Henry Williams’ Leadership of the CMS Mission to New Zealand

SINCE the publication of Harrison Wright’s *New Zealand, 1769–1840 Early Years of Western Contact* in 1959 historians have debated the question: why did the Church Missionary Society missionaries in the Bay of Islands area begin to baptize a small but increasing number of Maoris in the early 1830s, after more than a decade of unfruitful labour? Was the sudden Maori interest in Christianity the result of acculturative changes in Maori society or was it the result of more effective proselytizing by the missionaries?¹ Although there has been considerable scholarly discussion of this question, only very cursory attention has been given to the leadership of Henry Williams, who was the most important personality among the CMS missionaries from 1823 to 1840. Without examining the impact of Williams’ leadership on the New Zealand mission in any detail, students of the period have expressed opinions on his role. A. H. McLintock argued that the arrival of Williams ‘revitalised the cause’,² whereas Wright claimed by contrast that the ‘new policies and new personnel of Henry Williams were at first no more effective than the earlier missionaries’ efforts had been’.³ Which of these views is closest to the truth?

When Henry Williams arrived at the Bay of Islands in August 1823 he was better prepared to cope with the hardships of life on an unrefined frontier than any of the CMS missionaries who had come to New Zealand before him. In his youth he had endured the rigorous life of a midshipman in the Royal Navy, and in preparation for his service with the CMS had acquired a number of practical skills that were to be valuable in New Zealand, including weaving and twining, shipbuilding, and some knowledge of medicine and surgery.⁴ In June 1822 Williams was ordained, both as deacon and priest, and the following year, at the age of 31, he assumed the leadership of the CMS mission to New Zealand.

Williams was taking over a mission that had been beset by crippling problems. CMS missionaries had been active in the Bay of Islands for nearly a decade, but they were still very dependent on the surrounding Maoris for their food and supplies. Both Thomas Kendall and John Butler had proved unsatisfactory leaders, and the mission was torn apart by
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bitter personal disputes. These antagonisms had paralyzed the work of the mission. The missionaries were not making a concerted effort to reach even the Maoris in the immediate area with their message. Williams was well aware of these problems, but he began his missionary work in the hope that ‘time will shew some happy alterations’; and his hope was realized.

Samuel Marsden, the founder of the CMS enterprise in New Zealand, made his fourth visit to the Bay of Islands in 1823 and he diagnosed the failure of the mission largely in terms of the personal inadequacies of the missionaries. But Williams, who arrived from Port Jackson with Marsden, became increasingly aware that the troubles of the mission ran deeper. He realized that the individual missionaries were ineffective because the mission was badly organized. Determined and obdurate to the point of intolerance, Williams provided the strength of character the mission so badly needed, and under his leadership it was gradually reorganized until it became an effective operating unit.

During his first years in New Zealand, however, Williams was preoccupied with the most immediate problems that faced the mission. Apart from the task of settling his family at Paihia, he directed his efforts towards rendering the mission independent of outside sources of supplies. In Williams’ opinion relations between missionaries like Kendall and Butler and the captains of some of the visiting ships had become too cordial for the good of the mission, and so he resolved to reduce the missionaries’ contact with ships and seamen to a minimum. Williams also wanted to see the missionaries less dependent on the Bay Maoris for their food supplies, and most of all he wanted to stop the musket trade. Achieving all of these objectives was made possible by building the 50-ton schooner, Herald, at Paihia. This vessel, built under Williams’ direction, was completed in 1826, and it enabled the missionaries to collect supplies from other parts of the North Island and from New South Wales. The Herald not only alleviated the physical needs of the mission, but, as a link with the outside world, it also provided some mitigation of the mental and spiritual consequences of the members’ isolated situation in the Bay of Islands.

During the first couple of years, then, Williams concentrated on the practical problems of the mission and on regulating its trading relationships. At the same time he was thinking about the methods being used by the missionaries to carry out their essential task of evangelizing the Maoris. By the beginning of 1826 he had reached some conclusions and began to advocate changes in the organization of the mission. He stated and defended his ideas in a series of letters to the CMS in 1826 and during March and April of the same year he tested them out with Marsden at Port Jackson.

Williams had decided that it was time for the New Zealand mission to get its priorities right. He argued that the emphasis that had been placed under Marsden on teaching the Maoris civil arts and agriculture was misguided. He came to this conclusion partly because the ‘Natives possess
food and raiment in abundance' and partly because 'In all our efforts to civilise, they do not perceive that we have any views beyond that of benefitting ourselves'.

Williams therefore lamented the fact that the general tenor of the instructions given to most members of the mission emphasized the need to civilize the Maori rather than 'preaching, studying and translating'. The majority of the members of the mission had duties to attend to which, in Williams' opinion, were not at all essential. He considered that it was necessary to reduce the amount of time spent on secular pursuits in order to give increased attention 'to the one thing needful' — that is, the spiritual instruction of the Maoris. 'You will perceive', wrote Williams to the CMS, 'that while in other fields the seed of the word of life has been scattered — here the main toil has been for that bread which satisfieth not.'

Williams was soon to realize that his ideas were somewhat different from those of the founder of the mission. Marsden had established the New Zealand mission on the principle that 'civilization', through the teaching of agriculture and 'useful arts', was necessary to pave the way for the introduction of the Gospel among the Maoris. The changes that Williams advocated in 1826 were not so much 'a reversal of policy' as a change of emphasis. For both Marsden and Williams the ultimate goal was the same — to evangelize the Maori — and like most evangelical missionaries both Marsden and Williams were unable to isolate the Christian message from the context of their own culture. But while Marsden had placed a great emphasis on the importance of secular instruction, Williams wanted the missionaries to devote more time to spiritual teaching.

Having outlined what he considered the primary objective of the mission should be, its leader went on to outline the ways in which this objective could be achieved. Realizing that it was impossible to communicate with the Maoris without becoming fluent in their language, Williams decided that the first, and most important, task of the missionaries should be a concerted and systematic effort to learn Maori. This would seem to be an obvious conclusion, and yet hitherto the efforts made to learn the Maori language had been haphazard. Because it was painstaking and time-consuming work, Williams knew that substantial and regular amounts of time would have to be devoted to learning Maori: it could not be the essentially spare time activity that it had been in the past. He also recognized that, having mastered their language, the missionaries still had to make regular contact with the Maoris in order to have any chance of impressing Christian concepts on their minds. This regular contact was to be achieved in two ways: first, by regular itineration in the surrounding areas and preaching, particularly to adults; and, second, by gathering as many of the younger people into schools on the mission stations where they could receive regular instruction. As with the learning of the Maori language these things were already being done by the missionaries but not in the systematic way that Williams envisaged.

In order to implement this strategy efficiently Williams wanted to
concentrate the personnel of the mission at as few stations as possible. He thought that the minimal requirement should be not to establish any new stations for the present, and once he even advocated the concentration of the whole missionary strength at one station.\(^{14}\) By concentrating a number of members at one station, one person could attend to the secular duties, leaving the remainder free to carry out the work of evangelism. If, however, there were only two missionaries at each of a number of stations their temporal duties would prevent them from spending much time either together in learning the language and visiting Maori villages, or singly in educating the children. Moreover, if there were only two members at a station and they both went out preaching in the surrounding area the station would be left unattended, which Williams felt was unwise. By having six members at Paihia, Henry Williams’ brother, William Williams, was able to report in June 1826 that two of the missionaries could run the schools while, from Monday to Wednesday each week, one pair was to visit the Taiamai area\(^{15}\) and another pair the Kawakawa area: and then, for the remainder of the week, all met together to study the Maori language.\(^{16}\) On the other hand, on one occasion when William Williams and William Fairburn were left alone at Paihia the former noted that all their time was taken up on the station and they were unable to visit the surrounding areas.\(^{17}\)

Henry Williams was convinced that by concentrating its personnel the mission could be made more effective, and most of the New Zealand members agreed with him, at least in theory. But Williams’ plans were opposed, both by Marsden, who disagreed with the new approach, and on occasions by individual missionaries, who were unenthusiastic about making the personal changes that Williams’ policies demanded. This opposition meant that the leader of the mission was unable to apply his concepts either easily or completely. Williams and Marsden disagreed over the placement of William Williams when he arrived in New Zealand in 1826. In this case Henry Williams’ opinion prevailed and, instead of founding a new station at Kawakawa, William remained at Paihia. There the two brothers formed what was probably the most close-knit and effective missionary team in New Zealand before 1840, and they undoubtedly achieved far more together than they would have done separately. They were complementary personalities, with Henry contributing practicality and energy and William contributing learning and linguistic ability. On other organizational questions, however, Williams could not get his views accepted. In 1828 he advocated abandoning the Rangihoua mission, but Marsden was opposed to giving up the station, and so was James Shepherd, one of the two missionaries who would have to be re-located if Williams’ views were accepted. After a drawn-out and sometimes acrimonious dispute a compromise was reached. Largely at Marsden’s instigation, the Rangihoua station was re-located at Te Puna, the more potentially agricultural land lying on the western side of the Rangihoua pa.\(^{18}\) It was also Marsden’s enthusiasm for the project that resulted...
in a new station being established at Waimate in 1830 especially to provide agricultural instruction for the Maoris. Williams remained unconvinced about the importance of agricultural teaching but acquiesced to this venture with the comment that ‘farming is one of Mr Marsden’s hobbies’.  

The New Zealand mission did not always develop in conformity with the ideas of its leader, and yet by the late 1820s Williams had done much to make the mission run more efficiently than it had done before his arrival. Prior to 1823 it had proved impossible, for example, to hold regular and effective committee meetings. Williams quickly noted this fact and was determined to rectify it. Accordingly, by the middle of 1824 these meetings had become both efficient and regular. Williams told London that ‘Our committee Meetings are becoming more as they ought to be: they do not occupy nearly so much time as on our first arrival, and tend, I hope to strengthen the bond of union so desirable’. These meetings were of great psychological value to the missionaries because, as well as being spiritually uplifting, they provided an opportunity to settle any differences that had arisen between the members. ‘After passing two days together each month’, wrote Williams, ‘we return to our respective places with redoubled courage.’ He also claimed that their Maori neighbours had not failed to notice that the mission was now a united force.

Not only were meetings of all the missionaries held; the work of each station was also made much more methodical. Prior to 1823, itineration, teaching in schools for the Maoris, and learning the Maori language were all intermittent activities; but under Williams the hours and days at Paihia were regularly apportioned to these tasks. This work was also more consistently carried out at the other stations after 1823, even though the missionaries were still involved in a considerable amount of secular labour. The organization of their time enabled the missionaries to leave their settlements with greater regularity. Whereas Butler had visited the interior Taiamai-Waimate area only four times in three years, the brethren at Paihia felt sufficiently well organized by 1826 for a weekly visit to be made. Not only were such visits made more frequently, but also much more ground was covered. At this stage in the development of the mission itinerant preaching was vital, for although most Maoris were unwilling to leave their homes to gain a missionary education they were reasonably willing to listen to the missionaries preaching in their villages. This work was also beneficial to missionary morale because, unlike the often frustrating secular labour, it appeared to be directly relevant to their calling.

These organizational measures taken by Williams made a significant contribution to the development of greater harmony within the mission. He was glad to be able to report to the CMS in 1825 that the ‘general feeling through the Mission seems far more pleasing than has been experienced since our arrival on the Island’. Differences of opinion did develop in the late 1820s but they were never as serious as those before Williams’ arrival. William Yate, who arrived in the Bay of Islands in 1828, had been warned in New South Wales that ‘there was nothing but quarrels
and disturbances' among the missionaries in New Zealand. But after 'more than eight weeks jealous watchfulness' he concluded that 'There never was a little society more united than that of the society in the Bay of Islands'.

Perhaps the most important product of Williams' reorganization of the mission was the progress made in learning the Maori language and in translating religious texts. Under Williams the missionaries were able to draw on the earlier work of others, particularly that of Thomas Kendall. But before 1823 the study of the Maori language was greatly hindered by the fact that it was done by the unco-ordinated efforts of individuals. Now the members of each station devoted regular amounts of time together to studying the language and translating texts. In two months out of every three all the members met to correlate their findings. After he arrived in 1826, William Williams' talent for languages gave great impetus to the missionaries' efforts to learn Maori. By the middle of the following year Henry Williams was feeling more confident of his ability to converse in Maori, and in October 1827 Richard Davis returned from Sydney with the first printed copies of sections of the Bible in Maori. Then on 7 September 1828 the Litany was read for the first time in the Maori language. During the following years progress continued and it is perhaps not surprising that a later visitor to the Bay claimed that one of the CMS catechists was more fluent in Maori than in English.

Closely associated with, and very much dependent on the language work were the efforts made to establish Maori schools on a regular basis. Schools for Maori children were run from the year of the founding of the mission, but from 1815 to 1823 they existed only intermittently and the number of pupils fluctuated greatly. Williams attached great importance to education and after his arrival Maori education in the mission was revitalized. It became a central part of missionary work. As had been the case before his arrival, the Bell monitorial system was used in mission schools. This system had two advantages in the New Zealand situation: it required little equipment and it facilitated the teaching of a maximum number of pupils with a minimum number of teachers. While attendance continued to vary throughout the 1820s, schools were held regularly and continuously at all stations. The education of Maori children was seen as an investment in the future by the missionaries, and through the children they hoped to influence the parents. At first many Maoris undoubtedly saw the skills they acquired at mission schools 'to be more a novelty than a benefit', but gradually a change became apparent. The missionaries were delighted with the success of their first public examination held at the end of 1828 and they reported it as evidence of the progress that had been made in the schools.

If Ralph Linton was right when he argued that for acculturation to occur individuals of different cultures must be in 'continuous first-hand contact', then it seems unlikely that the CMS missionaries would have had any impact until their message had made sustained contact with the Maoris. The missionaries recognized this fact when they said that the
Maoris needed ‘line upon line and precept upon precept’ before Christianity would make any progress amongst them. Or, as William Williams put it, ‘It will not be sufficient to go once and away to these natives, they look for our regular return every week’. The organizational changes made under Williams were designed to enable more consistent communication between missionary and Maori.

Before Williams arrived the missionaries were often not even communicating among themselves, let alone combining in a co-ordinated effort to acquaint the Maoris with Christian ideas. Before 1823 the Christian message was being expounded only among those Maoris in immediate proximity to the mission stations, and even then by missionaries who had insufficient knowledge of the Maori language to convey their ideas accurately. Furthermore the Maoris were undoubtedly aware of the dissension that divided the missionaries, just as they became aware of the new unity under Williams. By conducting a well-organized campaign, a larger number of Maoris from a wider area were brought into continual contact with missionary teaching which was conveyed to them in their own language. By the late 1820s the missionaries began to notice that Maori attitudes towards them were changing and more attention was being paid to their teaching. Inasmuch as one can generalize about the Maoris of the Bay area, the missionaries’ position amongst them had considerably improved by 1830. Missionaries were being invited as honoured guests at hahunga feasts, and to accompany war expeditions as mediators. Larger attendances and greater responsiveness were noticed in the schools and the missionaries began to attract larger audiences when they went preaching in the villages. But most importantly for the missionaries increasing numbers of Maoris were presenting themselves as candidates for baptism.

Williams’ re-organization of the mission was not only important in making the Maoris aware of Christian concepts, but also when the desire for the missionaries’ teaching began to develop among the Maoris it was crucial that the mission was in a position to cater to that demand. Even if the Maoris had shown much desire for instruction prior to 1823 it is doubtful if significant progress could have been made, for the mission was not sufficiently well organized to provide teaching or printed material on any scale. By 1830, however, the groundwork had been done on the language and when, later in the decade, facilities for printing became available, the mission was able to produce the books to meet the growing Maori demand.

Maoris from other parts of the North Island also began to request that missionaries be sent among them, and the establishment of new stations to the south in the 1830s was an expression of confidence in the strength of the mission in the Bay of Islands. As William Williams said to Thomas Chapman in 1833 as they walked together to an outlying village, ‘we have confidence in all around us — now we use our wings and enjoy flying’. In February 1834 a meeting of missionaries in the Bay of Islands estab-
lished regulations for the systematic running of the new stations. The same methods that had been tested and proved in the north were to be used when new ventures were established in the south.

Perhaps as important as Williams' policies in strengthening the mission was his personality. As well as providing vigorous leadership for the missionaries he acquired increasing mana among the Maoris. The fact that he was able to interfere in inter-tribal disputes and sometimes managed to negotiate a peace between hostile groups was both a cause and a consequence of his prestige among the Maoris. Only a person of considerable prestige would be invited to settle a conflict peacefully and it required even greater prestige to be successful. Clearly people will more readily accept a new culture element if it is advocated by someone whom they respect. It was not by accident that the first important Maori leaders who befriended and supported the missionaries in the 1820s had a strong personal relationship with Williams. Nor was it an accident that Tawhanga, the first healthy chief of importance to be baptized, was likewise closely associated with Williams. The baptism of the first leading chief in the Bay area was particularly significant because of the crucial role that the chiefs played in determining the attitudes of the people to the missionaries. The first baptisms of both children and adults who were not suffering from critical sickness (apart from that of 1823) also occurred at Paihia in 1829 and 1830 respectively.

‘Only rare individuals had the temperament to be successful mediators of European ideas in a Maori environment’: and Williams was one of those individuals. His sister-in-law was probably not exaggerating when she wrote in a letter to a friend that there was not ‘another individual in the mission who possesses so much influence with the natives nor the same talent for managing them as [Henry] does and these talents and influence are in ... constant requisition’. Williams' personal abilities were largely responsible for the fact that the Maoris began to place a trust in the missionaries that they placed in no other Europeans, visiting or resident, and the growth of respect for the missionaries led to increased attention to their ideas.

The time spent by Williams mediating between warring tribes helped to facilitate the efforts of the missionaries to spread their message. They wanted to bring peace and stability to Maori society because they believed that warfare was both wasteful and destructive, and also because the continual state of hostility and the constant movement of hapu made the task of evangelizing difficult. The Maoris, for their part, could not always comprehend the complex doctrinal ideas expounded by the missionaries, but the exhortation to give up warfare was easily understood. Williams thought that the inter-tribal hostilities were, at least to some extent, providential. ‘These disturbances’, he wrote, ‘bring us in closer contact with [the Maoris] — and we are thereby enabled to give our message wide circulation — natives from distant parts are brought within hearing.’

It might be argued that Williams' policies were of limited significance.
because the mission faced a much easier situation by the mid-1820s than it had faced in 1814. There is some truth to this point, although it is difficult to determine to what extent the improved circumstances were a result of factors beyond Williams’ control and how much they were the result of his own efforts. For instance, it is very probable that the extreme physical and mental isolation felt by the missionaries in the first years was not experienced after 1823. This could have been simply because there were more missionaries and visiting ships were more frequent, so that the members of the mission had contact with a greater number of Europeans. On the other hand, Williams’ building of the Herald and the policy of concentrating a number of missionaries at one station also contributed to the breakdown of isolation.

It could also be claimed that Williams was successful in stopping intertribal warfare in 1828 merely because of the growing war-weariness amongst the Bay Maoris and the desire on the part of some chiefs for peace in the unsettled situation that followed the death of the old war-monger, Hongi. In other words, Maori society was becoming more malleable, thus facilitating the acceptance of missionary ideas about peace. Yet it was equally true that Williams had the particular personal characteristics that enabled him to capitalize on the circumstances that were presented to him. The peace-making of 1828 was not only critical ‘because he was asked’, but also because Williams was willing to meet the situation. He was prepared to go across to Hokianga and mediate with the disputing parties while most of the other missionaries (with the notable exception of Davis) produced excuses for not accompanying him. He was, as FitzRoy observed, one of the ‘most daring’ of the missionaries.

This article is not intended to present an either/or proposition. That is, Maoris’ ‘going mihinere’ should not be seen either as just the result of changes in Maori society, or solely in terms of the development of missionary organization under Williams’ leadership. The role of Williams has been re-emphasized here because it was virtually dismissed by Harrison Wright and his followers. Wright’s thesis was advanced partly in reaction to earlier works which were loud in their praises of the personal influence of individual missionaries. But, at least in the case of Williams, the reaction has been too extreme. His leadership was a very important, although not the only factor in Maori interest in Christianity. Obviously a new set of beliefs will not become acceptable until a need for them exists, and such a need is often the result of the intrusion of new social forces that create dissatisfaction with older beliefs. It is also clear that there was a period of relative indifference to missionary teaching on the part of the Maoris in the Bay of Islands. What has been argued here is that the breakdown of that indifference was as much a result of Williams’ personality, leadership and policies as changes in Maori society.

This discussion raises an old problem: is the course of history determined by important individuals or by broad social processes? Fortunately we are not obliged to choose between the two, for in history in general,
and in this case in particular, results are produced by the combination of a number of factors. Even Wright has admitted that ‘about 1830 the combination of the Maori desire for leadership and the missionary desire to lead began to show effects in the increased number of baptisms’.\textsuperscript{59} Those who emphasize Maori social change have to concede the role of missionary policy, just as those who emphasize Williams’ leadership have to remember the process of acculturation. In attempting to account for the progress of the CMS mission to New Zealand in terms of increased Maori interest in Christianity, one must be satisfied with multiple causes. But one of the causes which was important was undoubtedly the leadership of Henry Williams.

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NOTES

5 A detailed account of the development of discord within the mission prior to 1823 is given in Binney, \textit{The Legacy of Guilt}, ch. iii and passim.
6 H. Williams to Church Missionary Society (CMS) Secretary, 21 November 1823, Henry Williams, Letters of Henry Williams (L of HW), II, typescripts, Auckland Institute and Museum (AIM).
7 H. Williams to CMS Secretary, 25 July 1831, L of HW, II.
8 H. Williams to CMS Secretary, 15 May 1826, L of HW, I.
9 loc. cit.
10 H. Williams, 1 April 1826, Letters and Papers of Henry and Marianne Williams and William and Jane Williams, Paihia (L and P), AIM.
11 H. Williams to CMS Secretary, 15 May 1826, L of HW, I.
13 The basic sources for the previous three paragraphs are H. Williams, 1 April 1826, L and P; H. Williams to CMS Secretary, 15 May 1826, L of HW, I. See also W. Williams, 2 June 1826, L and P.
14 H. Williams, 14 December 1826, Henry Williams and others, Letters, 1822–1864, ms copies, accession number 81753, Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL).
15 This name is no longer in use and the area is difficult to locate accurately, but it probably lies near Ohaeawai. See Lawrence M. Rogers, ed., \textit{The Early Journals of Henry Williams Senior Missionary in New Zealand of the Church Missionary Society, 1826–1840}, Christchurch, 1961, p. 31, n. 2.
16 W. Williams, 20 June 1826, L and P.
17 W. Williams, Journal, 10 November 1827, Journal of William Williams (J of WW), typescript, AIM.
18 For a more detailed account of this dispute see Fisher, ‘Henry Williams’ Leadership’, pp. 52–56.
19 H. Williams, 25 May 1830, L and P.
20 H. Williams to CMS Secretary, 10 November 1823, L of HW, I.
21 H. Williams to CMS Secretary, 9 July 1824, L of HW, I.
22 H. Williams, 9 August 1827, L and P.
23 loc. cit.
H. Williams to CMS Secretary, 16 October 1826, L of HW, I; William Williams, *Christianity Among the New Zealanders*, London, 1867, p. 68.


See for example, William Yate, Journal, 26 February 1829, CMS Archives, C.N./099(b), microfilm, ATL.

H. Williams to CMS Secretary, 31 March 1825, L of HW, I.

Yate to CMS Secretary, 17 March 1828, CMS Archives C.N./099(a); see also George Clarke to CMS Secretary, 10 September 1836, CMS Archives, C.N./M9.

H. Williams, 18 June 1827, William family, Letters from New Zealand, 1825–1864, ms copies, accession number 81750, ATL.


Robert FitzRoy, *Narrative of the Surveying Voyages of His Majesty's Ships Adventure and Beagle, between the Years 1826 and 1836, Describing their Examination of the Southern Shores of South America and the Beagle's Circumnavigation of the Globe*, London, 1839, II, 589.


John King to CMS Secretary, 9 November 1826, CMS Archives, C.N./054.

W. Williams, 6 February 1829, L and P; Yate, Journal, 10 December 1828, CMS Archives, C.N./099(b). See also Marianne Williams, 26 December 1829, L and P.


See for example King to CMS Secretary, 1 December 1820 and 9 November 1826, CMS Archives, C.N./054; Yate to CMS Secretary, 14 April 1829, CMS Archives, C.N./099(a).

W. Williams, 20 June 1826, L and P.

H. Williams, 9 August 1827, L and P.

Yate, Journal, 14 April 1829, CMS Archives, C.N./099(a); Binney, *Christianity and the Maoris*, p. 144.

These were held at the disinterring and cleansing of the bones of the dead, see Binney, *Christianity and the Maoris*, p. 149 and n. 26; Hamlin, Journal, 28 May 1828, James Hamlin, Journal, 1826–1837, microfilm, ATL; H. Williams, Journal, 21 and 22 April 1829, in Rogers, ed., *Early Journals*, p. 153.

For figures on Maori baptisms in the Bay of Islands area during the 1830s see Fisher, *Henry Williams' Leadership*, facing p. 126; and Binney, *Christianity and the Maoris*, p. 158.

Chapman to CMS Secretary, 14 September 1833, Thomas Chapman, Letters and Journals from Thomas Chapman (Missionary at Rotoroa) to Church Missionary Society, London, 1830–1869, I, typescript, AIM.


Paihia was either in the territory of Te Koki, a Kawakawa chief, who Williams claimed was their 'liege lord', or Tohitapu, the chief of a Roroa enclave within Kawakawa territory who is a prominent character in Williams' journals. For a discussion of this question see Fisher, *Henry Williams' Leadership*, p. 74, n. 4.
Taiwhanga was a chief of the Uriohau hapu of Ngapuhi who lived at Kaikohe and Waimate, and was one of Hongi’s leading fighting chiefs. See Rogers, ed., *Early Journals*, p. 68, n. 65.

Owens, ‘Christianity and the Maoris to 1840’, p. 36.

Jane Williams to Mrs Heathcote, 29 March 1836, Williams Family, Letters, ms, AIM.

W. Williams, Journal, 20 September 1826, J of WW, I; Brown, Journal, 1 April 1828, Letters of the Rev. A. N. Brown to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, 27 May 1829 to 31 May 1833, typescript, AIM; Busby to Governor Arthur, 16 August 1833, Letters from James Busby (official) 1833–1870, ms, AIM.

H. Williams to CMS Secretary, 3 May 1831, L of HW, II.


FitzRoy, II, 575.

See Binney, ‘Christianity and the Maoris’, p. 164.

ibid, p. 161, n. 87.

Wright, p. 152.