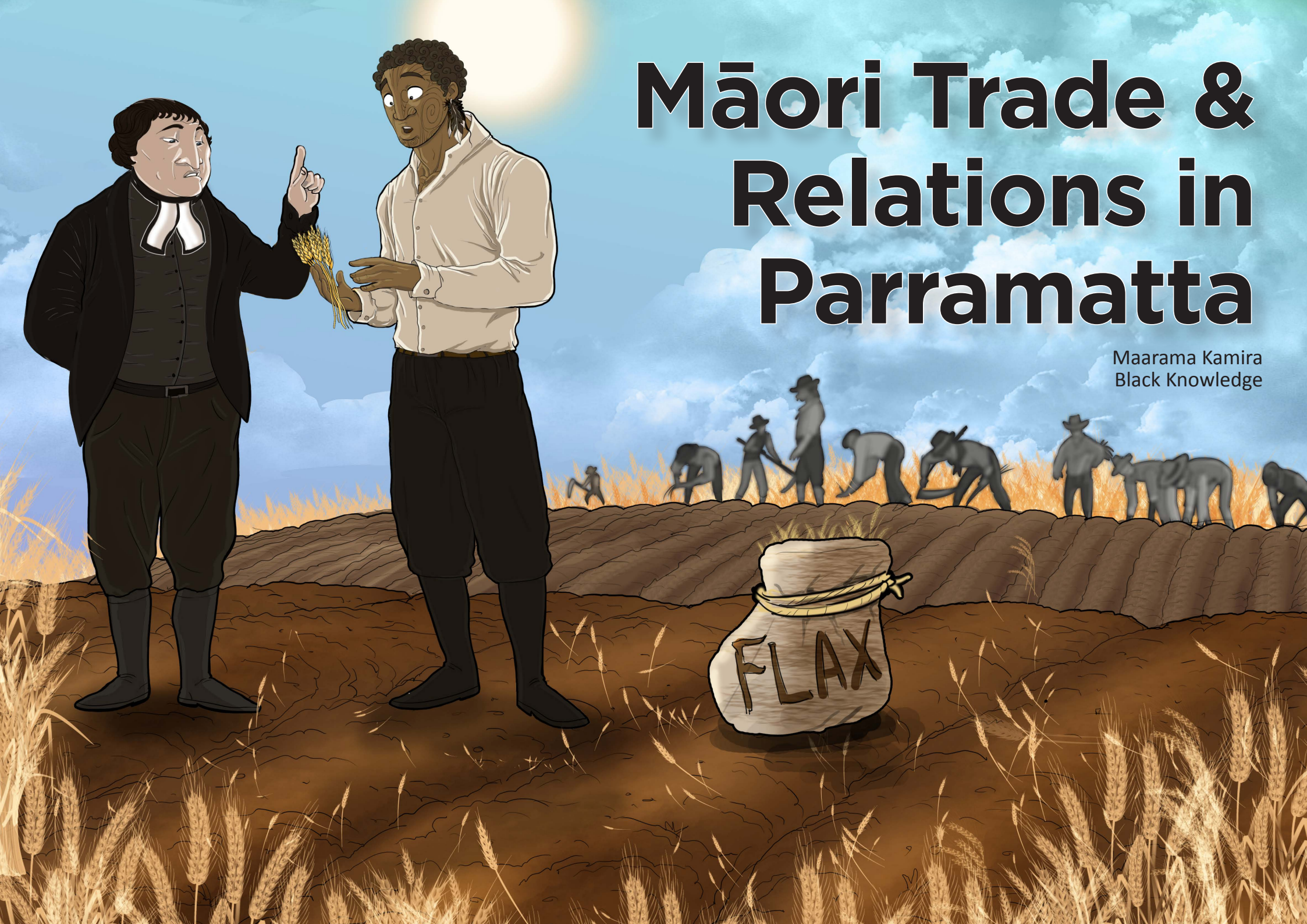


Māori Trade & Relations in Parramatta

Maarama Kamira
Black Knowledge



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FRONT COVER:

Ruatara and Marsden at the farm.
Illustration by Moanaroa Te Whata.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS



FROM THE CITY OF PARRAMATTA

The City of Parramatta is very proud to support our local community to share their stories of culture, heritage and connection to place.

In 2014, we started working with the local Māori community to explore the very early stories of how Māori came to Parramatta in the early 1800s and established relationships with the people of this place.

The release of this publication, researched and written by Maarama Kamira, reveals the details of these encounters which profoundly shaped Māori life on many fronts.

We encourage these stories to be shared with family and friends, far and wide, to foster cultural identity, knowledge and pride.

We are pleased to share this free publication online and hard copies of this publication are also available from the State Library of New South Wales, National Library of Australia and libraries in New Zealand.

FROM THE AUTHOR

I firstly wish to acknowledge the traditional custodians of the land that is now known as Parramatta. Their's is the mana, the ihi and the wehi and without their tautoko this report would never have been written. Always was and always will be, no matter how many times this report mentions 'grants' and land ownership.

I also wish to acknowledge my tupuna, te uri o Rahiri - Te Pahi, Hongi Hika, Ruatara and others; our people who continued the great migration; and down to my own parents who left their footprints in the Parramatta region.

I would also like to thank Michelle Desailly from City of Parramatta for her unwavering patience and support, Di Carvell, Melinda Loe and Kotahi Tourism for editing and pictures, Myles Maniapoto, who researched tirelessly and located our taonga pounamu and Dr Carol Liston, whose advice has been invaluable and of course my whaea's Marcia Hau and Robyn Tarau who sat through hours of brainstorming and listening to me go on and on, Nga Uri o Rahiri and their assistance to the City of Parramatta in ensuring the viability of this project. Lastly a huge mihi to my Elders from the Runanga o Iwi Nga Puhi. Their visit to Parramatta in October 2014 and their tautoko and aroha gave me the strength and conviction to complete this mahi.

Finally my own family, my husband Craig who researched and gave valuable cultural advice and Tyrell and Ngioka, my own Māori/Koori tamariki. As we as Māori/Aussies, negotiate our place between a multiplicity of cultures and countries may we always remember the bravery, entrepreneurship and sacrifices our tupuna made and our iwi are still making as we forge our way in Ahiterereia.

Kia kaha, kia maia, kia manawanui

Maarama Kamira

(Nga Puhi, Te Rarawa, Te Aupouri, Ngati Whakaue, Ngati Kanguru)



Ceremony for Mary Bruce Whitlam Institute 23 October 2014 with the author.

Source: Kotahi Tourism.

NOTES ON RESEARCH

Historical narratives become problematic when rigorous research has not been conducted. What is mythologised, if repeated often enough, is taken as fact. This has been the main issue that has surrounded the history of Māori in Parramatta. The mythologising of alleged sons of 'Chiefs' who resided somewhere in Parramatta and were courted by Marsden (known by Māori as Te Matenga), has been told and retold. The recollections of JB Marsden (no relation) in his 1858 book on Samuel Marsden, has been retold so many times, it has been taken as fact. Some of those early books contain inaccuracies, which have been repeated in later writings.

There is a persistent belief that Marsden operated a specific Seminary from 1814 to 1827 for the sons of Māori 'Chiefs'; that Māori died in Parramatta and were buried at the seminary; and that Marsden gave land to Māori. The clues to Marsden's actual relationship with Māori can be found in Marsden's own writings to the Head of the Christian Missionary Society (CMS) in London, Josiah Pratt. This correspondence survives in the archives at Otago University. As Pratt was Marsden's 'boss' it is difficult to say whether he embellished his successes and downplayed his defeats. The truth lies somewhere in between and is a colourful story of the early days of the Colony and the unique role Māori played.

Marsden also lived at two parsonages, the first on the corner of Church and George Street, and the second on the site of what is now Parramatta Girls High School. It was in these houses that Marsden hosted Chiefs such as Hongi Hika, Koro Koro, Kawiti and Ruatara.

In this report, at all times, primary information was sourced. Most of the information discussed comes from newspaper articles of the day which can be sourced at nla.gov.au/trove. From here you can see the articles digitised

on line. If you are like me, you probably won't trust those sources, so you can call up the original papers at the National Library of Australia.

Sources such as The Sydney Gazette and the prosaically named Cumberland Argus and Fruitgrowers Advocate, provided a plethora of information of our contact in Parramatta.

Similarly, the New South Wales Archives holds the original documents regarding Mary Bruce's marriage and the relevant census information. To access these go to archives.nsw.gov.au. The relevant documents are not on line but can be called up at the Kingswood Depot.

All letters between Reverend Samuel Marsden and Josiah Pratt, the Head of the Church Missionary Society in London, come from original documents which are held online at Otago University and can be accessed (originals and transcribed) at marsdenarchive.otago.ac.nz.

My belief the land that Ruatara farmed is either at Smith's Grant Cumberland Hospital Precinct or South Creek (Mamre Homestead, Mamre Rd, St Marys) arises from the Land Holders in the Colony at 1813, which was crossed referenced with the map of the Plan of Allotments of Ground granted from the Crown in New South Wales, 1814. D22 on this map, the area now known as Rangihou Reserve, was owned in 1814 by Messers Thomas Haddock, J. Piper and J. Townsend.

This paper is by no means definitive. It is open for debate and further research.

Ti hei mauriora.

INTRODUCTION

This research was commissioned to tell some of the earliest known stories of Māori trade and relations with Parramatta for the purpose of raising awareness, within the Māori and wider community, of the long association and connections Māori have with Parramatta.

This project focused on researching and understanding Māori trade and relation connections in agriculture, textiles, business, religion, culture and enterprise in Parramatta during the colonial period. It has been over 200 years since Māori visited and stayed in Parramatta. Such encounters had a significant influence on the lives of the people, and their descendants. The colonists, including Samuel Marsden, also deeply impacted Koori people's traditional lives, clans and culture.

This research has revealed that Parramatta has a rich and unique relationship with Māori spanning approximately 209 years. This relationship is underpinned by the encounters and exchanges that took place between a range of individuals that are detailed in this report, particularly Marsden who remains an important figure in both the Australian and New Zealand narrative. Such relationships have had profound impacts on the development of the colonial empire in Australia and the way of life of Māori in Aotearoa.

Marsden's relationship with Māori directly or indirectly paved the way for wheat, farming tools, the Anglican religion and guns, being brought to New Zealand. Moreover, the research revealed the United Tribes Māori Flag, the very first flag of New Zealand, that proclaimed New Zealand's nationhood, was likely to have been made in Parramatta.

The suburb of Paremata, in Porirua, Wellington, was named for Parramatta. The research has revealed the relationship with New Zealand and Māori in particular involves various sites across Parramatta and many of Parramatta's significant colonial sites such as St John's Church, Parramatta Town Hall, Old Government House, Old Kings School, Prince Alfred Park, the Female Orphan School, the Parramatta Female Factory Precinct and possibly the head of the river. Parramatta (Old Kings School Cricket Ground) was also the site of the very first International All Blacks Game in 1893!

The perception of Māori migration to Australia being a relatively new concept is clearly incorrect. Māori have been a documented part of Australia since the beginning of the Colony, playing significant roles in the formation of Port Jackson (Sydney) and Parramatta.

GLOSSARY OF PEOPLE AND TERMS

Māori

The original people of Aotearoa, New Zealand. Migrated from Hawakiinui around 7AD. Although described as one people, Māori make up many separate iwi.

Iwi

Nation or people groups. Each iwi have subtribes.

Ngā Puhi

Northern tribe of New Zealand from the Te Tai Tokerau

The house of Ngā puhi stretches from Tāmaki Makaurau (Auckland) in the south to Cape Reinga in the north, its walls are the sub-tribes: Ngāti Whatua in the south, Te Rārawa in the west, Te Aupouri in the north and Ngāti Kahu in the east, Ngāpuhi holds the centre of the House, and the mountains of significance within Ngāpuhi are the pillars or poupu, which hold the ridgepole aloft. (ngapuhi.iwi.nz/ngapuhi-history.aspx)

Runanaga a iwi o Ngā Puhi

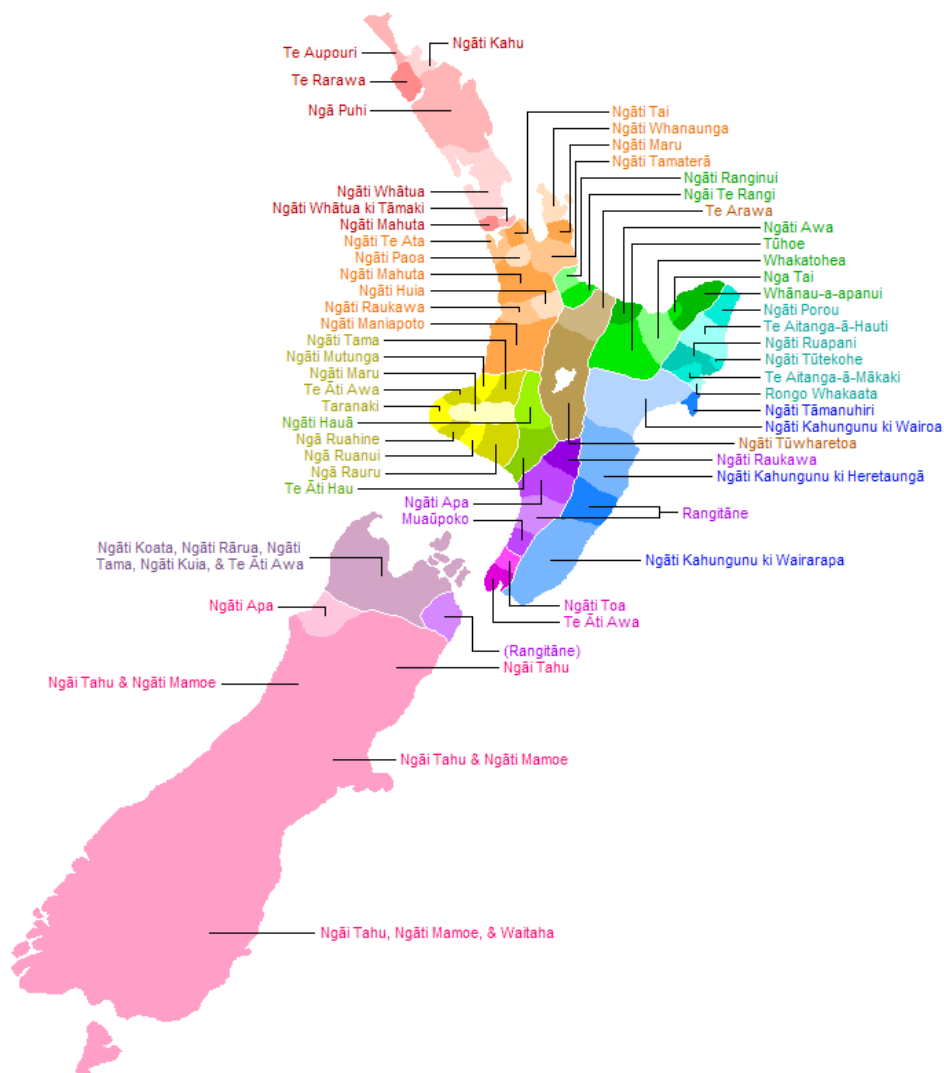
The tribal council of people of Ngā Puhi. See ngapuhi.iwi.nz

Hongi Hika 1772 – 1828

Ngā Puhi leader, trader, military campaigner and traveller.

Travelled to Poihakena with Marsden in 1814. Resided in Parramatta with Marsden. Carved a bust of himself for Marsden.

Hongi Hika was the architect of the Musket Wars. He travelled to England in 1820 with Missionary Thomas Kendall and Chief Waikato. There they attended Cambridge University where they wrote the first Māori Dictionary. It is also said that Hongi Hika was also interested in obtaining the thousand upon thousands of guns that he had heard were stored in the Tower of London.



Source: <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:IwiMap.png>

Ruatara ? – 1815

Ngā Puhi leader, traveller, seaman, agriculturalist

Ruatara was one of the first Ngā Puhi to have contact with Europeans. In 1805, Ruatara left New Zealand and travelled to England as a seaman on the whaling ship, *Argo*. For the next four years he served on various whaling ships. Marsden travelled to England to gain support for his mission and on the returning ship, *Ann*, met Ruatara who was in ill health as a result of neglect and beatings from his previous ship mates. Marsden cared for Ruatara and invited him to reside with him at Parramatta. Ruatara studied agriculture and carpentry. According to correspondence from Marsden to Josiah Pratt in 1810, Marsden had set aside land for Ruatara to farm. The location of this land is either at Smiths Grant (now part of the Cumberland hospital site at the head of the river) in Parramatta or at South Creek (now Mamre, Mamre Road, St Clair).

Marsden believed Ruatara's father was Kaparu, the youngest brother of Te Pahi and his mother was Hongi Hika's sister.

Ruatara facilitated Marsden's first journey to New Zealand but was never completely comfortable with the idea of them settling in New Zealand. Ruatara had been warned in Poihakena the missionaries were the forerunners of settlers and soldiers and would reduce Māori to the conditions of Koori.

Ruatara fell ill on 13 February 1815 in New Zealand, with a fever and the symptoms of a cold. Marsden assisted in nursing him, however he died on 2 March 1815.

Te Pahi ? – 1810

(Ngā Puhi, Te Hikutu) leader, traveller, father of Te Atahoe, grandfather of Mary Bruce

Te Pahi (written as Tippahee) was one of the senior chiefs of the north-western Bay of Islands. He is described as the most influential chief to visit Poihakena. In 1805 he and his sons stayed at Government House with Governor King for three months. During this time he met Marsden and attended St John's Church (Parramatta). At the end of his stay King presented Te Pahi with iron tools, livestock seedlings, a medal and a small prefabricated house.

Te Atahoe (also known as Mary Bruce) abt 1793 – 1810

One of four daughters of Te Pahi, she married George Bruce, a former convict, who met Te Pahi on his return voyage from Poihakena. In 1807, she and Bruce were taken on the *General Wellesley* to the East Indies and India and returned to the Colony in 1809. They had a daughter, Mary. Te Atahoe died of dysentery at Poihakena on 28 February 1810. She was buried at the Old Sydney Burial Grounds, where the Sydney Town Hall and Town Hall Train Station now stands.

George Bruce 1779 – 1840

Husband of Te Atahoe and father of Mary. Bruce met Te Pahi in 1806, when she nursed him on his return voyage to New Zealand. Bruce spoke Māori and became an interpreter and emescary. Sporting a ta moko, Bruce became known as a 'Pakeha-Māori'. After Te Atahoe died in Sydney, Bruce left Mary in the care of the Orphan School. He attempted to return to Sydney, but was refused entry by Macquarie.

Mary Bruce 1809 –

Daughter of Te Atahoe and George Bruce and granddaughter of Te Pahi. After her mother's death, George Bruce was persuaded to leave Mary at the Orphan School. Writings suggest he tried to return for her but was denied entry to the Colony.

Mary was raised at the Orphan School in Sydney and was one of the first girls residing at the Female Orphan School (now the Whitlam Centre, Western Sydney University). In 1828, she married James Tucker at St Johns Church, Parramatta. Reverend Samuel Marsden presided.

Tuki Tahua and Nga Huruhuru First non-Indigenous recording of Māori in Sydney.

Ngā Puhi Tohunga and warrior

In 1793, Lieutenant-Governor King, Tuki Tahua and Nga huruhuru (also known as Huru) left the Bay of Islands and travelled to Norfolk Island to teach female convicts how to weave flax into garments, but this was not men's work. They were returned to the Bay of Islands after a stay in Sydney as King's guests.

Prior to their return, Tuki drew a map for King of the far north of his island, but omitted the mighty Hokianga Harbour. Tuki described to King the 'pine trees of an immense size' that grew there. These trees would become the basis for the New South Wales timber and flax trade.

Poihakena

Port Jackson.

Te Mātenga

The Māori name for Samuel Marsden.

Reverend Samuel Marsden (1765 – 1838)

Missionary (CMS), Anglican Minister, farmer, entrepreneur, traveller, magistrate. Reverend Marsden met Ruatara on his return from England in 1808. He hosted Ruatara at Parramatta, teaching him English farming techniques. This meeting was the impetus for Marsden's subsequent journey's to New Zealand. Subsequent to Ruatara's visit, Marsden hosted many Ngā Puhi Chief's at his houses in Parramatta.

Governor Lachlan Macquarie (1762 – 1824)

Governor of NSW. Implemented the Native Institution at Parramatta in 1814. Arranged for Orders of merit and even an old general's uniform to be bestowed on 'deserving chiefs.' In 1816, Governor Macquarie's response to the 'growing troubles' was to set strict rules by Proclamation as to which Kooris could interact with the colonial settlers. The Governor also launched three military excursions to punish the Koori. The soldiers were given directions that all Koori who were met with from Sydney onwards, were to be made prisoners of war and that if they resisted they were to be shot and their bodies hung from trees in the most conspicuous places near where they fell, so as to strike terror into the hearts of the surviving 'natives.' Many Koori women and children who had not been associated with any hostilities were killed.¹

Macquarie did not share Marsden's opinion of Māori and said that 'designing trickery and treachery characterised the Natives of New Zealand.'

Lieutenant James Finucane

Finucane purchased a lieutenancy in the New South Wales Corp in December 1807, and effectively became private secretary to Lieutenant Governor Foveaux. His watercolour portrait Tippahee, a Chief of New Zealand (Mitchell Library) is dated November 1808. This painting is Finucane's only known art work and was once owned by Governor Lachlan Macquarie and his wife, Elizabeth.

¹ historyservices.com.au/resource_material_Macquarie_Aboriginal_Solution_Introduction.htm

In March 1809, Finucane was appointed secretary to Lieutenant-Governor Paterson. He was aide-de-camp to Paterson until he left the colony with Foveaux in the Experiment a year later, where he led attacks on Te Pahi for retaliation for the Boyd incident.

Boyd Incident

The Boyd was a ship that left Poihakena in 1809 for New Zealand. It docked at Whangaroa in the Bay of Islands. An incident occurred where one of the crew, Te Ara, the son of a Chief was accused of stealing an axe. The Captain had Te Ara tied and flogged, a grave injustice in Māori eyes. This cultural clash set the scene for a devastating turn of events where utu, or revenge, was demanded. Sixty-six of the Europeans on board were murdered. Five were reported to have survived, including baby Betsy Broughton who was cared for by local iwi. Te Pahi was falsely accused of orchestrating this massacre whereas the real culprit was Te Puhi. The Boyd and Te Pahi became bywords for alleged Māori treachery. This incident delayed Marsden's arrival to New Zealand.

Musket Wars

Inter-tribal wars in New Zealand from 1818 – 1830's. These wars were attributed to Hongi Hika who acquired muskets and then sought revenge on Ngati Whatua for an earlier incident. It is believed that Hongi Hika cultivated Marsden and the missionaries to acquire muskets. As the wars continued, Hongi Hika put the captured slaves to work dressing flax to trade for more muskets.²

Koori

The term Koori is a global term, used to refer to the Indigenous people of NSW.

Māori

The Indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand. Early writings refer to Māori as New Zealanders. The term Māori was not widely used until the later part of the 18th century. Tribal affiliations are placed after a person's name.

² References

ngapuhi.iwi.nz

nzhistory.net.nz/war/musketwars

People of Many Peaks Māori Biographies from The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography Volume 1 1769-1869 (1991).

TIME LINE OF EVENTS

40,000+ years	Parramatta or Burramatta is Indigenous land for 40,000 + years.
1778 - 1788	1788 arrival of the First Fleet. Colony on the brink of starvation as Port Jackson was unsuitable to grow enough food to sustain the people.
1788	Dodds Farm established (opposite Old Government House in Parramatta Park on the banks of Parramatta River.) Food is grown to sustain the Colony.
1793	First British recorded visit of Māori to the Colony by Tuki Taha and Ngā Huruhuru.
Apr 1803	Creation of St John's Anglican Church, Parramatta.
Nov 1805	Te Pahi arrives in Parramatta, staying at Old Government House.
24 Feb 1806	Te Pahi left the Colony on the brig, Lady Nelson. He had been given gifts, which included a house and a medal.
1806	Marsden gained a land grant from Smith. The land was 30 acres bounded by a stream on the north side of the river at the junction where the creeks flowed into the river. This is little way from Government House.
Oct 1807	Te Atahoe, sailed on the General Wellesley with George Bruce from the Bay of Islands.
1809	Arahon Tippahee, Anike Tippahee and Mary Tippahee, thought to be George, Atahoe and baby Mary arrive in Port Dalrymple, Tasmania.
1809	Marsden sailed from London to Port Jackson on the Ann, where he met Ruatara. Ruatara stayed with Marsden at The Parsonage, on the corner of Church and George Streets, Parramatta.
4 Feb 1810	George Bruce posted a notification in the Sydney Gazette of 4 February 1810 of intending to quit the colony.
12 Feb 1810	George, Atahoe and baby Mary intended to leave Sydney on the brig Experiment.

27 Feb 1810	Atahoe died of dysentery and was buried on 28 February at the Sydney Burial Grounds (currently Sydney Town Hall).
25 Oct 1810	Marsden told Pratt that he has 3 Māori living in his house with him. Two were the sons of Chief's and the other a commoner.
Nov 1811	Ruatara was still living with Marsden and allegedly asked if the missionaries and school teachers could be sent to New Zealand. Marsden wrote to Pratt that he has some of Ruatara's own subjects living with him (but does not name them).
Nov 1811	Marsden observed the two Chief's sons stayed overnight with him as they wished to see Ruatara's farm.
Aug 1813	Marsden informed Pratt that "shiploads of flax may be got at New Zealand should it be valuable." He asked that it be valued and opines that it might provide employment for the natives to collect it.
1814	Corroboree held at Parramatta Native Institute started by Governor Macquarie (behind St Johns Church).
1814	Marsden leaves Poihakena for the Bay of Islands, with him were Ruatara, Hongi Hika and Korokoro. Marsden arrives on 25 December 1814 and gives a speech at Rangihou in the Bay of Islands.
	Marsden asked Pratt for money to build an institution. He argued that it is necessary for the sons of Chiefs or their near relatives for "instruction in the simple arts such as spinning and weaving their flax." Marsden also observed that having these sons in Parramatta would provide the safety of the settlers in New Zealand.
1818	Marsden gained a land grant named Newlands, which reached from All Saints Church on Kissing Point Road encompassing the now Macarthur Girls High School on the west and Betts Street to the east.
Feb 1819	Marsden informed Pratt he had erected a 'commodious building' upon an estate he purchased on the banks of the river opposite Parramatta township. He believed the seminary would be a success as he had for the past 4 years natives living with him. He stated he had hired a house for the natives to live in or had them lodging in his own house at the Parsonage.

Late Feb 1819	Marsden told Pratt the government was trying to pressure him into receiving Koori children into the Seminary with Māori.
22 Mar 1819	Marsden sent a statement to the Christian Missionary Society (CMS) which contained the names of New Zealanders who had resided at Parramatta with him.
8 Jun 1819	Marsden informed Pratt he had six New Zealanders with him and they would be moved to the Seminary, in the next week.
11 Jul 1819	John Butler, a missionary, wrote in his journal, the Seminary was nearly completed and it was called Rangihoo. Tellingly he wrote "they [New Zealanders] will also be hostages for the security of our settlement at the Bay of Islands.
1822	Marsden closed the Seminary. He stated '13 died who lived with me, principally Chiefs sons, either at Parramatta or soon after they got home'. He returned the last 6 students home on the Active. (The records for St Johns Cemetery were destroyed by fire in the 1930's. It is probable, but not identifiable, there are Māori burials at this cemetery.)
11 Mar 1823	James Tucker was transported for theft, from Bristol to the Colony, on the Princess Royal.
1828	Marsden conducted the wedding of Mary Bruce to James Tucker at St Johns Church.
1852	The spires were added in 1818. Rebuilding of St Johns Church, Parramatta.
1856	A memorial was placed in St Johns Church from the 'natives' of Whanganui to thank Marsden for bringing Christianity to New Zealand. It sits in the north transept of the church.
1883	Construction completed on the Parramatta Town Hall.
28 May 1884	The first New Zealand Rugby Team to tour outside New Zealand played in Parramatta.
19 Jun 1889	New Zealand Natives Rugby Team defeated the Parramatta Possums at the Kings School, Parramatta. The Māori team played in black with a silver fern.

1 Jul 1893	First All Blacks Game
1 Dec 1905	The first record of a Māori appearing at the Town Hall, Tairo the Māori Wizard.
21 Feb 1911	Maggie Papakura led a performance group on a world tour and played at the Parramatta Town Hall.
27 Mar 1935	Waiata Māori Choir played the Parramatta Town Hall.
1938	The first Māori Bishop of Aotearoa Augustus Bennett (Ngāti Whakaue) visited St John Church, accompanied by a Māori choir. He led a number of services in the church and gifted a piece of pounamu to the church.
1938	Noho Toki was featured in the Alice Webb Concert at the Parramatta Town Hall.
1941	An Anzac concert at the Parramatta Town Hall featured Toki, who gave four encores to a crowd of 600 people.
19 Apr 1969	An intricately Māori carved font was gifted to St Johns Church.
20 Apr 1969	The first two children to be baptised in the font were Māori living in the Parramatta district, Lisa Hana Ngawati Ryan and Leah Hempel.
23 Oct 2014	At the Female Orphan School members of the Australian Māori community, Nga Puhi elders from Te Runanga A Iwi O Ngāpuhi, the Director of The Whitlam Institute Eric Sidoti and the Institute staff, took part in a ceremony to honour and remember Mary Bruce.
24 Oct 2014	The Old Kings School, Parramatta hosted Māori, when the Rua Rau Festival, (acknowledging 200 years since Marsden arrived in New Zealand) was held on the grounds. Hosted by Nga Uri o Rahiri (a local Ngā Puhi group) the festival attracted thousands.

BACKGROUND



Tuki Tahua and Ngahuruhuru, "Reproduced Map of New Zealand originally drawn in chalk on the floor by two Māori Chiefs, Tuki Tahua and Ngahuruhuru, at Norfolk Island."

Source: ourheritage.ac.nz | OUR Heritage, accessed May 26, 2016

The first recorded visit to the Colony of NSW by Māori was Tuki Tahua and Nga Huruheru who arrived via Norfolk Island. While at Norfolk Island, Tuki drew a map of New Zealand for Governor Philip Gidley King.

A 1798 engraving of the map Tuki Tahua sketched in 1793 for Philip King, Governor of New South Wales and Norfolk Island. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, 830ap/[1793](1798)/ Acc.42785. The map was used to illustrate David Collins, *Account of the English Colony in New South Wales*, London, 1798. The original is held in the Public Records Office, London.

In both scale and detail the map's focus is on the area north of the Hokianga, with whose inhabitants Tuki's Doubtless Bay iwi were 'in amity'. The Hokianga is marked on the uppermost (western) coast. Tuki's home is shown on the lower (eastern) coast, on the northern side of the Oruru River mouth at Doubtless Bay. Also marked pre-eminently are the two carved whareniui of the Oruru chiefs, the smaller belonging to Muriwai, and the larger to the 'principal' chief, 'Tewy-te-wi' (possibly Te Whai Te Wi). The road to Te Reinga is marked the length of the North Island. The pohutukawa, the departure point of the spirits at Te Reinga, is shown, to the north-east of Cape Maria Van Diemen, on Cape Reinga. Also shown are the places of Tuki's departure, and his return by Governor King on the *Britannia* in November 1793.³

Although the first recorded visit to the Colony of NSW by Māori was 1793, there is no record of the first visitors (Tuki Tahua and Ngahuruhuru), coming to Parramatta. Māori had a significant presence in Port Jackson, particularly in The Rocks. Māori had strong entrepreneurial and business skills, establishing businesses to trade goods. By the 1830's Māori had a significant trading presence and shipping fleet. Many of the merchants in Port Jackson spoke the Māori language to trade.⁴

3 Binney, J. *New Zealand Journal of History*, 38, 2 (2004) Tuki's Universe.

4 Kamira, epress.lib.uts.edu.au/ojs/index.php/sydney_journal/index 3(1) December 2010
ISSN 1835-0151



Showing Māori prominently located in the early illustration of Sydney.

Source: Robert Havell, engraver, The town of Sydney in New South Wales. London 1823. Nla.pic-an5575515

It is likely though their accounts of Poihākena (Port Jackson) inspired Te Pahi to take the six-week trip across the Tasman in 1805, when he visited Parramatta, staying at Old Government House.

Much has been written about Reverend Marsden's relationship with Māori and how he valued and respected the Māori 'Chiefs' that visited him. There is no doubt that Marsden was the reason why so many Māori visited and lived in Parramatta in the

early days. Parramatta was seen as a more rural area. Poihakena, as the port, had a more dynamic and changing face that was a centre for marine trade and enterprise. Parramatta was approximately 15 miles by boat or horse and carriage from Poihakena, therefore to have Māori at Parramatta meant a 'captive' audience.

The terms 'Chief,' 'Chieftainess,' 'King' and 'Princess' appear throughout early writings referring to Māori. These terms in themselves are problematic, particularly as they are an English construct and attribute an artificial hierarchy to Māori. That construct and misuse of the term still resonates today. That does not mean the early visitors were devoid of considerable prestige and nobility. The visitors were, 'rangatira' (high born nobles) of their family groups and lands.

Also appearing in the writings are references to English familial ties such as 'uncle,' 'nephew,' 'brother' and 'son.' These do not necessarily have the same meanings in Māoridom.

In early writings, Māori are referred to as 'New Zealanders' and the term Māori, meaning 'people', does not emerge until the later part of the 1800's.

The voices of women have been neglected in the writings and few references are found of Māori women. Māori women however, did visit Parramatta. Marsden's letters and diaries make passing references to 'New Zealand' women visiting.⁵

The first Māori visitors to Parramatta were from Ngā Puhi iwi (tribe). The people of this iwi hail from the north of New Zealand. Within the iwi, there are hapu (sub-tribes), which are characterised by descent. The hapu are then divided into smaller extended family units, called whanau (family). This may explain why there were so many 'Chiefs' as each visitor lauded as a 'Chief' was the head of his own hapu.

⁵ 3 May 1810 Marsden writes to Pratt telling him a Māori woman visited him to advise of the Boyd incident. 25 May 1819 a Māori woman, Ko KieEkaee (Kokiaki) is mentioned as living with Marsden.

AGRICULTURAL ENTREPRENEURS

Courting these 'Chiefs' was essential for the Reverend Samuel Marsden. He had ambitions to introduce Christianity to the 'heathen natives' of New Zealand.⁶ He also had an eye on the lucrative flax trade. As a magistrate and chaplain⁷ of the Parramatta Female Factory and owner of several parcels of land, such as Smith's grant in the upper reaches of the Parramatta River, acreage at the Field of Mars, and a large piece of land at South Creek, now known as Mamre, located on Mamre Road, St Clair. Marsden planted flax, both ventures looked to be very profitable.⁸

New Zealand flax, or harakeke was first noted by Captain James Cook on his first voyage to New Zealand. He observed that harakeke, with very little preparation, was used to make all common apparel including strings, lines, cordage, mats, clothing and fishing nets (up to 1000 metres long). Harakeke is also used for medicinal purposes including disinfectants, anaesthetic and wound dressing. Moreover, weaving flax or rāanga is often used as a metaphor to tie people, place and stories together.

The value of this flax trade was not underestimated by Chiefs and Europeans alike. It can be argued that because of this trade, the story of Māori and Parramatta, like rāanga are woven into intricate patterns, relying on each other for the full picture to emerge.



Source: Maarama Kamira



Source: Maarama Kamira

⁶ Samuel Marsden to Josiah Pratt Parramatta May 1810. NSW Department of Environment and Heritage reports the flax crop at South Creek was destroyed in 1805 by flood.

⁷ Marsden had been appointed Assistant Chaplain and was not promoted Chaplain to the Colony until his return from England in 1810.

⁸ parragirls.org.au/history



Hartia (wife of Hone Heke), Hone Heke and Kawiti (1846) note the kakahu (cloaks) made of flax.

Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, ref C-012-019.

The missionaries placed great emphasis on a person's own efforts, Marsden believed that acquisition was proof of the genuineness of a person's salvation. Yet at the same time he was spurred by the mood of the colony on his arrival. The officers had begun their single-minded pursuit of wealth and Marsden was soon complaining that Macarthur, the senior officer at Parramatta, frustrated his attempts to secure Sabbath observance by the convicts.⁹

Yarwood observed that Marsden satisfied his English correspondents that 'it was not from inclination' that he first accepted Lieutenant-Governor Francis Grose's offer of land, but from the duty to assist the colony to avert the threat of recurring famine. This explanation was wilfully misleading when published in *An Answer to Certain Calumnies* in the Late Governor Macquarie's Pamphlet, and the Third Edition of Mr. Wentworth's *Account of Australasia* (London, 1826), for in 1827, when his holdings totalled 3631 acres (1469 ha) by grant and 1600 (647 ha) by 'purchase', he made an unsuccessful request for permission to buy another 5000 acres (2024 ha) of crown land. Undoubtedly the offer of land and convict servants to work it appealed enormously to Marsden. It brought financial security for his large family, and social acceptability and power to which he could not have aspired in England.

Marsden purchased two significant tracts of land in Parramatta. The first in 1806, the area that now forms part of the Cumberland Hospital, and later, around 1818 a different site named Newlands, reaching from All Saints Church on Kissing Point Road, encompassing Macarthur Girls High School on the west and past Betts Street to the east. The 1806 purchase was approximately in the area of Darling Mills Creek and housed a mill. The Newlands grant of 1818 housed the short-lived Seminary. Marsden also had a significant grant of land in South Creek (off the M4) called 'Mamre'. This land, purchased in 1798, was used initially as a model farm, and in 1822 he constructed a house there.¹⁰

⁹ A. T. Yarwood, 'Marsden, Samuel (1765–1838)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, adb.anu.edu.au/biography/marsden-samuel-2433/text3237, published first in hardcopy 1967, accessed online 4 May 2015.

¹⁰ environment.nsw.gov.au/heritageapp/ViewHeritageItemDetails.aspx?ID=5045752

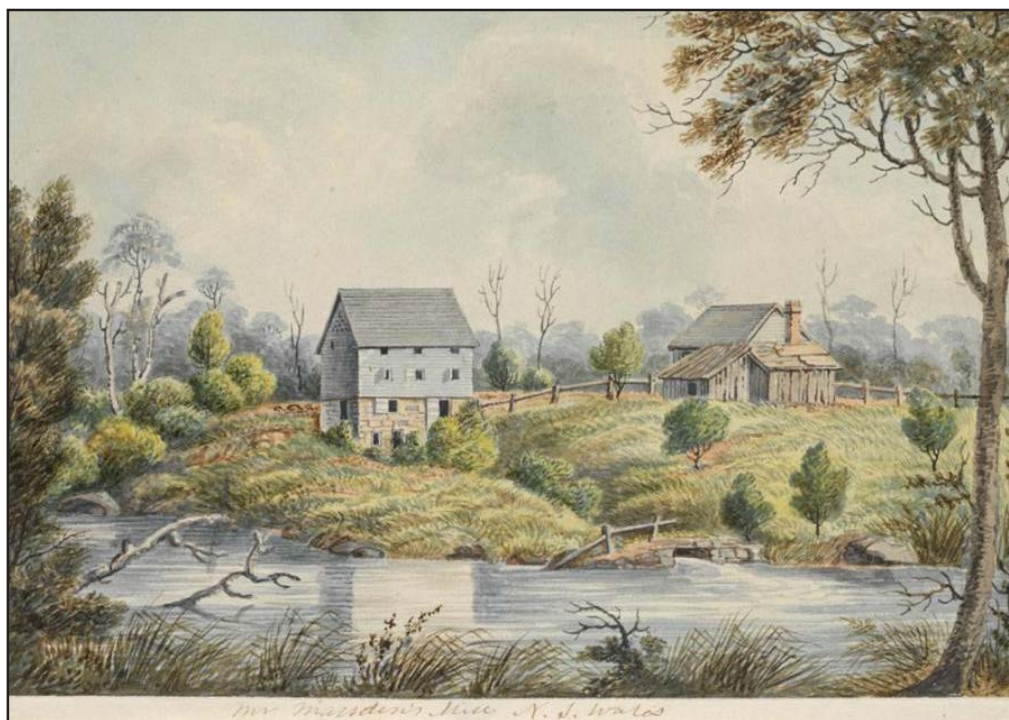
In 1809, young Marsden boarded the convict ship *Ann* in London bound for Pōihakena. On that ship he met a young Māori Chief, Ruatara (Duaterra). At that time he intended to have Ruatara take him to New Zealand, however the Boyd Massacre occurred, of which Te Pahi (Tippahee) was falsely accused. As a result, Ruatara stayed with Marsden at The Parsonage on the corner of Church and George Streets, Parramatta.



Young Ruatara and Marsden meet on board the *Ann*. Illustration by Moanaroa Te Whata.

The meeting of Ruatara and Marsden was to be mutually beneficial. Ruatara was interested in agriculture and new ways of farming. He was also interested in introducing new foods, such as wheat, into New Zealand. Moreover, Ruatara's interests lay in the opportunism for trade. Marsden saw a similar benefit from this relationship.

According to Marsden Māori were a 'superior' and more 'civilised' 'native' than the local people and ripe to receive the 'blessings' of 'the gospel.' Flax, which was an important commodity in England, was already on Marsden's mind. He had attempted to plant two acres of flax on his farm at South Creek (Mamre) in 1805. This crop was destroyed by floods.



Source: Marsden's Mill and Cottage, 1820, J Lycett, SLNSW PXD41F1

In 1806, Marsden had acquired a grant of land from Smith. Smith's grant was 30 acres bounded by a stream on the north side of the river, a little way from Old Government House. Marsden also acquired an extra six acres. Captain Bligh received 105 acres on the southern side of Marsden's property. It is likely this land also included Darling Mills Creek, the site of Marsden's mill. The land now forms part of the Cumberland Hospital precinct.

On 3 May 1810, Marsden wrote to Pratt that he met with a 'New Zealand woman', on 2 May 1810, who told him about the Boyd Incident. Marsden imparts that Te Pahi had been killed and the Europeans would be found to have treated the New Zealanders with great injustice. Ruatara was terribly upset.

On 25 October 1810 Marsden told Pratt that he had three Māori living in his house with him. Two were the sons of Chiefs and the other a commoner. He also stated that he had sown two acres of flax and intended to send John King to teach the New Zealanders how to spin line and rope.¹¹

It is questionable why Marsden intended to 'teach' Māori how to spin. He would have been aware of Cook's observations about how Māori used flax and its importance. However, at this time in the Colony of New South Wales, it was mainly Irish and English women who were the spinners and weavers, at that time working in the textiles factory called the Female Factory, situated above the gaol in the place now known as Prince Alfred Square.

In November 1811, Ruatara was still living with Marsden and allegedly asked if missionaries and school teachers could be sent to New Zealand. Marsden wrote to Pratt that he has some of Ruatara's own subjects living with him (but does not name them). He also mentioned that since he sat down to write the letter two 'New Zealanders have come today 16 miles to see me, both sons of Chiefs, one has lately arrived. He is the son of Terra.'¹²

¹¹ Samuel Marsden to Josiah Pratt Parramatta 25 Oct 1810.

¹² Samuel Marsden to Josiah Pratt Parramatta 19 Nov 1811.



Source: State Library of New South Wales

The next day Marsden again wrote to Pratt at Parramatta.¹³ Marsden observed the two Chief's sons stayed overnight with him as they wished to see Ruatara's farm. Marsden stated that he:

"took them in my chaise to see Duaterra's farm, where they beheld his wheat just ripe, his pease beans&c, they were highly gratified and in a few minutes I observed them making a fire across my farm and cutting notches with a knife in the stumps of trees.¹³ I inquired what they were doing, they told me they were marking out a farm for Toweetee (Kawiti), that he would return to New Zealand the first opportunity, and bring one hundred men to work upon the farm. I told him I would give him as much land as he liked, and he might begin tomorrow. I think he will try what he can do, if he cannot return for assistance."¹⁴

Ruatara stayed with Marsden until November 1811, a period of 8 months, when he requested to be returned to New Zealand.

Jones and Jenkins 2011, commented that Māori would have seen Marsden's gift to Ruatara as tika (or correct protocol).

¹³ This letter is significant as it is the reason why there is a persistent myth that Marsden gifted land to Māori.

¹⁴ Samuel Marsden to Josiah Pratt Parramatta 20 Nov 1811.



Ruatara and Marsden at the farm. Illustration by Moanaroa Te Whata.

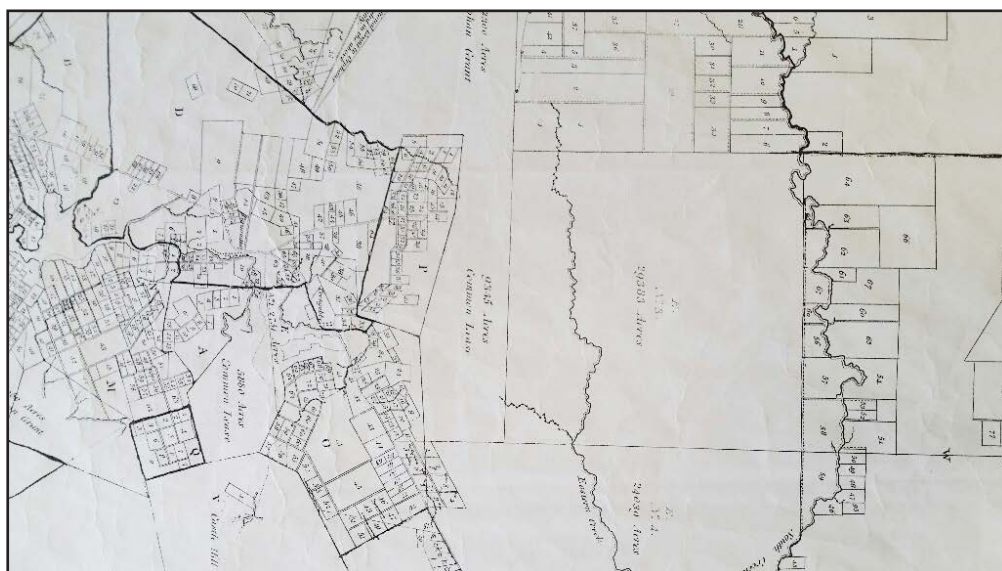
"Chiefs in the Bay of Islands, such as Ruatara's kinsman, Te Pahi, had been generous towards European whaling and sealing vessels calling there. The gift of land reinforce for Ruatara and other Māori, the developing political and social bond with Europeans; one that recognised the potential of cooperative social engagement between the Bay of Islands people and Marsdens people (that is, Europeans in Australia and England), in their mutual interests."¹⁵

Jones and Jenkins later observed: "Ruatara's land reverted back to Marsden's ownership and Kawiti's plan did not eventuate, but Parramatta today remains a part of the Māori world."¹⁶

¹⁵ Jones, Alison and Jenkins Kuni 2011 Words Between Us Page 60.

¹⁶ Ibid.

There is supposition about where this farm may have been. Maps of the Colony in 1814 show that Marsden did not own any land in the area now known as Rangihou Reserve. His working farm holdings were at the Smith's Grant (which had wheat) and at South Creek, now known as (Mamre), which was a working farm.¹⁷



1814 Map D22 is where Rangihou Reserve now stands. W62 is the location of Mamre.

Source: State Government 1814. Copy of map held at Parramatta Heritage Centre Library.

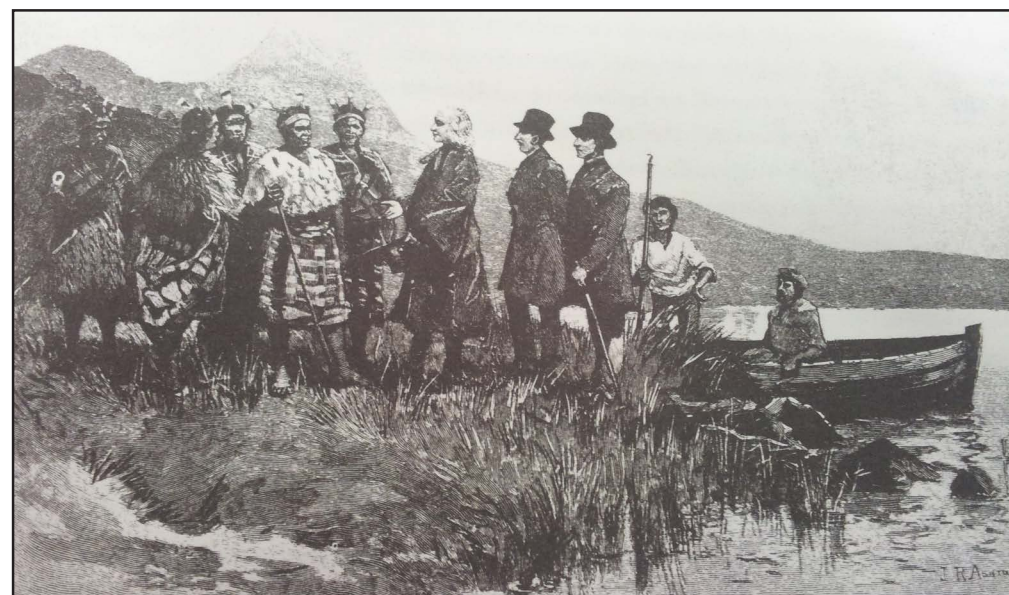
In August 1813, Marsden informed Pratt that “shiploads of flax may be got at New Zealand should it be valuable.” He asked that it be valued and opines that it might provide employment for the natives to collect it.¹⁸

¹⁷ Land Holders in the Colony of New South Wales 1813 cross referenced with Plan of Allotments of Ground granted from the Crown in New South Wales 1814.

¹⁸ Samuel Marsden to Josiah Pratt Parramatta 6 Aug 1813.

The relationship, however, was not all one sided. Marsden’s first journey to New Zealand, in 1814, saw him travelling from Parramatta with Ruatara, Hongi Hika and Korokoro. He used this visit to forge relationships with Chiefs. He comments that he has taken a number of Māori, including Chiefs, onboard the Active as ‘hostages’ for his and his own parties safety. The Māori reality was for Marsden’s own safety, and the mana or prestige of being seen to escort a European through Māori land.¹⁹

The trip was also used to purchase flax. Marsden renewed his acquaintance with a Tahitian man, Jem, who had resided in the Parramatta area with Macquarie. Jem had married into the Aupouri tribe and facilitated the purchase.



Rev Samuel Marsden meeting Māori Nga Puhi Chiefs

Source: rangihou.wordpress.com/the-history-of-rangihou June 2016

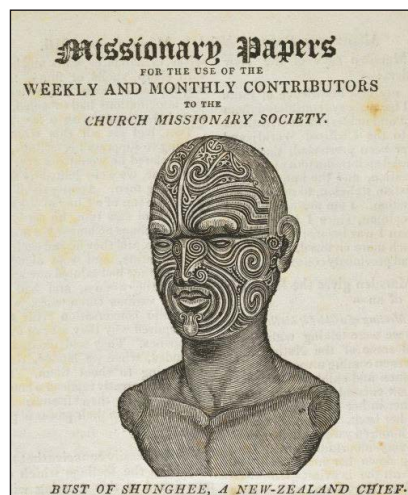
¹⁹ Te Punga Sommerville, Living on New Zealand Street, Māori Presence in Parramatta.

On Christmas Day 1814, Marsden has been widely accredited with conducting a sermon at Ranghoua Bay, arguably the first sermon in New Zealand. It has been argued that this was not a sermon as Marsden's speech was neither literally or culturally understood that day.²⁰

In 1814, Hongi Hika travelled back to Poihakena with Marsden and resided with Marsden. During this trip, Hika carved a bust of himself. This bust is now with the Runanga a iwi o Ngā Puhi in New Zealand. A second bust believed to have been carved by Hika²¹ is held by the Macleay Museum, University of Sydney.



Bust of Hongi Hika currently held at the Macleay Museum Sydney University.



Hongi Hika 1772-1828: Bust of Shunghee, a New-Zealand chief.

Source: [1814] 1816 National Library of New Zealand

By 1815, Marsden was asking Pratt for money to build an institution. He argued that it was necessary for the sons of Chiefs or their near relatives for "instruction in the simple arts such as spinning and weaving their flax." Marsden also observes that having these sons in Parramatta would provide for the safety of the settlers in New Zealand.²² Pratt replied saying the CMS is favourable.²³

The area now known as Rangihou Reserve, was owned in 1814 by Messers Thomas Haddock, J. Piper and J. Townsend. Marsden appeared to have purchased this land around 1818.

In February 1819, Marsden informed Pratt he was erecting a 'commodious building' upon an estate he purchased on the banks of the river opposite Parramatta township.

He believed the seminary would be a success as he has had four years of natives living with him. He stated he had hired a house for the natives to live in or had them lodging in his own house at (the Parsonage). He listed 15 names²⁴:

- Towha Ko-Tooma
- Ko Kie Ekaee (a woman)
- Ko-Eve
- Ko Taate
- Savtaka
- Kowpa
- Henganow
- Towaquarree
- Ko Doodoongha
- Ko Makkoo
- Apo
- Tounghahoudoo
- Apappa

²⁰ Jones, Alison and Jenkins Kuni 2011 Words Between Us, Te Punga Sommerville, Living on New Zealand Street, Māori Presence in Parramatta.

²¹ The provenience of this piece has not been verified. The museum believes it may be a companion piece to Hika's first bust and date it to 1814. sydney.edu.au/museums/collections/aotearoa retrieved 10 November 2014
Samuel Marsden to Josiah Pratt Parramatta 25 Oct 1815.

²² Samuel Marsden to Josiah Pratt Parramatta 25 Oct 1815.

²³ Josiah Pratt to Samuel Marsden London 5 Sep 1816

²⁴ Samuel Marsden to Josiah Pratt Parramatta 25 February 1819.



Governor Lachlan Macquarie introduced the annual 'Native Feast' in 1814 to promote the Native Institution to Aboriginal people.

Source: National Library of Australia, an2820681

It is clear that Marsden did not have a high opinion of Koori therefore it is probable that his cultivation of Māori was also to place an artificial hierarchy of 'native'. Although, as Dr Te Punga Sommerville comments, we may expect allegiances between people with a shared Indigeneity, this was not the case. Marsden's treatment led to not only longstanding alliances between the communities but also lingering and newly exacerbated tensions.²⁵

Later that month, Marsden told Pratt the government was trying to pressure him into receiving Koori children into the Seminary with Māori. He vehemently argued that the New Zealanders must be kept separate as it is not yet time for the Natives of NSW to receive the "great blessings of civilisation"²⁶.

While it is tempting to think that Māori in Parramatta during this time wore traditional clothing, it is clear from Marsden's inventory that a combination of both were worn.

²⁵ Te Punga Sommerville, *Living on New Zealand Street, Māori Presence in Parramatta*.

²⁶ Samuel Marsden to Josiah Pratt Parramatta February 1819.



Poihakena Portraits. Tyrell and Ngioka Kamira Sams. Blacktown December 2015.

The following table contains a statement of the New Zealanders who had resided at Parramatta from 8 August 1817 to 22 March 1819.

Names	Arrival Ship	Arrival Date	Departure Ship	Departure Date	No. of weeks in Paramatta	No. of days in Paramatta	Total Amount
Towrea	Active	8 Aug 1817	Claudine	18 Aug 1818	53	3	13
Trokee	Active	8 Aug 1817	Active	30 May 1818	42		10
Tawrow	Hamich	Sep 1817	Claudine	18 Aug 1818	48		12
Whawarrow	Hamich	Sep 1817	Active	30 May 1818	37		9
Whykowkow	Hamich	Sep 1817	Active	30 May 1818	37		9
Tawha	Active	24 Mar 1818	Active	22 Mar 1819	52		13
Toungahoodow	Active	24 Mar 1818	Active	22 Mar 1819	52		13
Ta'ate	Active	24 Mar 1818	Active	30 May 1818	7.5		1
Tawhee	Active	24 Mar 1818	Active	30 May 1818	7.5		1
Kangahamoomoo	Active	24 Mar 1818	Active	22 Mar 1819	40		1
Towguarree	Whales	20 Aug 1818	Active	22 Mar 1819	40		10
Ingaroo	Whales	20 Aug 1818	Active	22 Mar 1819	40		10
Apua	Whales	20 Aug 1818	Active	Rev@Para	40		10
Toma	Active	29 Sep 1818	Active	22 Mar 1819	12		10
Cowpa	Active	29 Sep 1818	Active	22 Mar 1819	12		3
Makkoo	Active	29 Sep 1818	Active	22 Mar 1819	12		3
Apopa	Active	29 Sep 1818	Active	22 Mar 1819	12		3
Taate	Active	29 Sep 1818	Active	22 Mar 1819	12		3
Oue [?]	Active	29 Sep 1818	Active	Rev@ Para	12		3
Okooc [?]	Active	29 Sep 1818		Rev@ Para	12		3
Sawtakka	Active	29 Sep 1818		Rev@ Para	12		3
Arie	Active	29 Sep 1818		Rev@ Para	12		3
Loudougha	Active	29 Sep 1818		Rev@ Para	12		3
For victualling the above natives as board to & from Port Jackson @ 20/- each.							£156

Clothing for the natives viz
17 cloth jackets and 17 pr. Trousers
8 nankeen do. & 8 nankeen do.
3 waistcoats & 1 jacket
17 blankets and bedding
23 check — white cotton and blue shirts
23 check — white cotton and blue shirts
15 red flannel shirts
1 cloth jacket and waistcoat
Hats and shoes
150 lbs soap
5 Guernsey frocks

Clearances at Secretary's Offices for the Natives 17 @ 2/6 each.

On 8 June 1819, Marsden informed Pratt he had six New Zealanders with him and they would be moving to the Seminary the next week.²⁷

John Butler, a missionary, wrote in his journal on 11 July 1819, the Seminary was nearly completed and it was called Rangihoo. Tellingly he wrote “They (New Zealanders) will also be hostages for the security of our settlement at the Bay of Islands”.

In 1822, Marsden closed the Seminary. He stated 13 died who lived with him, principally Chiefs sons, either at Parramatta or soon after they got home. He returned the last 6 students home on the Active. In his journal of 13 February 1820 – 25 November 1820, Marsden observed that seven young men had died that year, four in New South Wales and three in New Zealand.

Two of the 13 deaths occurred in 1819, when Toroa died of atavia Fever in Samarang and his brother died of small pox, just outside of the cape on their way to London.²⁸

There is some speculation about the remains of the four boys who allegedly died in New South Wales. There is no independent evidence they died in Parramatta or where they were buried. Marsden referred to families coming to take their bones back to their family sepulchre. Given that Marsden was introducing Christianity to the natives, it is probable that any of the bodies not returned to New Zealand would have been buried in consecrated grounds. At that time, it would have been the Old Parramatta Burial Grounds, now St John's Cemetery. As the records are no longer in existence, it is impossible to ascertain where they are buried.

²⁷ Samuel Marsden to Josiah Pratt. Parramatta, 8 June 1819.

²⁸ Pratt to Marsden 3 Aug 1819.



Rev. Samuel Marsden's Parsonage at St. John's Parramatta, ca 1860 : a copy by I. M. Flockton of a drawing by E. Thomas (1909).

Source: State Library of New South Wales a4962001



The Seminary.

Source: <http://arc.parracity.nsw.gov.au/blog/2013/09/11/parramattas-rangihou-reserve-and-its-maori-history/>

SPIRITUALITY AND RELIGION

The story of Marsden and Māori is complex. It is apparent that while Marsden wished to 'civilise' Māori, he was a shrewd businessman and saw mutual benefit in the relationship for the purposes of agricultural development. Conversely, Māori also saw a benefit in being able to obtain weapons, tools and other items to expand the Māori economy. There was also considerable prestige to be had for Māori living with Te Matenga in his own house.

Initially, Marsden courted the Chiefs for trade and to further the Christian Missionary Society work. While his letters to Pratt claimed that Ruatara wanted him to send teachers and missionaries to New Zealand, it is more likely that Ruatara was also concerned about the mana (prestige) he would carry, if he hosted Te Matenga. Once his mission was established in 1814, it is clear that Marsden encouraged the children of those Chiefs to come to Parramatta as collateral. His and other Missionary writings referred to those Māori as 'hostages' for the safety of the settlers and missionaries. It is probable the reason why fewer Chiefs are mentioned in Parramatta after the establishment of the mission in the Bay of Islands, is because Ngā Puhi now had guns and embarked on the Musket Wars (1807 – 1842).

Māori theology and cosmology pre-christianity has been the source of considerable debate. Many attempts to document this theology do not describe a central cause of creation, as in Christian narratives, but in an attempt to understand the conceptualities of life itself. The Māori world view is influenced by the essential elements of the Māori creation story and retold through song, dance, story, carving and weaving. In fact it permeates all aspects of Te Ao Māori or the Māori world and Māori Christianity principles incorporate the plurality of Te Ao Māori and Te Ao Pakeha.²⁹

The story of the pounamu and the font, epitomise the duality of the cultures.

²⁹ For more detailed information on Māori spirituality, visit teara.govt.nz/en/Māori-creation-traditions/page-1

From April 1803 to August 1809, St Johns Church was the only church in the colony. In 1852, the church was rebuilt, leaving only the towers in situ. The old church would have had Māori attendees, Te Pahi, Kawiti, Hongi Hika and Ruatara to name a few. All Māori who resided with Marsden would have likely been obligated to attend church on a Sunday.



Source: National Library of Australia

While Marsden believed he was bringing 'the blessings of Christianity' to the 'heathen natives,' the research has shown that Māori vigorously debated Marsden's form of spirituality, cosmology and god. Ruatara and Hongi Hika both argued that Marsden's god must have been lonely as there was only one.

The significance of this site not only links to the Ngā Puhi who attended services, but also to later contact between Parramatta and Māori. The church also hosted the wedding of Mary Bruce to James Tucker in 1828.

In 1856, a memorial was placed in the church from the 'natives' of Whanganui to thank Marsden for bringing Christianity to New Zealand. It sits in the North Transept of the church.

In 1938, the first Māori Bishop of Aotearoa Augustus Bennett (Ngāti Whakaue) visited St John's Church, accompanied by a Māori choir. He led a number of services in the church and gifted a piece of pounamu or greenstone to the church. The Cumberland Argus and Fruitgrowers Advocate reported the visit and observed the pounamu was a gift from the Māori Church of New Zealand "between New Zealand and Parramatta."³⁰ The pounamu was consecrated into the church by Bishop Bennett. Bennett observed the stone represented the: "Māori Church because it is the most valuable stone that the Māori's possess. To think, that this little emblem is made part of this great edifice will cause tremendous joy in the days to come with the realisation that we are now part of Samuel Marsden's own church."³¹



Whanganui Memorial, 1838, St John's Church. Note the United Tribes Flag of 1835 at the top. Photo: Maarama Kamira.



Image of greenstone at St John's Church. Photo: Michelle Desailly.



Sydney Morning Herald 12 August 1935 Page 13, Māoris Visit Marsden's Grave.



St John's Church Parramatta facing the front. The spires 'towers' were added in 1818 from the original church which Te Pahi, Ruatara, Kawiti, Hongi Hika and others would have attended. Photo: Maarama Kamira.

30 Cumberland Argus and Fruitgrowers Advocate 13 July 1938 – New Zealand Gift.

31 Cumberland Argus and Fruitgrowers Advocate 20 July 1938 – Māori Bishop and Choir at Parramatta.



The Māori Font – St John's Church Parramatta.

Source: monumentaustralia.org.au/themes/culture/religion/display/96382-the-Māori-font

Bishop Bennett conducted a confirmation ceremony at the church. As the Bishop was about to lay his hands on the confirmer, Ringahora Tomoana (Ngati Kahungununu), a number of photographers took photos, some climbing through windows to do so. The Cumberland Argus and Fruitgrowers Advocate reported that Archdeacon Johnstone and Begbie strongly protested about photographs being taken in the middle of a solemn service. The paper also observed that Ms Tomoana hid her face in her hands and friends tried to shield her from having more photographs taken. She left via the rear of the building through Hunter Street, presumably with the paparazzi chasing.³² Ms Tomoana's father was credited with writing the song Po Karekare Ana.³³ A decade later in New Zealand, Ms Tumoana married Canon Wiremu Te Tau Huata³⁴ with Bishop Bennett officiating.

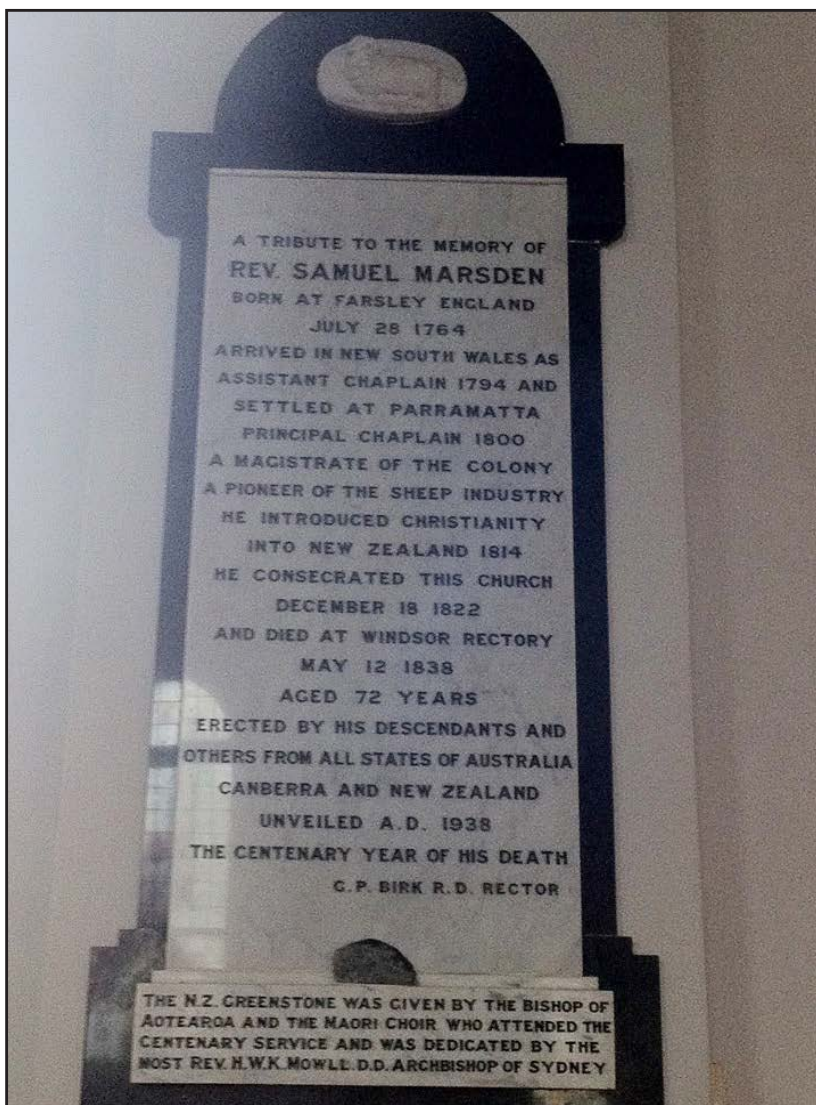
While in Parramatta, Bishop Bennett attended a 'Pork Feast' (hāngi) which was filmed by Cinesound Review and reported by the Cumberland Argus and Fruitgrowers Advocate. The cooking was supervised by a 'Cheftainess' of Ngati Kahungununu 'Princess' Hinekatarangi te Apati and the Chiefs were H. Hakiwai and H.M. Wikiriwhi and the feast was accompanied by Māori love songs and "the dancing of native hakas"³⁵.

³² Cumberland Argus and Fruitgrowers Advocate 17 August 1938 Photographers at St John's cause stir in Church.

³³ folksong.org.nz/pokarekare/mobile.html Retrieved 10 November 2014

³⁴ Canon Huata was credited with revitalising the Anglican Church in New Zealand. He served in the 28 Māori Battalion as Chaplain. teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/5h39/huata-wiremu-te-tau retrieved 10 November 2014

³⁵ Cinesound Review 0353 ID 28180-02 2;03 Title 79158 5 August 1938 "Māoris hold pork feast". Cumberland Argus and Fruitgrowers Advocate 3 August 1938 Māori Feast Choir at Hammondville.



Marsden Memorial St Matthews Church Windsor – note the pounamu glued to the front. Photo: Myles Maniapoto.

On 19 April 1969, a further piece was gifted by Māori, a font, intricately carved by C.I. (Charlie) Tuarau³⁶ (1912 – 1996) (Cook Islands).

Mr Tuarau spent four years carving the twelve-sided font. Made of totara wood and inlaid with paua shell and signifying Rānginui (sky father) and Papatuanuku (earth mother). The upper section, of carved heads, represents the different races of children to be baptised in the front.⁶



Master Carver Iotua Taringatahi (Charlie) Tuarua (1960). Photo: Te Papatongawera.

The first two children to be baptised in the font on 20 April 1969, were Māori living in the Parramatta district, Lisa Hana Ngawati Ryan and Leah Hempel.³⁷

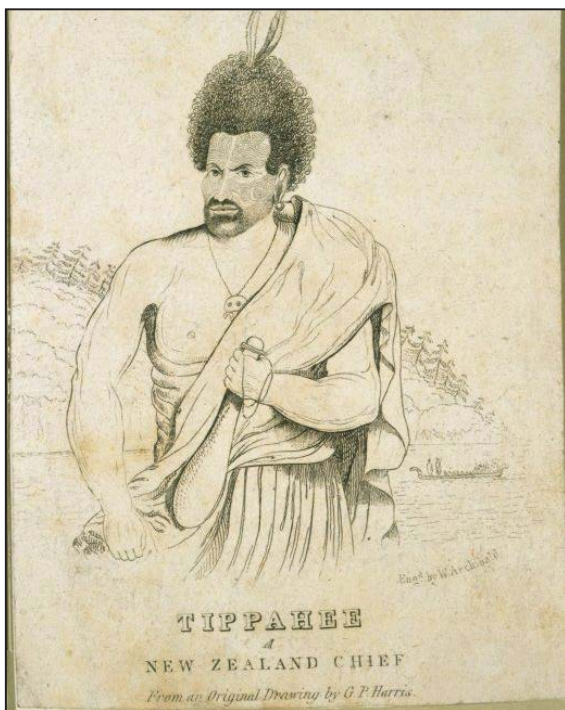
³⁶ Charlie Iotua Tuarau was a Master Carver. His work is featured in Te Papa Tongarewa – The Museum of New Zealand. He was a member of the 28 Māori Battalion in WWII, fighting with Australians in Crete, Greece, Germany and Italy.

³⁷ St Johns Baptismal Records.

CULTURAL CONNECTIONS AND IDENTITY

Māori identity in Australia has been an ongoing matter for many young Māori Australians. There is a persistent belief that Māori migratory practices have only been in existence since the 1960s. The reality is very different, with arguably the first Australian born Māori, Mary Bruce in 1810.

Connection to family, story and place are central to Māori. Mary and her story is critical to Māori place in Parramatta.



Te Pahi father of Atahoe, Grandfather of Mary Bruce
Tippihahee a New Zealand chief, engraved by W Archibald
from an original drawing by G P Harris, London 1827.

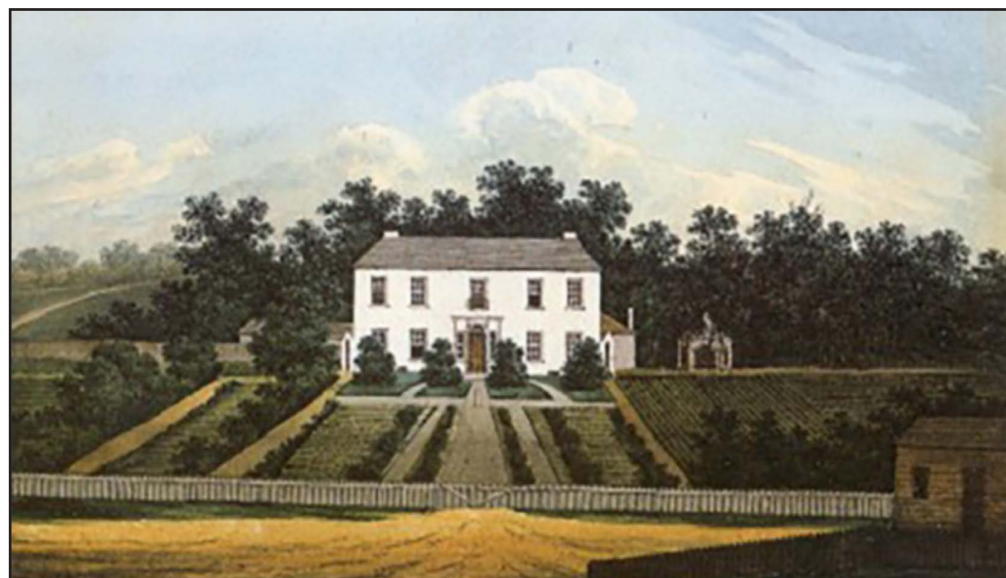
Source: <http://www.tiritiowaitangi.govt.nz>

The Female Orphan School – now home of the Whitlam Institute - played host to arguably the first Australian born Māori, the granddaughter of Ngā Puhi Chief Te Pahi.

Te Pahi's first contact with the Colony was in 1805, arriving in Poihākena (Port Jackson) on 27 November with his four sons, on the ship Buffalo.

At this time he resided, in part, at Old Government House, Parramatta. Across the river from the house was Dodd's Farm, and upriver Smith's grant (acquired by Marsden in 1806 with six extra acres).

Exotic, different and fearsome were some of the terms used by the papers to describe Te Pahi. The Sydney Gazette breathlessly reported his moves. For the next two years, any mention of New Zealand was usually accompanied by comments about 'our late visitor, Tippihahee'.



Source: NSW State Library

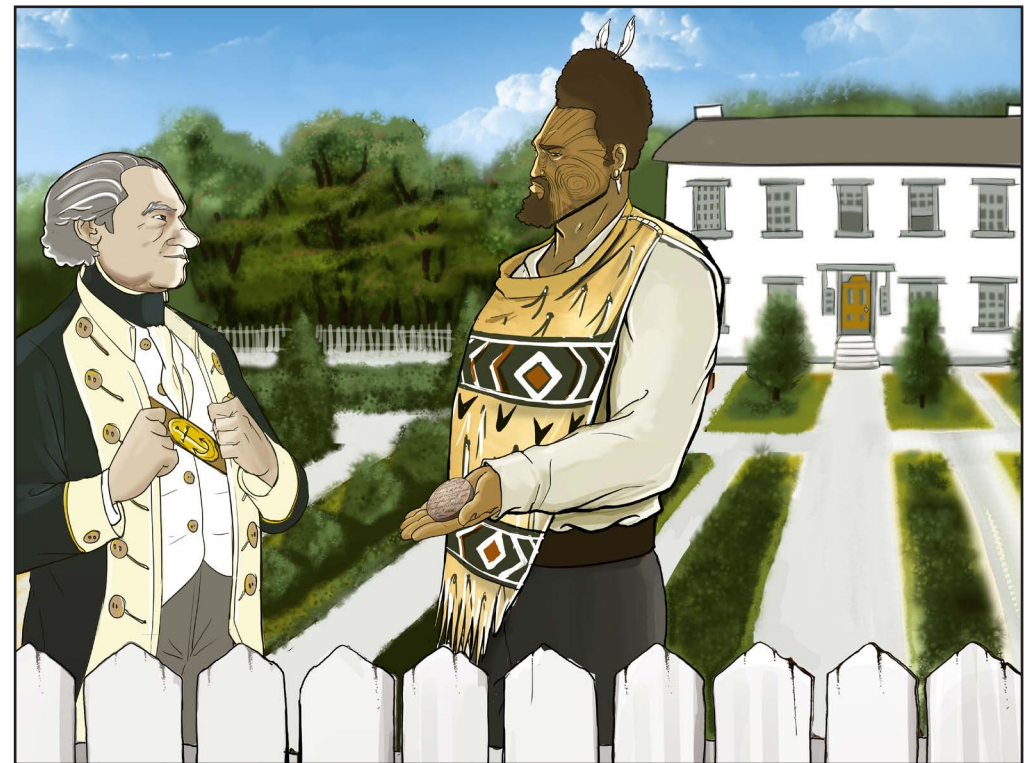
On 24 February 1806, Te Pahi left the Colony on the brig, Lady Nelson. He had been given gifts, which included a house and a medal. *The Sydney Gazette* reported in the *Shipping News* the “Lady Nelson 19 days from Norfolk Island after landing Tippahee and his little suite in NZ”.



Tippahee's Medal.

Source: artshub.com.au

On board was a convict, George Bruce. Bruce had been transported from England for petty thievery. Bruce was said to be short of stature and his diminutive status allegedly gave him favouritism with Te Pahi. During this trip, Te Pahi suffered sea sickness and Bruce allegedly nursed him. Bruce then lived with Te Pahi and eventually had an arranged marriage to Te Pahi's daughter, Te Atahoe.



Te Pahi being presented a medal by Governor King. Illustration by Moanaroa Te Whata.

Atahoe was allegedly 15 when, according to various accounts, she was either kidnapped, sailed or escaped on the General Wellesley with Bruce from the Bay of Islands in October 1807. Some versions of the events claim that Bruce heard there was a warrant out for his arrest as he was an escaped convict. Others claim that he and Atahoe went on board and the Captain kidnapped them. They ended up in the East Indies, India and Malaya, eventually returning to the Colony in 1809 to Port Dalrymple. The Paracensus of Australia shows an Arahon Tippahee, Anike Tippahee and Mary Tippahee, thought to be George, Atahoe and baby Mary, in Van Diemen's Land in 1809.³⁸

In the meantime, Te Pahi returned to Sydney to try and get support in finding his daughter. He tried to meet with Governor Bligh but he had been deposed in the 1808 Rum Rebellion and Te Pahi met with Finucane and Fouveaux. Te Pahi was treated poorly on this trip.

Lieutenant James Finucane, the Colonial Secretary, had worked with Captain Fouveaux in Norfolk Island and followed him to Australia. He stated: "The New Zealanders are a most treacherous and ferocious race. They are of Herculean dimensions and strength ... They have all the filthy habits and propensities of the New Hollanders without the harmless and inoffensive disposition, or any other of the good qualities which characterize the latter".³⁹

Yet - like many of his contemporaries - he saw New Zealand as a much more fertile, and potentially more profitable, than that "sterile colony" of New South Wales provided Māori could be subdued.

During this visit, Finucane made this clearly lampooning sketch of Te Pahi.

It appears Te Pahi left the Colony not knowing of his daughter's fate.



By Finucane, James (1808)

Source: State Library of New South Wales [a128467 /SV*/Mao/Port/14]

George, Atahoe and baby Mary travelled to Sydney. Intending to leave Sydney on the brig Experiment, George Bruce posted a notification in the Sydney Gazette of 4 February 1810 that he intended to quit the colony on 12 February 1810.

³⁸ Pre 1821 Tasmanian Musters Stock and Land Lists.

³⁹ Whitaker, Distracted Settlement 1998 p103.

CLAIMS & DEMANDS.	
The following Persons being about to depart the Colony, all Claims or Demands on any of the said Persons are respectively requested to be presented to themselves for Payment;—Viz.	
In the <i>Brig Experiment</i> ,—	
Mr. Thomas Keut	Mr. William Leith
George Bruce	James Pratto
Michael Gafney	Samuel Howell
George Pember	Joseph Halfpenny
Samuel Fry	James Neuth
John Griffiths	John Robinson
Joseph Braamin	Michael Callagan
Charles Green	Samuel Cockran
Evan Evans	George Coulston
Willath Brown	William Gill
George Williams	John Lawrence
Patrick Galvin	Patrick Davey
John Hodges	Ann Kelly
In the <i>Schooner Brothers</i> ,—	
Nicholas Thompson	John Robinson
James Lewis	Charles Barrington
Edward M'Cardell	John Deavan John Hodges

Sydney Gazette page 1, 4 February 1810.

On 27 February 1810 Atahoe died of dysentery and was buried on 28 February at the Sydney Burial Grounds, where the Sydney Town Hall is now situated. Her death was reported in the *Sydney Gazette*.

which vessel was however sunk in the attack.

DIED,

On Sunday morning last, at four o'clock, at the house of Mr. Francis M'Kean, in Sydney, a Princess of New Zealand, and daughter of Tip-pa-hee, whose first name was Atahoe, but which at the age of 14 was changed to that of Mary Bruce by her marriage with an European of that name who had resided several years in her father's dominions, from whence he went for India in the General Wellesley, accompanied by his royal bride. From India Mr. and Mrs. Bruce arrived lately here in the Union, on their return to New Zealand, for the valuable purpose of collecting & cultivating the flax, to which that soil is so extremely favourable; at the same time that the no less essential object was in view of improving the good understanding that has hitherto subsisted between our whalers and the native chiefs, which may hereafter prove of considerable interest to this Colony. In this intention Mr. Bruce has been encouraged by the countenance of His Excellency, the GOVERNOR, and the aid of several Gentlemen of character and opulence, whose minds are capable of speculating on a universal rather than on a private benefit; and that their united efforts may become successful is most sincerely to be wished.—The deceased Princess has left a fine infant, which Mr. Bruce intends to take with him in the *Experiment*.

Te Atahoe Death Notice, *Sydney Gazette* 3 March 1810 Page 2.

Her headstone read: "Sacred to the memory of Mary Bruce, a Princess of New Zealand who departed this life Feb 27 1810. Aged 18 years. 'Good Christians all that see this tomb. What I am come to is your doom. These words is true I do lay. The secret that is between this soul and the no mortal soul that's all in the life. Will never know the secret between me and my wife. All tho she is gone and I am here. Never till our souls before the Lord does appear. When we are there. Both great and small. God will discover our secrets all ".⁴⁰

On 21 April 1810, news of the Boyd incident spread in Sydney and Te Pahi was accused of committing the massacre. Bruce left the Colony to go to New Zealand on 5 May 1810 without baby Mary.

Finucane and Fouveaux had left the colony on the Experiment, arriving in the Bay of Islands. Arriving in the Te Puna, Finucane led the retaliatory raid against Te Pahi and his tribe for their alleged involvement in the massacre of the crew and passengers of the ship the Boyd. He wrote: "We soon cleared the island of its inhabitants".⁴¹



Te Puna, Bay of Islands, New Zealand

Source: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-134515608 C18 #T176 NK12/139>

⁴⁰ Old Sydney Burial grounds and the inscription suggests the headstone survived to be moved from Old Sydney burial ground to Sandhills or Bunnerong?

⁴¹ Whitaker, Distracted Settlement 1998 Melbourne University Press p103.

The attack and execution of Māori was not even questioned, except by Marsden. Writing to Pratt in May and October 1810, he recounts the incident and cautions Pratt not to believe the tales as Māori "have none to tell their story or to present the injuries which they have suffered from European cruelty".⁴²

The Boyd incident became a symbol of 'native' treachery in Europe and Te Pahi's head was allegedly sent on a tour. The flyer below suggests Te Pahi's head was preserved by Māori and later acquired as a curio for exhibitions in the UK. At this time it is not possible to ascertain the authenticity or veracity of this flyer or its claims.



Head of Tippahee to be seen at Mr Harrison, Hatter, Market Place, by unknown artist, ca. 1820s

Source: NSW Alexander Turnbull Library. A-059-008.

⁴² Marsden to Pratt Parramatta May 3 1810, Marsden to Pratt 25 Oct 1810.

Te Pahi's granddaughter spent the first years of her life at the Orphan School in George Street, Sydney. When the new Female Orphan School was opened, Mary at the age of 8, embarked on a boat and travelled down the Parramatta River. Disembarking at the landing at the bottom of the orphanage, she would have walked up the hill to her new home.



James Tucker holding his baby Mary Bruce and Mary as a young child at the Female Orphan School. Illustration by Moanaroa Te Whata.

Little is known of Mary's life at the orphanage,⁴³ however, at the age of 16, she appeared in the Colonial Secretary's papers, where she becomes a 'teacher' at the school. There are varied reasons why this occurred. One is that only exceptional students stayed. The other is that she was difficult to 'place' as a servant.

Thomas Kendall and Marsden mention her in letters and in 1815 and 1816 her father is in London and trying to return to Australia and New Zealand. According to correspondence between Josiah Pratt and Reverend Kendall, this request was denied by Macquarie.⁴⁴ In 1816, Kendall wrote: "George Bruce whom you mention in your letter would not in my opinion do any good here. The woman he cohabited with is dead. The child is in the Orphan School at Sydney. It is better provided for that he could provide for it".⁴⁵

In 1823, a young man by the name of James Tucker was transported from Bristol for theft, arriving in Poihakena via the ship *Princess Royal* on 11 March. He was 18 years old and was a waiter. In 1828, James and Mary were married at St John's Church, Parramatta, by Samuel Marsden. Mary was described as born in the colony and was free, whereas James was on a bond. Dr John Dalhenty, the local coroner and doctor, was recorded as taking them to live with them once they were married. This was a routine occurrence in the Colony. Tucker, assigned to Dalhenty as a convict, had to agree to take Mary as he would have been providing rations and accommodation for the couple.

⁴³ Whitlam Institute history mentions exceptional students became teachers and servants at the Orphanage.

⁴⁴ Pratt to Kendall Aug 16 1815; Kendall to Pratt 6 Dec 1816.

⁴⁵ Pratt to Kendall Aug 16 1815; Kendall to Pratt 6 Dec 1816.



Ceremony for Mary Bruce Whitlam Institute 23 October 2014 with the author.

Source: Kotahi Tourism

On 23 October 2014, at the front of the Orphan School, members of the Australian Māori community, Nga Puhi elders from Te Runanga A Iwi O Ngāpuhi, the Director of The Whitlam Institute, Eric Sidoti, along with the Institute staff, took part in a ceremony to honour and remember Mary Bruce. A plaque was presented to the Institute.

The significance of this act was to honour and remember a young girl who was indeed, a Nga Puhi Māori Princess, who had been born and lived in the Colony of New South Wales, having a very different experience of life than other Māori.

MĀORI PERFORMANCE ENTERTAINMENT AND SPORT

A Town Hall or City Hall was usually the focal point of a town's social life and none more so than the Parramatta Town Hall. Built in 1883, Parramatta Town Hall played host to visiting musical troupes, plays and concerts. Māori also contributed to the rich social fabric of this place.

Tairo the Māori Wizard

To date, the earliest record of a Māori appearing at the Town Hall was on 1 December 1905.⁴⁶ However, the New Zealand Evening Post on 11 November 1905 was asking "Who is Tairo?" Nothing more was found about who Tairo was or what he did.



Parramatta Town Hall, opposite St Johns Church, Parramatta 2014.
Photo: Maarama Kamira.

⁴⁶ *The Cumberland Argus and Fruit Growers Advocate* 29 November 1905 Page 3.

Maggie Papakura's Māori Troupe

In 1911, Maggie Papakura⁴⁷ (Te Arawa, Tuhourangi) led a performance group on a world tour. They set up a Māori Village at Contarf and performed all over Sydney. The Telegraph reported that once again Sydney was graced with Miss Papakura's presence. The show and village operated from December 1909 to April 1910 with steamers running from Fort Macquarie to Clontarf. The show then toured to Adelaide and London. On Tuesday 21 February 1911 it was Parramatta's turn to witness song and dance from 'Māoriland'.⁴⁸



Maggie performing in the Parramatta Town Hall. Illustration by Moanaroa Te Whata.

⁴⁷ Maggie Papakura also known as Magaret Pattison Thom, was a guide at Whakarewarewa in Rotorua.

Whakarewarewa was her ancestral home. teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3p5/papakura-makereti

⁴⁸ *The Cumberland Argus and Fruit Growers Advocate* 15 February 1911 Page 2 Māoris in Parramatta.



Members of Te Arohanui Performing Group.

Source: National Library of Australia



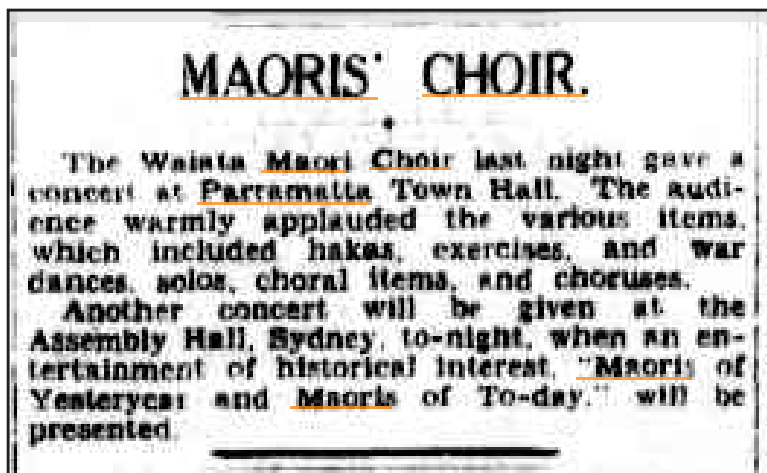
Maggie (Makareti) Papakura and her sister Bella.

Source: National Library of Australia

A world famous choir, the Waiata Māori Choir, commenced an Australian Tour in 1935. They played the Parramatta Town Hall on Wednesday 27 March 1935.

“The Choir is composed of young chiefs and chieftainesses, who are linked up with the Choir as representatives of their particular tribes. Every large tribe of Māoris makes it nominations to the Choir Committee as vacancies occur in the membership. To quote the figures used by the Māoris, in speaking of the Choir, ‘All New Zealand is present when the Choir appears’.”⁴⁹

⁴⁹ *The Methodist* Saturday 16 March 1935 'Waiata Māori Choir.'



Sydney Morning Herald 28 March 1935, Page 16 Māoris Choir.



Signed photo of the Waiata Māori Choir on their Australian Tour.
Source: Private Collection

The Sydney Morning Herald reported the concert was “warmly applauded”.

Other groups also performed at Parramatta Town Hall, including Bishop Bennett’s choir and local kapa haka (Māori Culture) groups.

In 1938, Noho Toki was featured in the Alice Webb Concert at Parramatta Town Hall. In 1941, an Anzac concert featured Toki, who gave four encores to a crowd of 600 people.⁵⁰ Mr Toki lived in Sydney for 30 years until his death in 1960. A Gallipoli veteran, he led the New Zealand contingent at each Anzac Day Parade.



Noho Tohi Cumberland Argus and Fruit Growers Advocate 24 August 1938.

⁵⁰ The Cumberland Argus and Fruit Growers Advocate 30 April 1941 Page 5 Fine Programme at ANZAC Concert.



Noho Toki centre – Anzac Day March (Sydney 1938)

Source: Australian War Memorial

Parramatta Park, Old King's School cricket ground, New Zealand Football Team v Cumberland County 1884

The very first New Zealand Rugby Football team to tour outside New Zealand played in Parramatta on 28 May 1884. It was a privately arranged tour. The team included Joe Warbrick and other members of the later New Zealand Natives tour of 1889.

Reported as wearing dark blue with a gold fern and white knickerbockers, the team arrived at Parramatta and lunched at Cripps Parkside Hotel. Before proceeding to the ground, the Sydney Morning Herald (29 May 1884) observed the visitors were driven around town and through the park in a horse drawn drag and “expressed themselves much pleased with the picturesque surroundings of the ancient metropolis”. There were approximately 600 spectators at the cricket ground.

It was reported that Parramatta were “a very unevenly-sized body of players” and “some of them took off their boots, but that did not improve their play”. The result was New Zealand: 33 Cumberland County: 0.



New Zealand Football Team 1884

Source: rugbyfootballhistory.com/allblacks.html

New Zealand Natives v Parramatta Possums 1889

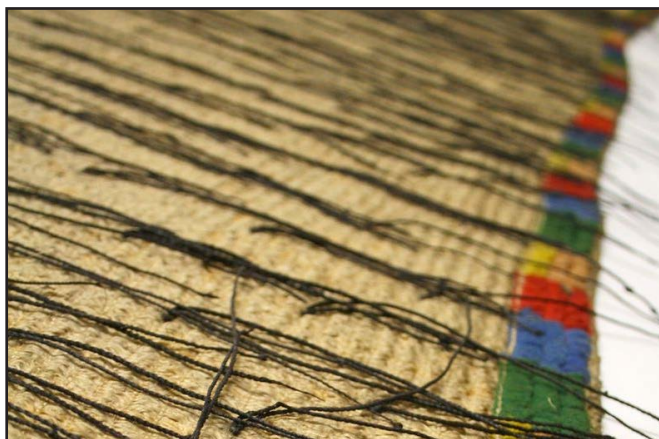
In 1888, the New Zealand Natives Rugby Tour started. Playing first in Victoria, then the British Isles, in 1889, it was Parramatta's turn to host the visitors.

The Cumberland Argus and Fruit Growers Advocate reported a week prior to the match that a letter was written to Mr Bennett of the Kings School advising him that he needed to have a "very strong" team to meet the Māori. "The team look rather unique in their beautiful and expensive mats and cloaks. 'Kia kaha' [be strong] must be the motto of the Parramatta boys whom we expect to make a good show against the boys of Niu Tirini".

The match was played on 19 June 1889. *The Cumberland Argus and Fruit Growers Advocate* reported the team arrived in Parramatta by train. They were met at the station and taken to Roberts Hotel where they were formally welcomed. Mr Hugh Taylor proposed the health of the visitors and remarked that he had given instructions to 'his boys' they were to allow the visitors to win, a privilege always conceded to visitors from a distant land



The Captain, Joe Warbrick.



Warbricks Korowai.

Source: blogs.abc.net.au/nsw/2011/09/cloak-reveals-haka-history-in-rugby-connection.html

The Captain, Joe Warbrick, thanked Mr Taylor for his kindness and called for three cheers for Parramatta, which were reported as "Ake, ake, kia kaha." Ake ake kia kaha loosely translates as 'forever and ever be strong.' It is important to note that this common Māori phrase, which is still in use today, was widely known by non-Māori in Parramatta. The team were also invited to attend the School Children's Exhibition at the School of Arts, which they accepted.

The paper reported there were 1000 present and 1001 perched on the fence at the Kings School. The Parramatta team wore a red uniform and the Māori team, black with a silver fern. The Māori team played under the United Tribes flag, then known as the New Zealand flag. The score was 21 - 0 to the Māori team.

Warbrick sold his Korowai (cloak) prior to leaving Australia for the sum of four pounds. The cloak is now part of the Australian Museums collection.



New Zealand Football Team 1889

Source: rugbyfootballhistory.com/allblacks.html

All Blacks V Parramatta Possums 1893



Illustration by Moanaroa Te Whata.

This match is significant in history as the very first game of the very first international tour of the 'Official New Zealand Rugby Union' All Blacks. Playing in the black jersey with a silver fern, the All Blacks or 'Māoris' as reported in *The Cumberland Argus and Fruitgrowers Advocate* had a very rough crossing from New Zealand and suffered greatly from sea sickness.

They were taken to the Woolpack Hotel and driven to the Parramatta Ground in front of the King's School, receiving a 'hearty welcome' from the crowd of 1500. The paper reported the New Zealanders put down Parramatta 8 to nil but the "local men played a rattling good game".⁵¹

⁵¹ *Cumberland Argus and Fruitgrowers Advocate* 1 July 1893 The Māoris score their first win.

On 24 October 2014, the Old King's School again hosted Māori, when the Rua Rau Festival (acknowledging 200 years since Marsden arrived in New Zealand) was held on the grounds. Hosted by Nga Uri o Rahiri (a local Ngā Puhi group) the festival attracted thousands.



The New Zealand Natives.

Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/M%C4%81ori_All_Blacks#/media/File:1888-1889_Natives_Tour.jpg

CONCLUSION

The story of Māori in Parramatta is inextricably linked to the history of New Zealand itself that began with a few individuals and their encounters as young men from a different world. These encounters allowed a mutually beneficial economy between Māori and Europeans to be established.

The early contact from Ngā Puhi, resonated through the rest of Māoridom in the Musket Wars; Marsden is widely accredited with bringing Christianity to New Zealand, however his business acumen was more important to the story of Parramatta. Marsden's contact with New Zealand arguably impacted and changed Te Ao Māori forever.

Yet the story of Māori in Parramatta has been all but forgotten in time by non-Māori. Parramatta story is not solely a Nga Puhi tale. It is our story as Māori in Australia, of all iwi. It recognises how the interactions between different cultures and peoples leads to other events and migrations. It recognises Māori who have grown up away from family and cultural learnings! It is the narrative from which we can trace our Ngāti Kanguru roots and, it also reveals the strong bravado of Māori and the interest by the people of Sydney and Parramatta during the 19 and 20 century to watch and enjoy Māori performance, song, and storytelling. More importantly, it is the birth of All Black International Rugby!

City of Parramatta has recognised the historical significance of the history of Māori in the area and the impact this has had in shaping a contemporary city. The 2011 census records show approximately 5500 Māori in the greater Parramatta area.⁵² This research has allowed greater awareness to the wider community of the long history of Māori connections to Parramatta and the importance of this to identity and place.

The research has revealed that no one area in Parramatta is specifically 'Māori', rather Māori have connections with many areas, where they have lived, worked and visited.

⁵² abs.gov.au retrieved 26 June 2014.

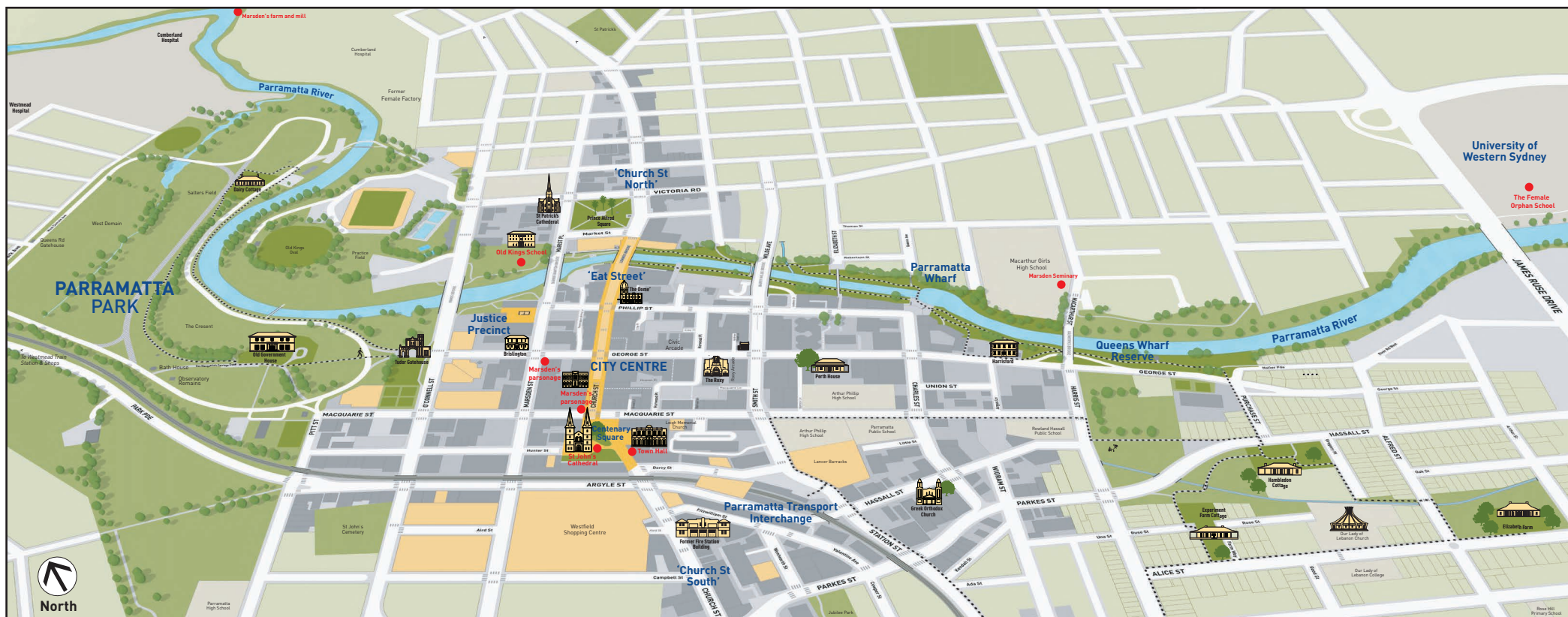
To really walk through St Johns Church and stop at the font and contemplate what led such a beautiful piece to be gifted and the significance of that piece. Stand at the back of the church and you may just glimpse the image of Te Pahi, Ruatara or Kawiti arguing theological conundrums with Reverend Marsden. Stand on the Old Cricket Ground and imagine the roar of 1000 people and 1001 more on the fence cheering on the Parramatta Possums and New Zealand Natives. Walk into the Parramatta Town Hall and imagine Maggie Papakura or Noho Toki's voice resonating.

Walk down Church Street and imagine what it must have been like for young Māori to be living in a strange town, away from their families and friends. Or walk through Rangihou Reserve and remember that for a very short time, near New Zealand Street the area housed a purpose built school by an entrepreneurial missionary.



Rua Rau Festival celebrating 200 years since Marsden arrived in New Zealand.
Old Kings School, Parramatta 24 October 2014.

Source: Kotahi Tourism.





Published by City of Parramatta