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# TUAI OF NGARE RAUMATI: TEACHING EUROPEANS IN THE EARLY 19TH CENTURY

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This article seeks to bring into focus a shadowy figure in early New Zealand history, a young man, Tuai of Ngare Raumati, who played a significant role in both settling the first settlers in northern New Zealand, and teaching Europeans about early 19th-century Māori society. Tuai was probably the most written-about Māori in the first quarter of the 19th century. His name, or a version of it, appears in most indexes of books about the pre-1830s Bay of Islands. But almost all modern references to him are in passing.<sup>1</sup> Tuai appears as a bit-player in histories, a small fry among men linked to Ngāpuhi, such as Te Pahi, Ruatara and Hongi Hika, whose names are common in stories of the earliest Bay of Islands Māori-settler engagements.

Yet our research indicates that Tuai, who was born in about 1797, should be more widely remembered for the key roles he played in those first engagements. His short life—he was 27 when he died—included periods living in Australia and England, and he probably knew more than any other contemporary Māori person about European life. Tuai's engagement with the iron-technology-rich European world shaped his desire for Māori to assimilate its things, and its people. He sought Pākehā allies, and worked hard at educating them about the Māori world, actively teaching those who were interested. Like other Māori, Tuai had anxious premonitions of Pākehā domination. But he thought that by actively forming alliances and exchanging knowledge with the newcomers, both groups would benefit. He lived at a time of tension between his Ngare Raumati people who lived in the south of the Bay of Islands and an alliance of *hapū* 'kin groups' from the north under the leadership of Ngāpuhi. These tribal politics determined the pattern of earliest Pākehā settlement in the Bay of Islands, and shaped Tuai's life.

## TUAI'S NAME

A note on Tuai's name is necessary. Almost everyone he met spelled his name differently. Two handwritten Ngare Raumati *whakapapa* 'genealogies' use different spellings: Te Tuhi and Tui. An old Ngāpuhi account gives the name Tai.<sup>2</sup> In unpublished primary sources, he is called Tohi, Toi, Toohe, Touai, Toui, Tuai, Tuaea, Tuaia, Tuhi, Tui and Tuihi. Secondary published works refer

most commonly to Tuai, Tui or Tuhi. In our book *He kōrero: Words Between Us—First Māori-Pākehā Conversations on Paper* (Jones and Jenkins 2011) we chose Tuai as the spelling, for reasons we explain there. The name Tui is used by historians Anne Salmond (1997) and Judith Binney (2005) and by the authors of the Waitangi Tribunal Report on the Te Paparahi o Te Raki Inquiry (2014). Te Tuhi seems to be favoured in the north, and Tuhi is used commonly by earlier researchers such as John Rawson Elder ([ed.] 1932, 1934), Leslie Kelly (1938), Laurence Rogers (1961) and Jack Lee (1983), as well as historian Angela Ballara (2003). Some who met Tuai wrote Tooi. Samuel Marsden usually wrote Tooi, as did the Church Missionary Society (CMS) churchmen. So Tuai himself learned this version, and signed his letters from England ‘Thomas Tooi’. Given this complexity, it is impossible to be certain about how to correctly spell Tuai’s name in accepted modern orthography. We use Tuai in this account.

#### NGARE RAUMATI AND NGĀPUHI

Tuai’s Ngare Raumati people are an ancient people who trace their ancestry to Huruhuru. Their territory extended from the islands and lands of Te Rāwhiti in the southern Bay of Islands to Motu Kōkako in the northeast, and Taupiri Bay in the southeast—the area known today as Cape Brett and Rākaumangamanga. In the early 19th century, the “Ngare Raumati confederation” (Sissons *et al.* 2001: 46) comprised a large number of *hapū*.<sup>3</sup>

Before Tuai was born, a rival alliance of *hapū* led by Ngāpuhi, who trace their ancestry to Rāhiri, was steadily expanding its territories east from inland Te Waimate towards the southern Bay of Islands, offering a serious threat to Ngare Raumati’s once great power in the region. In one significant event about 1800, a woman named Te Whakahoe, of Ngāi Tawake (a Ngāpuhi aligned *hapū* based at Te Waimate), had been taken from Te Hakiro, her Ngare Raumati husband, to become the wife of Whitirua, also of Ngāi Tawake. As a result, Ngare Raumati had attacked Te Waimate killing several people including Rewa’s mother Te Auporo, and his sister Te Korehu (or Te Karehu), both high status women of Ngāpuhi. In the years following, a northern alliance of Ngāpuhi (led by Te Hōtete, Hongi Hika’s father) and others from Waimate, Kaikohe, Whangaroa and Hokianga Districts, as well as from Te Puna in the northern Bay of Islands, launched a number of return attacks on the southern Bay of Islands people. The Ngare Raumati leader Te Tāwheta (Tuai’s direct ancestor) was killed by Te Hōtete’s Ngāi Tawake forces at Tāpeka Point in revenge for the above deaths (Ballara 2003; Cloher 2003: 180-81; Kelly 1938; Lee 1979; Sissons *et al.* 2001: 51, 133).

Clashes within and between Bay of Islands and inland *hapū* redistributed the population in all directions, and the tensions between the Ngare Raumati

and Ngāpuhi alliances continued to simmer during Tuai's life, the first quarter of the 19th century. Tuai, his older brother Korokoro, and his closer relations had kinship ties to the invaders through a woman named Raumati, who was of both Ngāpuhi and Ngare Raumati descent, and through Korokoro's mother [or wife; see Note 4], Te Awhi of Ngāi Tawake (*NMB* 1905, vol. 36, p. 124). So Ngare Raumati, "a confederation of non-Ngā Puhī hapū" (Sissons *et al.* 2001: 87), continued to inhabit some of the islands and the coastland of Pāroa and Manawaora Bay in the southeastern Bay of Islands throughout Tuai's lifetime, and remained a dominant force there under Korokoro, who died in 1823.

According to published *whakapapa* and other information, Tuai appears to have had at least four older brothers including the powerful Korokoro, Te Ngawa and Te Rangi (Kelly 1938: 25; Sissons *et al.* 2001: 17, 46, 48, 50, 137), and some sisters including Te Hinu and Makiri. Tuai's direct male elders included the venerable Kaipo ('Old Bennee'), and Mauhikitia, son of Tūkawau, son of Te Tāwheta. Some *whakapapa* suggest Korokoro's (and presumably Tuai's) father was Tūkawau, others that he was Mauhikitia.<sup>4</sup> Samuel Marsden reported that Tuai's father had been a priest, or *tohunga* (MOA Marsden to Pratt, 12.10.1814).

After Tuai's death in 1824, Ngāpuhi finally chased most of Ngare Raumati out of their homelands, and they became a dispersed people. Their stories faded behind those of their Ngāpuhi rivals, whose accounts are told in a number of books, as for example Cloher 2003, Hohepa 1999, and Sissons *et al.* 2001. By contrast, rare published accounts of Ngare Raumati cast them merely as a defeated group (Kelly 1938; Sissons *et al.* 2001: 133ff). The Ngare Raumati stories are yet to be written.

#### BRINGING THE PĀKEHĀ TO NEW ZEALAND

Tuai was to play a key role in bringing European settlers to New Zealand. His generation was the first to have grown up familiar with the Pākehā. His parents and grandparents remembered infrequent and frightening encounters with the strange white *maitai tupua* or sea goblins (White 1879 [Māori version]: 72; Salmond 1991: 221). But during Tuai's childhood, increasing numbers of Pākehā ships—following maps made by the 18th-century visitors James Cook and Marc-Joseph Marion du Fresne—appeared in the waters of Ngare Raumati, on their way to and from whaling grounds. By the time Tuai was an young adolescent, about 50 whaling ships had visited the Bay of Islands (Wilson 1990: 16). A few local men got work on the ships, and sailed away. Some came back; others did not.

Tuai became one of these adventurers. He first enters the European written records in March 1814, aged about 17, in Parramatta, New South

Wales. He was living with Thomas Kendall's family, near the home of chaplain and magistrate Samuel Marsden, and had learned enough English to communicate "tolerably well" (MOA Kendall to Woodd, 11.03.1814). Like a number of other young Bay of Islands men, Tuai had gone to Parramatta to visit Marsden's farm, a place James Belich (1996: 144) aptly called "that great Māori college of European studies". Marsden had opened his home in Parramatta to any visiting Māori and, responding to invitations from the northern Bay of Islands *rangatira* or chiefs Te Pahi and Ruatara who had visited Parramatta some years before, was planning a (mission) settlement in the Bay of Islands.

Tuai's interest in English and his intelligent curiosity led to his becoming a go-between in Marsden's settlement plan. Marsden sent him in March 1814 from Australia on the *Active*, with Thomas Kendall, to check whether the chiefs from the Bay of Islands would still welcome Pākehā settlers. Relationships between Europeans and Te Taitokerau Māori had become anxious and uncertain following disastrous incidents in late 1809. The Pākehā crew and passengers on the trader *Boyd* were killed in Whangaroa Harbour, and in return Te Pahi and his people were fatally attacked in the Bay of Islands by whalers in early 1810.

After taking Marsden's question to the Bay of Islands, Tuai returned to Sydney on the *Active* in August of 1814 with his brother Korokoro, who was keen to get settlers for Ngare Raumati and the southeastern end of the Bay of Islands. Their rival Ruatara accompanied his kinsman Hongi Hika on board, also hoping to collect Pākehā settlers for themselves. During the return voyage from Australia to the Bay of Islands, Ruatara gained Marsden's agreement that the Pākehā would make their settlement at Rangihoua, next to Ruatara's *kainga* and *pā* (open and fortified settlements respectively) under his and Hongi Hika's protection. The northern alliance had won the first settlers.

Nevertheless, Tuai and Korokoro's people were actively involved in the arrival of the first Pākehā settlers. The Ngare Raumati people on Panaki (one of the Cavalli Islands) were to greet Marsden when he first stepped ashore on 19 December 1814, on his way to the Bay of Islands. Then, a few days later on 24 December 1814, Korokoro and Tuai, and 200 Ngare Raumati warriors dressed in full regalia, guided Marsden through a culturally and historically significant 400-strong *pōwhiri* (specifically a *waka taki* or 'welcome between sea and shore') at Rangihoua, an event the Pākehā arrivals misunderstood as a "sham fight" performed for their entertainment (Jones and Jenkins 2011: 80). For Māori, the event was an expected part of a process of asserting *mana whenua* 'authority over the land', establishing the intentions of the arriving party, and bringing that party under the protection of the *tangata whenua* or 'people of that land', in this case a kin group of Ngāpuhi. Tuai and Korokoro, displaying

the *mana* ‘authority’ and strength of Ngare Raumati on this occasion, would have anticipated that the next group of settlers would come to them.

Tuai and Korokoro, like other non-Ngāpuhi leaders around the Bay of Islands, wanted Pākehā to settle amongst their people partly as insurance against attacks by Ngāpuhi, and partly for the significant iron and gun trading benefits they would bring. Hongi’s European settlers would soon become dependent on the northern allied *hapū* for food supplies, particularly pigs. And Hongi’s people would increasingly trade only for iron tools, gunpowder and guns.

#### VOYAGE TO ENGLAND

Tuai disliked the constant skirmishes caused by tribal tensions, and he often expressed a desire to move permanently to Australia to avoid the anxiety and insecurity around the Bay of Islands. He admired much about the Europeans, including their “regulations and customs” (Nicholas 1817: 118), and he now regularly wore a shirt and trousers, and spoke good English. Korokoro would have been keen for Tuai to capitalise on his new knowledge for the benefit of Ngare Raumati. With his older brother’s encouragement, Tuai decided to go to England. After working on at least one whaling ship, the *Phoenix*, he finally managed to get a passage to England on the brig *HMS Kangaroo*. Tuai and another young man, Tītere (from Rangihoua<sup>5</sup>), had persuaded Marsden in Parramatta to pay for their passage to England. The *Kangaroo* left Port Jackson in April 1817. Tuai and Tītere were to stay with Marsden’s colleagues at the Church Missionary House in central London.

During an eventful voyage to England, Tuai learned more about European political and social life. He witnessed a serious fracas in Tasmania between government officials and the controversial captain of the *Kangaroo* Lieutenant Charles Jeffreys, who had taken on board some escaped convicts, and a quantity of prohibited spirits (Gill 1979). He experienced alarming storms and dangerous reefs as the *Kangaroo* followed an uncharted path inside the Northern Queensland reef. Aboriginal people were sighted, always keeping their distance. On land near the top of the Cape York Peninsula, Tuai, Tītere, and some soldiers encountered a group of aboriginal men. After a cautious but friendly interaction, Tuai gifted his earring to one of the group (Hassall Journal 25.07.1817). At the port of Batavia (now Jakarta, Indonesia), Tuai and Tītere both contracted a fever. They recovered, though several other passengers died. On 17 December 1817, the *Kangaroo* stopped at the south Atlantic island of St Helena, where it is possible they met the exiled French general Napoleon Bonaparte, whose war exploits were to become legendary in the Bay of Islands (Dumont D’Urville in Legge 1992: 327, note 9). The *Kangaroo* arrived in London on 23 February 1818.

## WRITING DOWN THE LANGUAGE

In England, Tuai was able to make another small contribution to a significant project already started in Parramatta where he had assisted Thomas Kendall with writing down the Māori language. They were visited by the Reverend Samuel Lee, a linguistics professor at Cambridge University, and protégé of the Church Missionary Society. Lee had been asked to compile a comprehensive grammar and vocabulary of “the New Zealand Tongue” on behalf of the Church Missionary Society (MR 1818: 93). This work in London was cut short because, soon after arriving in wintry London at the Church Missionary House in Salisbury Square, both men became ill with bronchial problems. As Titere put it, a “bad friend” by the name of “Mr Coughée” had assaulted them (MOA Titere to Marsden, 12.10.1818).

Four years previously, in 1814, Tuai had taught the Māori language to Thomas Kendall in Parramatta (MOA Kendall to Woodd, 11.3.1814). The Māori language was yet to be recorded in more than vocabulary lists; Kendall was determined to write the language systematically in “such a method as would render it easier to be understood by an Englishman” (MOA Kendall to Pratt, 20.11.1808). Kendall, the school teacher in the first group of Pākehā settlers, also needed to organise the written language so he could teach Māori children to read and write—as had been requested by Ruatara. In Parramatta under Tuai’s instruction, Kendall aimed to “fix the Language of the New Zealanders so that they may be instructed in their own Tongue” (MOA Kendall to Pratt, 25.3.1814). The result was the first New Zealand book, *A Korao no New Zealand; or, the New Zealander’s First Book Being An Attempt to Compose some Lessons for the Instruction of the Natives*, published in Sydney in 1815. The little 54-page book was the first printed attempt at full sentences and phrases in the Māori language. For this alone, Tuai should have a prominent place in the history of literacy in New Zealand.

In England, as it turned out, due to Tuai and Titere’s illness, not a lot of progress was made on the project of expanding on *A Korao no New Zealand*, though the second New Zealand book, *A Grammar and Vocabulary of the Language of New Zealand*, was later published by the Church Missionary Society in London in 1820 under Lee and Kendall’s names. Tuai did, however, discuss the project, and his advice led churchman George Mortimer to caution (ineffectually) against the too-quick development of a New Zealand grammar because there were “a number of languages and dialects in New Zealand” (ATL Mortimer to Pratt, 8.8.18). The *Grammar* contains songs and chants probably supplied by Tuai; he was later to demonstrate his familiarity with these to a French visitor to the Bay of Islands. Tuai’s considerable contribution to the missionaries’ language projects, and

to the earliest systematic recording of Māori language in writing, was acknowledged in a short footnote to the preface of the *Grammar*.

As they recovered, Tuai and Tītere also sketched ink drawings on paper. Some of these drawings, of Korokoro's *moko* 'facial tattoo', decorated and peopled war canoes, and Tītere's kites, can be viewed in collections in Auckland and Birmingham.<sup>6</sup> The beautiful pen and ink drawings are the earliest Māori drawings in existence.

#### ENCOUNTERING THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Tuai was soon to experience the might of the Industrial Revolution, in "the most extraordinary district in the world" (Trinder 1977: 12), the Ironbridge Gorge in Shropshire. In May 1818, he and Tītere were sent to the countryside to get well. They stayed with the evangelical Reverend George Mortimer in the town of Madeley near the first cast iron arch bridge, built in 1781 across the Severn River. There, Tuai and Tītere encountered ironworks, china factories, squatters' and workers' houses, inns, retail stores, boat builders, lime works, a rope factory, massive water and steam-driven machines, tunnels and mines. Hundreds of working people and migrant families—coal, glass, porcelain, brick, rope and iron workers, mine workers, child labourers, carpenters, blacksmiths, colliers, boatmen, potters, barge haulers, prostitutes, furnace keepers, traders—lived in and near the river valley. Admiring foreign visitors wrote about the region's dramatic Gothic landscape with its strange juxtaposition of tranquil trees, fields, valleys and savage scenes of fire, steam and smoke (Trinder 1977: 36-37, 1981).

Francis Hall, a prospective missionary who lived in Madeley, wrote down what Tuai and Tītere said about their time in Shropshire as aside from their names, neither Tuai nor Tītere could write independently. So Hall wrote down their words, which they then copied onto paper in the form of letters to their English friends. In total, nine letters by Tuai, and 10 by Tītere, still exist.<sup>7</sup> These letters outline their experiences around Shropshire and give the first "direct" access to Māori expression in English. For example, on his return from an iron foundry, on 26 June 1818, Tītere reported: "I seen the iron make, the iron run down like water, I go home tell my countrymen they no believe". At the great Coalport porcelain works Tuai recalled conversing with the renowned proprietor, John Rose: "I make four cups. Mr Rose tell me you soon learn—yes I say, very soon learn with my fingers, but Book very hard". In the town of Wellington, they visited a glassworks. Tuai recalled: "Teeterree blew a bottle, and Tooi blew a bottle: very much pleased to see glass blow" (ATL Tooi to Pratt, 20.8.1818).



Later, at the naval dockyards on the Thames, Tītere wrote: “plenty people at work: man as strong as a horse”. The machinery of a steam sawmill carried great oak tree trunks, ready for sawing into planks. Huge ropes were rolled out in long warehouses: “the saw mill go by steam. I see the iron waggon by steam, he took up two tree and away she goes, and the massive rope warehouses see rope as big as my body”. Warships bristling with cannons were under construction: “the Prince Regent 120 Guns: never see so large Man of war”. Gigantic hand-forged iron anchors and chain swung out from an enormous smithery. Tītere wrote: “I sing out O dear me New Zealand man no believe, nor I, but I see with my own eye, same as the iron work: quite astonished” (MOA Tītere to Bickersteth, 08.01.1819).

Later, too, at the Tower of London, they learned about the arts of war, European-style. The Tower housed the military hardware of England; there were chests of artillery tools, battle axes, banners, certificates, instruments of torture, suits of armour, cannons, trophies, and tens of thousands of small arms and muskets in impressive displays. Tītere was perplexed that men so extravagantly endowed with weaponry could not spare one or two guns for him to take away: “I see thousand thousand guns no give me one at all” (MOA Tītere to Marsden, 12.10.1818).

Tuai and Tītere were witnessing the greatest military force in the Western world, and their experience underlined the immense, in fact unbelievable, military and technological power of the Europeans. Such power would have reinforced for Tuai the necessity for close Ngare Raumati relationships with these people. Tuai thought, too, about the possibilities for an industrial future in the Bay of Islands. When he arrived home, Tuai would tell Hongi Hika about the English iron production, prompting Hongi, during his 1820 visit to England, to seek miners to come as settlers to New Zealand (ATL Kendall to Secretary, 04.08.1820).

Back in London during October to December 1818, Tuai and Tītere experienced other aspects of early 19th-century England. They had their portraits painted by James Barry, a lay member of the Church Missionary Society. About the same time, an unknown artist made two beautiful little silhouettes, which Tuai and Tītere signed themselves (Fig.1).<sup>8</sup>

As exotic foreigners in London, Tuai and Tītere were sought-after dinner party guests. In December, the New Zealanders were guests of honour at a bizarre “Grand Cannibal Dinner” at the Gower Palace in London. Here they proved to be apparently willing instructors on life in New Zealand. They entertained with witty stories about culinary habits in New Zealand, and demonstrated “the war dance”, “the ceremony of killing and cutting up a pig”, “the operation of tattooing”, and the way of carrying children (*The Family Chronicle* 1818: 209).



Figure 1. Silhouette of Tuai by unknown artist, with Tuai's own signature. Te Papa Tongarewa, Museum of New Zealand, Registration No. 2006-0014-1/2; used with permission.

#### RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION

It was Marsden's intention that Tuai and Tītere would be converted to Christianity in England and return home "to impart very fully to their Friends the views of the [Church Missionary] Society in sending Europeans to live amongst them" (MOA Marsden to Pratt, 2.3.1817). To this end, during their time in England, Tuai and Tītere were obliged to attend church regularly and to have daily lessons in scriptural study, and writing and reading in English. Tuai learned to chant the Lord's Prayer, and to correctly answer religious

questions, but neither man was enthusiastic. They much preferred physical work such as harvesting, digging or building: “into almost every species of manual labour, they enter with delight” reported Mortimer (MR 1818: 231). “All goes well”, said one of their tutors, Francis Hall, “till they are brought to study” (MOA Hall to Pratt, 26.2.1818).

Evangelical plans for demolishing the heart of Māori culture were revealed in stark detail in the letters copy-written by Tuai and Tītere. Wrote Tītere: “Hope the English Bible make New Zealand man leave off the tabboo taboo, and like English way”. “I go home to my Countrymen that Jesus is the true God Atua [Māori for gods] is false no God all nonsense”, wrote Tuai. Abandoning Māori spiritual rules meant that Māori people will “leave off eating mans flesh and New Zealand woman no hang herself when her husband he die but marry again in two or three years”. “I tell them Book of Books say no cut no hang no tattoo ... no tattooing all no cutting his self”. There was to be no more fighting: “Hope New Zealand man little quiet and no fight”; “New Zealand mans spear make no happy I te[ll] my poor Countrymen Christians no fight no use War Club no spear” (MOA Tuai to Bickersteth, 14.12.1818).

There is no evidence that Tuai or Tītere believed any of these statements. Both knew their hosts regarded their struggle with instruction and religious conversion as an ungrateful failing. Their letters contained self-deprecating apologies: Tītere confessed that he is “a very bad boy” because he is not making enough effort to learn to read the Bible (MOA Tītere to Pratt, 20.8.1818). Tuai wrote: “I hope please the Lord learn Book a little very hard to learn. [...] I go to my bed at night and my heart sorry for sin before God. I kneel down and pray God make my heart quite good” (ATL Tooi to Pratt, 20.8.1818).

At one crisis point, Tuai almost became the convert so keenly desired by Marsden. In January 1819 he became gravely ill with a bronchial infection, and for the first time took a serious interest in Jesus who, he had been told, could cure European diseases. He made a bargain with Jesus that he would “boldly speak of him to his friends [in New Zealand] if it please the Lord to spare him to see them again” (MOA Hall to Pratt, 9.1.1819). Such was his ambivalence about his wager that Tuai had a disturbing night visitation from his dead father and brother who asked why he was communicating with the Pākehā god, and abandoning his own. Tuai answered “‘because Jesus Christ make me good, make me happy’. They then hid their faces and went away sorrowful” (MOA Hall to Pratt, 9.1.1819). Tuai recovered, and his bargain with Jesus was soon forgotten.

Despite his admiration for aspects of European life, Tuai held a deep loyalty towards his own spiritual beliefs, and failed to see that European religious ideas were useful for the Māori people. The disappointed churchmen in England found Tuai and Tītere “much attached to their own Country Religion” (MOA

Bickersteth and Pratt to Marsden, 12.3.1818). Tuai argued that the Europeans' persistent criticisms of his beliefs was unjustified. For instance, when a Pākehā had complained in New Zealand about "inhospitable superstitions" (such as the rule that food must be eaten outside), and said that "the taboo taboo [*tapu*] was all gammon ["nonsense"]", Tuai retorted that if the Englishmen's prayers were not rubbish, then neither were Māori ideas about *tapu* (Nicholas 1817: 274). Tuai maintained this position throughout his life.

Tuai and Tītere finally left England on 27 January 1819, on a crowded convict ship, the *Baring*. On the *Baring* were the families recruited by the Church Missionary Society for the second Pākehā settlement in New Zealand, including Francis Hall, Reverend John Gare Butler, James Kemp and their families. In return for not working their passage, Tuai and Tītere had to keep at their daily studies. Again, they were scolded about their lack of interest in religious lessons. On board, Hall noted sadly: "it is really painful to see how reluctantly they come to their studies" (MOA Hall Journal, 15.12.1818).

Tuai and Tītere preferred to spend time with the sailors and soldiers on the *Baring*. But amongst these men, too, they did not find allies. They were taunted by the soldiers who boasted they could easily overrun New Zealand "in the way they have taken possession of New South Wales" (MOA Hall Journal, 4.5.1819). Tuai by now had the most knowledge of all his people about the possibilities and the problems of European engagement. He stood at the fulcrum between the traditional world of his ancestors and the changed Māori world that was inevitably coming.

#### (NOT) GETTING THE NEW SETTLERS

On 26 June 1819, the *Baring* came to anchor at Port Jackson in Sydney harbour, and the New Zealanders stayed with the Marsdens in Parramatta, catching up with news from kinsmen and friends staying there. The *General Gates* then carried Tuai, Tītere and the new group of Pākehā settlers, with Marsden (on his second visit), to New Zealand, and anchored off Rangihoua in the northern Bay of Islands on 13 August 1819. Korokoro quickly arrived from the southeastern end of the Bay. His brother Tuai "had been long absent from him, and his friends: had gone to England: had brought out the [new] white people with him" (MOA Marsden Journal, 19.8.1819)—surely this was effort enough for Ngare Raumati to get their share of settlers. A bidding war started between him and Hongi Hika, who both offered Marsden any land he wanted in their respective territories. To Korokoro's anger and dismay, and that of other rivals of Ngāpuhi and the northern alliance, Marsden agreed to settle Butler and the others at Kerikeri near Hongi Hika's stronghold. Korokoro bitterly accused Marsden of ingratitude and hypocrisy for effectively strengthening Hongi's hand.

Tuai was deeply distressed by his conflicting loyalties between his brother's desires and those of his new friends, the Europeans. Marsden said: "we pitied Tooi. He was anxious to live a civilised life and not to conform to the Native habits and dress any more, but he said he could not stand his ground if he had not one or more Europeans to support him" (MOA Marsden Journal, 19.8.1819). Many years later, John Butler recalled the momentous decision to live in Hongi Hika's territory, saying that "we were obliged to go and reside with a tribe much more powerful than Tuai's people; otherwise we should have endangered their safety" (Barton 1927: 399). Perhaps to protect his people from Hongi's threats, Tuai had privately informed Marsden that Hongi's alliance was stronger than Korokoro's, and therefore Marsden should go with the strongest. Ngare Raumati did get one settler, an inferior Pākehā, the rough ex-convict James Boyle, who was stationed as a salt maker in their territory. The Ngare Raumati were dissatisfied, and Boyle was harassed. In January 1820 Butler warned that if the Ngare Raumati people were not kind to Boyle, no Pākehā settlement or school would be made amongst them (Barton 1927: 64). By September 1821, Boyle's house had been burned down by Ngare Raumati. Hongi Hika had, in effect, won the strategic war for control of the Pākehā.

After their return from England, Tuai and Tītere sold their English gifts of china, cooking pots, and other domestic items to the Rangihoua settlers, probably for powder or guns. Tītere returned to his people near Rangihoua. Turning his back on the missionaries, Tītere joined allied warring parties, and by April of 1821 he had the full *moko* of a warrior. He was now married to the sister of the Ngāti Manu *rangatira* 'Wevea' (Whiria, also known as Pōmare II) of Waikare to whom Tītere had given a musket in exchange (ATL Hall Journal, 16.8.1821).

Like Tītere, Tuai returned to his people, and fought in on-going campaigns alongside Korokoro, this time in the Thames and Hauraki regions. He too had a full facial *moko* completed. Marsden had told him that tattooing was "a very foolish and ridiculous custom", and that as Tuai had seen so much of "civil life" he should now "lay aside the barbarous customs of his country and adopt those of civilized nations" (MOA Marsden Second Visit Journal, 1819). Far from being a "foolish custom", a *moko* was necessary to Tuai's identity as a *rangatira* within Ngare Raumati. He did, however, wear European clothes. And he stayed in close touch with any European ships anchoring in the southern Bay of Islands, to trade and to form beneficial alliances.

#### WORK AS A TRANSLATOR

Tuai's ability to speak English gained him advantage when it came to trading with European visitors to the Bay of Islands. The popular whaling anchorage at Pāroa in the heart of Ngare Raumati homelands had supplied Korokoro

and Tuai, and their allies, with enough guns to get the upper-hand against their enemies to the south at Hauraki, who had no such firepower (Ballara 2003: 193). As Richard Cruise (1824 [1974]: 298) said of Korokoro in 1820: “the name of Krokro, who is known to have fifty stand of arms, is heard with terror 500 miles from the Bay of Islands”. Once any ship was anchored off Pāroa, Korokoro considered it his, and such was his power that no one could trade without his permission. Their rival Hongi Hika was soon to dramatically increase *his* cache of arms as well, as a result of his visit to England in 1820 (see Cloher 2003).

His facility with English also enabled Tuai to get work with visiting Europeans and to observe European relationships with enemy leaders in other districts. In March 1820, dressed in a blue coat, trousers, and boots, and a cocked hat with a long white feather, Tuai boarded the British government store ship, the *HMS Dromedary*, to assist officers in negotiating for *kahikatea* (*Dacrycarpus dacrydioides*) and *kauri* (*Agathis australis*) timber spars from Hokianga for the Admiralty. The ship’s navy commander Richard Cruise (1824 [1974]: 34) thought Tuai was “not unlike a foreign officer; and when he ascended the deck, he addressed the persons around him in English”. Tuai and another man named Whiti were to be translators on an overland visit to Hokianga, then on a sea voyage on the *Dromedary* to the Hokianga Harbour mouth. As it turned out, the *Dromedary* could not cross the Hokianga bar, and returned empty-handed to the Bay of Islands.

So Korokoro offered the British officers *kauri* logs from his district at Manawaora. But the trees were impossible to get out, and the Ngare Raumati workers were uncooperative. This was probably because the *Dromedary’s* Captain Skinner, maybe under official orders, refused to trade in guns or gunpowder as the whalers did. Tuai sarcastically noted that Skinner was prepared to waste gunpowder firing off cannons as part of an arms maintenance programme. Tuai became openly hostile to the *Dromedary* officers, and Cruise (1824 [1974]: 145) wrote that “the trouble and expense that had been bestowed in attempting to civilise [Tuai] appeared to have entirely failed; and we found him, without exception the greatest savage, and one of the most worthless and profligate men in the Bay of Islands”.

At the end of May 1820, Tuai was working as a translator on another British government ship, the *HMS Coromandel* under Captain James Downie, also seeking timber spars for the Admiralty, this time in the Hauraki region. Tuai’s wife Hiri (or Hiria) accompanied him (Hawkins 1993: 40). Following this period of working as a translator and as a go-between for the timber traders, Tuai with Korokoro left the Bay of Islands on several fighting expeditions.

## INTER-TRIBAL WARFARE, PĀKEHĀ ALLIANCES

In July 1821, Tuai and Korokoro's rival Hongi Hika returned from London and Sydney with a massive supply of arms. Hongi Hika aimed to decimate his old enemies in the Tāmaki and Hauraki areas. Tuai and Korokoro decided to join him. They had political reasons to fight alongside their rivals. Korokoro had previously suffered losses at the hands of Ngāti Pāoa of Tāmaki, and the people of Ngāti Maru of Hauraki were implicated in the death of the son of Korokoro's uncle, Kaipo. Tuai and Korokoro had already attacked Ngāti Maru as a result of that incident. By September, Tuai and Korokoro, along with hundreds of Ngare Raumati-aligned warriors, were preparing to join in probably the largest collaboration of northern tribes ever amassed (Barton 1927: 172).

Ngāpuhi historians and others, including Marsden himself, informed by Hongi's general, Wharepoaka, have outlined reasons for Hongi's planned mass assault against largely unarmed rivals (MOA Marsden Journal, 28.8.1823; see also Ballara 2003; Cloher 2003; Sissons *et al.* 2001; Smith 1899, 1900). The motives for Korokoro's alliance with Hongi Hika on the great war expedition are less discussed, though some maintain that "rather than turn their recently acquired muskets against each other, the northern alliance, southern alliance and Ngare Raumati joined forces ... and embarked upon war expeditions to the south" (Sissons *et al.* 2001: 52). This focus elsewhere meant a temporary respite for Ngare Raumati.

So Korokoro, Tuai and their people joined forces with the northern alliance to lay waste to the Ngāti Pāoa people at Tāmaki. Tuai later reported that he led his warriors during the fighting at Tāmaki, working strategically with Hongi and other chiefs; he recalled with apparent relish the gory details of the devastating siege on the unarmed (without guns) but well-fortified Ngāti Pāoa *pā* on the Tāmaki River (Lesson in Ollivier 1986: 146). It is likely Tuai or Korokoro did not go on to fight the Ngāti Maru at Te Tōtara near the Waihou River on the Firth of Thames due to kin relations there—their names are not on the list of *rangatira* who planned with Hongi Hika a treacherous plan to feign peace and then attack (Smith 1900: 30), though Tuai probably then joined a further northern allied raid against the Waikato people (see Ballara 2003: 220-22).

Eight months later, in June 1822, Tuai was back in the Bay of Islands, now very thin and having had "many narrow escapes, and received many wounds" (MR 1822: 507). He had become a war leader. Visiting Francis Hall, he boasted that "when the people to the eastward have all been destroyed, those to the northward shall be attacked". He informed Hall that he now had five wives, presumably captives (MR 1822: 507). No doubt anxious about expected retributive attacks, Tuai had visited his Pākehā friends at Kerikeri to argue again the Ngare Raumati case for settlers. Butler felt guilty, and

ineffectually promised to visit Pāroa soon: “They are exceeding [sic] anxious for somebody to go and live at their place. I think they have a fairer claim than any tribe in New Zealand, as they have always been very kind, and manifested their regard to Europeans”. Butler added that he “would have been glad if it had fallen to my lot to have settled among them” (Barton 1927: 232), but no Pākehā settlers went.

Then, during 1823, Ngare Raumati warriors including Tuai and Korokoro again joined Hongi Hika and about 1200 men from almost all of the northern alliance tribes in an assault on the Te Arawa people near Rotorua. Korokoro did not return alive. On 1 October 1823, Marsden—during his fourth visit to New Zealand—visited Pāroa. The place was crowded with Ngare Raumati women and children in mourning. Tuai was at Whitianga, waiting with Korokoro’s body until it could be brought back to the Bay of Islands. Korokoro had died at Katikati following the fighting (MOA Marsden Journal, 1.10.1823). Tuai’s uncle Kaipo, too, had died, slain at Mokoia Island in Rotorua. Korokoro and Kaipo’s deaths left Ngare Raumati and the people of Te Rāwhiti very exposed to their traditional enemies, Ngāpuhi. Tuai again contemplated leaving the country (MOA Marsden Journal, 1.10.1823).

Yet again, the people at Pāroa begged for a Pākehā to live with them, and “said they had been long promised one, and contended they had a claim as Koro Koro came first to Parramatta for the Missionaries, and Tooi went afterwards to England” (MOA Marsden Journal, 1.10.1823). Marsden’s excuse this time was that because all the fighting parties from the Bay of Islands called in at Pāroa on their way south, any settler would be in danger. But Tuai had not yet given up looking for European settlers. In April 1824, another Pākehā arrived to settle in the Bay of Islands—the gunsmith-turned-missionary, George Clarke, whom Tuai had met in England (Clarke Journal, 3.4.1824). He was employed by Marsden to go to Kerikeri. Clarke reported his conversation with Tuai: “Are you not, says [Tuai], come to live with me, to which I answered in the Negative. Ah says he with a sigh; Mr Marsden promised my brother a Missionary, since then he died; by and by I shall be dead then what good will a missionary do me” (Clarke Journal, 19.10.1824). Clarke’s going to Kerikeri, into Hongi Hika’s territory with all the other Pākehā settlers, was another bitter blow to Tuai’s Pākehā-settlement plans, and very bad tidings for the Ngare Raumati people.

#### TEACHING: TUAI’S CONTRIBUTIONS TO SCIENCE

On 2 April 1824, *La Coquille*, a French scientific ship, had arrived from Sydney, and anchored near Pāroa. Tuai’s appearance on deck caused astonishment amongst the officers. Jules Dumont Dumont D’Urville, the ship’s chief lieutenant, thought at first he was “an Englishman who had



settled in New Zealand and had been tattooed, as sometimes happens” (Dumont D’Urville in Sharp 1971: 38). René Primevère Lesson, the naval doctor on *La Coquille* maintained Tuai was “the only New Zealander who speaks the English language passably well and he is esteemed by his own people for that accomplishment” (Lesson in Ollivier, 1986: 139). Tuai stayed on *La Coquille* with his main wife Hiri and infant son for the two weeks of the ship’s visit, conversing in English about local politics and activities, answering the French officers’ questions “with the greatest willingness and remarkable intelligence” (Dumont D’Urville in Sharp 1971: 33). Tuai was to provide the French scientists with extensive, detailed insights into Māori life—information that was subsequently published in several languages as the Europeans extended their knowledge about the peoples of the Pacific and other parts of the world.

*La Coquille* became Tuai’s ship, and he and his wife controlled a profitable prostitution business using women war captives taken from the Hauraki area, who stayed on board for the duration of the ship’s visit. As an aside, Ormond Wilson (1990: 50) observed that because “only Tuai is known to have pocketed the proceeds of services rendered by others”, he was the first Māori entrepreneur! Tuai also regulated the daytime barter of hogs, fish and vegetables for guns and powder. He drove a hard bargain, and prices went up daily. He also allowed a lucrative clandestine trade in dried human heads. Hongi Hika largely stayed away from the ship, and whenever Hongi was mentioned on *La Coquille*, Tuai reminded the company that Hongi Hika’s family was “less ancient than his own” (Dumont D’Urville in Sharp 1971: 36).<sup>9</sup>

Tuai engaged in wide-ranging conversation with Dumont D’Urville who, as a French scientist, was intent on collecting as much information as he could about Māori people (as well as the geology, flora and fauna of the region). He had to negotiate this carefully, and learned something about what might today be called cross-cultural respect. Tuai would not tolerate European criticism of his beliefs (Dumont D’Urville in Sharp 1971: 41). They discussed the contents of the 1820 *Grammar*, Māori beliefs and ceremonies, including naming practices, death and war rituals, marriage and slavery, taking prisoners, and the rules for eating prisoners (Rolland 1993: 123). Tuai invited some French officers on a veritable “social studies” tour of Kahuwera Pa, the largest fortification in the district, where Tuai now had authority. (Dumont D’Urville in Legge 1992: 234 n 19; Lesson in Ollivier 1986:156; Lesson in Sharp, 1971: 74; Rolland 1993: 123). They saw children playing whipping tops, large drying racks covered with gutted fish, and women preparing flax by cutting the leaves into strips with shells then beating the wet flax with mallets to remove the fibre. A water supply was kept in large gourds, each containing an aromatic herb to keep the water sweet. Captives were busy

cooking kumara (*Ipomoea batatas*), or pounding fern root to make a sort of bread. Tuai selected a piece of this bread for Dumont D'Urville to try. Touao, Tuai's powerful cousin, proudly pointed out his wife, lying on her stomach, undergoing a tattoo from a female tattooist: "half her back was already furrowed with deep patterns, similar to the ones which embellish the faces of Koro-koro's relatives, and the other side was being worked on" (Dumont D'Urville in Legge 1992: 288 n 26). Touao himself bared his buttocks for Tuai to demonstrate how his buttock tattoo had been made. Tuai explained how the *pā* was defended, and said that the huts were built low to avoid the wind. Tuai also took the French to the nearby Orokawa Pā above Te Hue beach where the French captain Marion du Fresne had been killed in 1772, and discussed the possible reasons for that disastrous event.

By this time, Tuai was no longer a friend of the missionaries, having given up on their promises to send him a Pākehā settlement. When the French officers questioned him about the letters he wrote in England, Tuai said that he was unable to read or write, and had no idea what the missionaries had passed off under his name. He told the officers not to rely on Marsden's accounts of the New Zealanders; Marsden did not understand the local situation or the facts that underpinned battles, he said (Ollivier 1986: 146).

On 16 April 1824, after 13 days and nights on board, Tuai, his wife and child, and the group of women who had entertained the sailors, left *La Coquille* for the last time. The ship sailed for Rotuma, on their way back to France, carrying away piles of zoological, botanical and geological specimens, treasures such as flutes (including some of Korokoro's possessions, sold by his son Wi Korokoro), and some inked sketches of Tuai, Hongi Hika, and several women, made by the ship's draughtsman Jules Le Jeune (see Morgat 2005). Copies of these images, along with the officers' accounts, were widely published in Europe in the following ten years.<sup>10</sup> Tuai's teaching had made a considerable contribution to (at least) early 19th-century French and German knowledge of the lives and practices of the Māori people.

#### DEATH AND AFTERMATH

Tuai's death, which came six months after the departure of *La Coquille*, was marked with a respect reflecting his accomplishments in his Māori and European worlds. In May 1824, Tuai had most likely gone to fight against Ngāti Kahungunu alongside Pōmare in Hawke's Bay, as he had told the French he would (Lesson in Ollivier 1986: 155). Then, on 19 October 1824, George Clarke in Kerikeri heard the news that Tuai had died in the Bay of Islands two days before, after a short unspecified illness (Clarke Journal, 19.10.1824). He was only about 27 years old. Tuai's people did not stint on death preparations. One of Tuai's servants was killed in the hope that Tuai's

death could be averted, and then four more were sacrificed to accompany him in his journey after death. Tuai's wife Hiri died soon after; she probably took her own life, and that of their little son (Dumont D'Urville in Wright 1950: 195).

The Europeans in London announced Tuai's death in the *Missionary Register*:

Tooi is now dead; he departed this life, under painful circumstances, on 17 October, 1824. Captain Lock, of the *Mary*, then lying in the Bay, heard that he was very ill on shore, and had no sustenance but fern-root and water. Captain Lock sent his boat for him that he might have medical assistance [probably the method called bleeding] and proper food. But it was too late: Tooi died on board. (MR 1826: 304)

A fanciful sketch of Tuai as a “native” in traditional clothing accompanied his death notice in the *Missionary Register*. Ignoring Tuai's enduring loyalty to his own beliefs and people, the missionary writer thought that if the Church Missionary Society “could have complied with his early and earnest and repeated request to place a faithful Missionary with his Tribe, that good thing which seemed to be in him toward the Lord his God might not have been so hidden and kept down by the temptations and difficulties which surrounded him” (MR 1826: 304).

Tuai's death heralded the dispersal of the Ngare Raumati people. Without Tuai and Korokoro—and with no protective Pākehā settlement in place—the people around Pāroa now lived in a political vacuum. Within a year, Hongi Hika's cousin, Rewa, took the opportunity to renew *utu* ‘revenge’ for the earlier death of his mother and sister during the war with Ngare Raumati more than two decades previously—the fighting during which Tuai's ancestor Te Tāwheta had died (Ballara 2003; Cloher 2003). In early 1826, with Ngai Tāwake and Ngāti Rāhiri, Rewa led assaults on several *pā* in the southeast Bay of Islands, including Tuai's Kahuwera Pā. The *pā*, which “had flourished under the laws of Koro-Koro and whose position seemed impregnable ... became a desert, leaving in the place it once occupied nothing but a confused heap of half-ruined huts” (Dumont D'Urville in Wright 1950: 178).

Within a year, many of Tuai's people had either withdrawn or been dispersed, divided between allies of Ngāpuhi. Some went to Kerikeri, some withdrew down the coast to their kin at Whangaruru and Whananaki (Ballara 2003: 197). Henry Williams met some Ngare Raumati people in May 1827, and noted that they “still did not possess any desire” to become Christians, and that they had been “harassed from place to place, unable to find refuge anywhere” (Williams in Rogers 1961: 55). The Ngāpuhi-allied push into the southern end of the Bay of Islands was now complete, and Ngāpuhi

descendants would talk about the conquest of Ngare Raumati. Ngare Raumati descendants, however, reject the Ngāpuhi narrative of conquest and emphasise their intermarriage with Ngāpuhi (*NMB* 1898 vol. 25, p. 106ff).<sup>11</sup>

Dumont D'Urville returned to the Bay of Islands in March 1827 on the *Astrolabe* (as *La Coquille* had been renamed), expecting to see Tuai, and others from Ngare Raumati. He could not understand why no one came to greet the ship as it anchored off Pāroa. Looking through his telescope at Tuai's village, he realised to his dismay "that the place had been abandoned and all its huts were more or less in ruins. We concluded that the pa of Kahou-Wera [Kahuwera], formerly occupied by a very active population, had ceased to exist" (Dumont D'Urville in Wright 1950: 175). Hongi's tribe, "who had sworn long ago to destroy the people of Paroa", said Dumont D'Urville (in Wright 1950: 196-97), had taken advantage of Tuai's death to carry out their plans. The French officers walked amongst the ruins of Kahuwera Pā. They fondly remembered Tuai's teaching and his pride in his impressive seine nets on the beach; "now nothing was left but the uprights of the shed in which they were once stored" (Dumont D'Urville in Wright 1950: 197).

Three years later, on 10 April 1830, Marsden visited the remains of Tuai's people at Pāroa. He recalled that when he first visited the Bay of Islands in 1814, these people were "one of the most powerful but now reduced by war to a very small number". Marsden spent a few hours at Pāroa, talking to the few remaining people, "conversing upon the miseries which they had brought upon one another by their disputes. They contended that New Zealand was in such a state that they could not help themselves. I felt much for them!" (MOA Marsden Journal, 10.4.1830). Tuai would have been justified in feeling deeply cynical, even despairing, about Marsden's sorrow. Marsden had, by his own actions, contributed to Hongi Hika's superior firepower and trade advantage, and Marsden's Pākehā had protected Tuai's enemies, Ngāpuhi, by their presence amongst them. Marsden had not sent to Tuai and his brother Korokoro the Pākehā they so earnestly wanted, despite Tuai going to England and Australia, and teaching the Europeans about Māori.

\* \* \*

Tuai is not as widely remembered as his Ngāpuhi rivals, perhaps because 'history is told by the victors', but he makes several important contributions to the history of Aotearoa New Zealand. The success of the northern alliance under Ngāpuhi in gaining the first Pākehā settlers, a success that contributed to their domination of the Bay of Islands area, means that their rivals Ngare Raumati have had little attention. But for any account of the development of the earliest Māori-Pākehā relationships in the north of New Zealand, Ngare Raumati stories told through Tuai's life are important. Tuai's work as an

educator and instructor of the Pākehā was crucial to much of the earliest New Zealand history: to the establishment of the first Pākehā settlement and the first New Zealand school there at Rangihoua, to the compilation of the first two New Zealand books, and to early 19th-century English and French studies of Māori knowledge and society. His role as a negotiator and translator for English visitors, including British Navy timber traders, facilitated the earliest official Māori-British trade negotiations, and no doubt reduced the problems that might have arisen without Tuai's advice and guidance. Tuai's travels, and in particular his visit to London and Shropshire in 1818, positively informed the English public about Māori people, brought knowledge about European technology, including warfare, back to the *hapū* around the Bay of Islands, and stimulated and informed the history-changing visit to England by Hongi Hika in 1820 when Hongi was able to accumulate the firepower to engage in the now legendary devastation of tribes in the upper North Island.

In addition, the recorded details of Tuai's experiences bring to life in fascinating detail the engagement between Māori and Europeans in New Zealand, Australia and England in the early 19th century.<sup>12</sup> It is impossible not to admire Tuai's determination to maintain his own customs and beliefs in the face of the powerful "civilising" campaign fought by the Church Missionary Society men with whom he was forced to spend much of his travelling time, and whom he wanted to woo. Nor can we help but feel appreciative of his genuine interest in teaching Pākehā about Māori life—something he did with generosity, pride and enthusiasm.

## NOTES

1. An exception is Wilson (1963, 1969, 1990).
2. These *whakapapa* are in the possession of Murphy Shortland of Kororāreka. Tai is mentioned by John White, *The Ancient History of the Maori, His Mythology and Traditions: Nga-Puhi*. [Vol. X, Chapter 9, English version], p. 102. Available at: <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Whi10EAnci-t1-body-d30.html> (accessed 13 July 2016).
3. According to Murphy Shortland, Ipipiri (the Bay of Islands) was settled by the Ngare Raumati people following their arrival there from other regions in the late 15th century. Throughout the years, Ngare Raumati "intermarried with Arawa, Ngati Maru, Te Tawera, Ngati Pou, Ngati Awa, Ngati Kahu, Ngati Hauata, Nga Manu, Ngati Wai, Te Urirata and Ngati Tu drawing together whanau [family] from as far distant as Whangapararua in the south and Mangonui in the north, thus forming the hapu of Taunga, Urihaku, Tawa, Ngati Kopae, Patu Tahi, Parepuha, Te Aketai, Ngati Taura and Ngati Taue" (Shortland 1995).
4. As Tuai's name does not appear on published *whakapapa* other than those written to reflect the Europeans' memory of Tuai, some relationships have to be inferred from other genealogical information about (his probable brother) Korokoro,

which is also scarce. The *whakapapa* on p. 137 of Sissons *et al.* (2001) shows Tūkawau as Korokoro's father; this relationship could also be inferred by the Northern Minute Books of the Māori Land Court (1905 vol. 36, p. 124) which does not mention Korokoro or Tuai by name. Other *whakapapa* in Sissons *et al.* (2001: 17, 46, 48, 50) suggest that Mauhikitia, son of Tūkawau, was Korokoro's (and Tuai's) father. According to Harry Maki Midwood, Korokoro and Mauhikitia were the same person: "The name Korokoro is the original given name of our tupuna [ancestor]. Mauhikitia was given when he was carried back by his brother from Katikati following his death" (pers. comm. 2 June 2016). If this was the case, Te Awhi (Mauhikitia's wife) was Korokoro's wife rather than his mother, as suggested in some genealogies.

5. Tītere is sometimes confused with the famous *rangatira* Titore of Kororāreka. See Parkinson (2012: 54).
6. Tuai and Tītere's original drawings are in GNZMMS 147, Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries, and Folder ACC14, Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, Records of the Church Missionary Society, University of Birmingham, UK.
7. The letters by Tuai and Tītere are housed in three collections: the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington, New Zealand; the Hocken Collection, University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand; and the Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, University of Birmingham. In a note on the back of a letter (ATL Thomas Tooi to Josiah Pratt, 26.6.1818) Francis Hall explained, "The words of these Letters are their own. I was their amanuensis, & put them down on a slate, from which they copied them; but they cannot read what they have written". See also Wilson (1969).
8. Silhouettes of Tuai and Tītere, Registration numbers 2006-0014-1/2 and 2006-0014-1/1 respectively. Te Papa Tongarewa, Museum of New Zealand. Artist unknown.
9. Harry Maki-Midwood states that "Hongi Hika was of the Ngapuhi nation and strictly speaking from junior lines of descent, both from Mataatua (Puhimoanaariki) and also from Mahuhukiterangi (Manaia) whereas Tui [Tuai] could claim senior descent directly from Manaia and Toi, both ancient lineages in the north" (pers. comm., 10 January 2016).
10. A number of copies (of varying accuracy) were made of Le Jeune's original sketches for publication in multiple volumes which often separated the plates from the text. The French title is *Voyage autour du monde : exécuté par ordre du roi, sur la corvette de Sa Majesté, la Coquille, pendant les années 1822, 1823, 1824, et 1825*. Paris, 1826. Material copied from Le Jeune, and from *La Coquille's* visit to the Bay of Islands, was also published in Germany: *Malerische Reise um die Welt*, vol. 1. Leipzig: Baumgartner, 1835, 1837.
11. For Ngare Raumati views expressed in the Maori Land Court Minutes in 1898 and 1905, see *NMB* 1898 vol. 25, vol. 26, *NMB* 1905 vol. 36. According to Harry Maki-Midwood (pers. comm., 10 January 2016): "The position of Te Ngare Raumati became untenable and many not directly descended from the hapū at Pāroa were compelled to move away. Eventually, to consolidate the various hapū most if not all of the hapū of Te Ngare Raumati moved off their ancestral lands.

In later years the Māori Land Court became a field of battle and representatives of the ancient lines resurfaced in an attempt to retain a foothold of these lands. However, the weight of public opinion and poorly informed Pākehā opinions were arrayed against the tribe. Eventually the main conductor of the Te Ngare Raumati case, Eru Maki, acquiesced and fell in with the Ngāpuhi position that there had in fact been a conquest of Te Ngare Raumati lands generally and that those of the tribe that remained in the area did so by virtue of intermarriage with the conquerors. Although portrayed as having gone over to his Ngāpuhi side, especially due to his evidence being pivotal in determining proper tenure of the area, I believe that Eru Maki acted in the only way possible to ensure that his people would retain at least a measure of mana whenua [‘authority over the land’] in their ancestral lands. Eru Maki stated: ‘I admit a combat but I did not suffer loss of prestige’. This statement is very telling in that Eru Maki represented Te Akitai, the people of Pāroa and by extension Te Ngare Raumati. Te Ngare Raumati, it was admitted and adduced through weight of evidence, had suffered a conquest; however, it was clear by all accounts, including those of Ngāpuhi, that Pāroa had been made exempt, due to certain whakapapa links into Ngāpuhi.”

12. For a more detailed account see Jones and Jenkins (forthcoming, 2017).

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#### ABSTRACT

Tuai of Ngare Raumati was probably the most written-about Māori in the first quarter of the 19th century. He was a man who lived in unstable times, who moved flexibly within European and Māori society, and who engaged with almost everyone he met, according to a French observer, with “the tact and shrewdness which enabled [him] to realise with whom he had to deal and by what means he could commend himself to all” (Dumont D’Urville in Sharp 1971: 38). His name—or a version of it—appears in most indexes of books about the pre-1830s Bay of Islands. But almost all modern references to him are in passing. Our article seeks to bring into focus this shadowy figure who played a significant role in New Zealand history, and in particular the relationships between Māori and the first Pākehā settlers in the north of New Zealand.

*Keywords:* Tuai, Tui, 19th-century Aotearoa New Zealand, Pākehā settlers, Ngare Raumati, Ngāpuhi, Bay of Islands

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