence and dignified demeanour, confounding their ideas about cannibals and savages. In 1840, Thomas Macaulay, the author of a monumental five-volume *History of England*, imagined a future in which London would lie in ruins, and ‘some traveller from New Zealand, shall in the midst of a vast solitude, take his stand on a broken arch of London Bridge to sketch the ruins of St. Paul’s’¹ – a distant echo of Hongi’s visit. This vivid image, which prophesied that like Rome, the British Empire would ‘decline and fall’, posed an alternative to those stadial theories that described human evolution as an inevitable progress from ‘savagery’ to ‘civilisation’.

When Hongi arrived back in the Bay of Islands in July 1821, he was disenchanted with the missionaries. In England he had learned that despite their pretensions to superiority, Marsden and his fellow missionaries were commoners, or *tūtūā*, not *rangatira*; and that some of the things that they had told him were untrue. When he learned about a quarrel during his absence between his adult daughter *Taieke* and William Puckey’s eleven-year-old daughter Elizabeth, Hongi was incensed. During this quarrel, *Taieke* had called Puckey a *kuki*, or slave, saying that her father would kill and eat him when he came back from England. In response Elizabeth retorted that when Hongi returned, she would cut off his head and boil it in an iron pot – a terrible insult.² According to Butler:

[Hongi] remained sullenly at his hut about half a mile distant from the Settlement for several days, without coming to see us. He represented among the



*Hannab King, sketched by
Thomas Hutton, 1844.*

Tribe that we were only poor people (Cooks) that King George whom he had seen knew nothing at all about us nor Mr Marsden either. In consequence of this, we have had to bear with many hard speeches and cruel mockings not worth repeating.³

Those who had been helping the missionaries in their houses and fields stopped work, while others plundered their crops, confiscating their potatoes and kūmara. When Butler's loyal foreman Taiwhanga tried to stop them, he was wounded with a bayonet, and Butler's wife and son were given a thrashing. In a muru raid on Puckey's house, their cutlery, china and kitchen goods were confiscated, and a warrior seized his son by the hair, threatening to cut off his head. The other missionaries were also cursed at and threatened, and their domestic animals, tools and household items were seized.

The missionaries' families were terrified, and Mrs King was so traumatised by an attack on their house that she had a breakdown. When Butler reproached Hongi for these outrages, saying that he and his fellow missionaries had been kind to his family during his absence, Hongi accused him of trying to stop him from making the journey to England.

Butler admitted that he had not wanted Hongi to go to England, saying that it was because he loved him and it was too dangerous. In reply, Hongi snapped that this was not true, and that he was only trying to stop him from acquiring muskets and gunpowder. Although Butler and Marsden both told him that the king had forbidden them to trade muskets with Māori, Hongi said, when he had asked King George about this, the king replied that he had given no such order, and that he did not know these people.

Hongi also accused Marsden of writing a 'bad letter' about him and Kendall to the Church Missionary Society, so that the Secretary and the Committee in London insulted him with niggardly gifts. When they returned to Port Jackson, Marsden had refused to give him anything at all, despite the debt of gratitude he owed to Hongi and his people for protecting the mission. He told Butler that if he would not barter muskets and gunpowder for his provisions, he should leave the country. Finally, he said that he no longer wanted his children to learn to read and write, and that 'the people at the Warre Karrakeeah [whare karakia – church] are bad, and the Karrakeeah [karakia – Christian worship] itself was no good for the New Zealand man'.⁴

After his experiences in Britain and Port Jackson, Hongi had largely rejected European beliefs and customs, and for the rest of his life he held fast to tikanga Māori (Māori ideas of proper behaviour). During their voyage to England, Kendall and Hongi had become good friends, and Kendall backed Hongi in these disputes. He told Butler that he was willing to trade muskets and gunpowder to Hongi and his people, and wrote to Samuel Marsden, saying that he had no right to try to forbid Māori from trading with Europeans as they wished in their own country:

They consider themselves free, whatever we may think to the contrary. They have too much pride and independence of spirit to take in good part any restraints that we may think necessary to lay upon them. . . .

Reflect for a moment that we are the subjects of a heathen government. Consider the absolute control which the natives have over us directly and over our property and proceedings indirectly, having it in their power to increase or diminish our supplies, and that the passion of the natives for war and arms is ungovernable.

Kendall also reproached Marsden for exaggerating the successes of the New Zealand mission in his reports to Britain; for investing its resources

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