

Remote in Southern Seas. Early New Zealand Books, 1807-1829

Some observations respecting the country, and its inhabitants

Savage, J., Some account of New Zealand. 1807.

Dr John Savage (1770-1838) might have been surprised to have himself recognised, a couple of hundred years later, as notable for writing the first book solely on New Zealand. It seems that he was neither particularly a writer nor a traveller with the object of discovery. Just an observer passing through. Savage sailed as surgeon on a convict ship, arrived in Australia in 1803, with his wife, to take up a position as assistant surgeon for New South Wales, and quickly took up magistrate appointments and a posting with a volunteer militia.¹ He was a young, modern medical man, a supporter of Edward Jenner, promoting vaccination in the colony. But he came to grief when court marshalled and found guilty of not attending the wife of a settler in labour, the woman dying. Governor King did not agree with the verdict, suggesting some solidarity amongst the gentry, and Savage's case implicated opposition from the colony's Principal Surgeon to Savage's promulgation of the use of cow pox for smallpox vaccination.² He returned to England in 1806 in the whaler *Ferret* to defend the charge of medical misconduct, and spent two months in the Bay of Islands, (September-October, 1805) when the ship diverted there for repairs.

His connections with Jenner and the Earl Fitzwilliam (President of the Council and the dedicatee of his book), including an introduction from Governor King to Sir Joseph Banks³, helping him defend the charge, which was reversed, and his position reconfirmed, although he never returned to Australia. Savage was now 37, and published his account in London in 1807.

Savage, J., Some account of New Zealand; particularly the Bay of Islands, and surrounding country; with a description of the religion and government, language, arts, manufactures, manners and customs of the natives, &c. &c. J. Murray, London, 1807. pp. viii, 110, frontispiece, 2 plates. 8vo, Bagnall 5019, Hocken 34.

My copy is bound in printer's boards with a calf spine. One board has been replaced at some time along with the endpapers, but with the original half calf, ending up with a bit of a binder's hybrid. The tiki is not hand-coloured as in some issues, but better for that. It was bought from AD years ago, now infrequently available, as it should be. Most copies have been rebound in contemporary or later leather bindings. This copy is a good example of the original printer's bindings in the days before cloth. You would take this and run down to your favourite binder to have it rebound, usually in in full calf, or quarter calf and marbled boards.

¹ **Scholefield, G.H.**, A Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Vol II. Whitcombe & Tombs, Wellington, 1940.

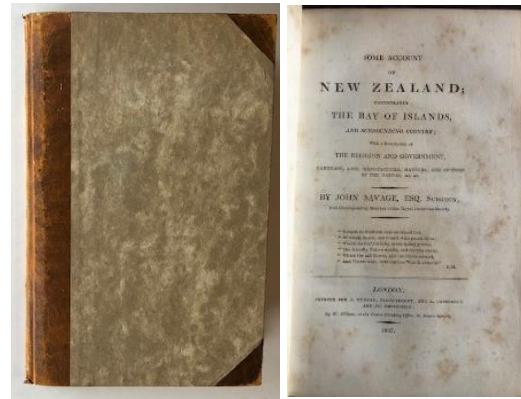
Moon, P. The voyagers. Remarkable European explorations of New Zealand. Auckland Penguin, 2004. pp. 15-23.

² **McKinlay, A. D.**, Savage's account of New Zealand in 1805 together with schemes of 1771 and 1824 for commerce and colonization. Watkins, Wellington, 1939.

³ **Salmond, A.**, Between worlds. Early exchanges between Maori and Europeans 1773-1815. Auckland, Viking, 1997. pp 331-348. Salmond also provides a detailed description of the book's contents.

The book is a modest, short work, with a poem on the title page by 'E.H', unidentified.

*'Remote in Southern Seas an Island lies,
Of ample Space, and bless'd with genial skies,
Where shelter'd still by never-fading grooves,
The friendly Native dwells, and fearless roves,
Where the tall forest, and the Plains around,
And Waters wide, with various Wealth abound.'*



There, right up front, is the implication that there is room here and wealth to be found, in some Pacific paradise, a sentiment still found in New Zealand travel books 50 years later. The book has 3 plates: Tiarrah, a Chief of the Bay of Islands, New Zealand; 5 views of coast of north and south of Bay of Islands; a New Zealand Deity (a tiki, which in some copies is hand-coloured). On the end pages there is an errata and instructions to the binder, and it also contains 5 pages of vocabulary, and (pp. 94-110) an account of the young Māori man Moyhanger (Moehanga, Te Mahanga, Ngāpuhi) who Savage took to London with him. Savage's narrative arises from a combination of his observations (not all accurate according to Bagnall) and information obtained from Moehanga. Its modesty is not lost on Bagnall: *'As the first book solely devoted to New Zealand it is disappointing. Little detail on the vessel's stay in the Bay or actual contact with the Maoris while much information on custom is incorrect. Without Moehanga...there is unlikely to have been a narrative at all.'* An anonymous reviewer in the Edinburgh Review of 1807, perhaps tired of the weighty quarto volumes of Cook, Staunton, Barrow, Vancouver and their voyaging colleagues of the late 18th C, had a more favourable view, tempered with relief at its manageable length: *'This is a publication of considerable merit, and of very modest pretensions....As his materials, from the nature of the subject, and his short residence, were necessarily scanty, he has given them just as he collected them, without the trick of expanding them into a large and costly volume,..... For setting so a good an example he deserves our thanks.'*⁴



Tiarrah, Chief of the Bay of Islands, New Zealand, Savaae.1807. Frontispiece

Savage provides the etching of Tiarrah from a drawing of his own (engraved by the notable London engraver G. Cooke⁵). Tiarrah was a brother of the important Chief Te Pahi (who lived at Te Puna in the Bay of Islands, wrongly blamed for the Boyd massacre, and later a friend of Marsden), one of the first Māori to travel to Port

⁴ Anon. A review of: Some account of New Zealand, particularly the Bay of Islands, and surrounding country, with a description of the religion and government, language, arts, manufactures, manners and customs of the natives, etc. etc. etc by John Savage, surgeon and corresponding member of the Royal Jennerian Society. pp. 188, London, Murray. 1807. The Edinburgh Review, July, 1807. no. XX, p 471-486. This has been issued as a separate reprint in soft covers.

⁵ George Cooke (1781-1834) was a leading, and prolific line engraver working in London, producing engravings for many travel, scenic and botanical works, including the 16 vol Pinkerton set of voyages and travels. At the time of Savage's publication, he would have been only been a year or two out of his apprenticeship and embarking on his significant career.

Jackson and Norfolk Island (in 1805) and a promotor of trade with the Europeans⁶. The plate showing views of Bay of Islands headlands, also Savage's own and characteristic of the age, was included in the hope that they be '*deemed of some importance as it may be of use to persons whose pursuits led them to visit this excellent harbour.*' The tiki was also by Savage and engraved by G. Cooke⁷. He covers much on the geography of the Bay, Māori, their religion, food, language, music, and the behaviours in war and peace likely to confirm European views of the savagery of the South Seas native, despite his growing empathy for the Māori people and Moehanga in particular.

While Savage's account is somewhat incidental, what was less so was his taking Moehanga to London with him. Savage records in some detail the emotional farewells that Moehanga made with his whanau, his responses to Cape Horn, St Helena and London. They clearly formed a warm attachment that led to more emotion when they parted in London on Moehanga's departure for home. He arrived in London on 26 April, 1806 and was the first Māori recorded to have visited Europe, and according to his own account (Savage doesn't mention it), met King George III, who gave him gifts of tools and money. Peter Dillon records Moehanga's account: '*I was much disappointed: I expected to see a great warrior; but he was an old man that could neither throw a spear or fire a musket.*'^{9,8} He returned, departing on the 13 June 1806, again on the *Ferret*, first to Sydney and then back home. Both Nicholas⁹ in 1815 and Marsden in 1817, record meeting him, and Dillon met him in 1827, and he sailed off with Dillon on the next phase of the latter's search for La Perouse^{7,10}. A bit fancifully likened to being the Tasman Māori¹¹, Te Mahanga lives on, with calls to celebrate Moehanga Day on 26 April, the day when Māori discovered England¹².

Savage eventually joined the East India Company and we meet up with him again in Calcutta in 1826, where he was providing a medical assessment of Peter Dillon's fitness to take a Company ship in a search of La Perouse.¹³ Dillon was in the middle of some intrigue concerning his proposed voyage, but a favourable medical opinion from Savage, clearly a



*A New Zealand Deity
Savage, 1807, p. 21*

⁶ Middleton, A., Maori and European landscapes at Te Puna, Bay of Islands, New Zealand, 1805–1850. *Archaeol. Oceania* 38, 2003, pp 110–124.

⁷ Ellis, E.M., & D.G., *Early Prints of New Zealand. 1642-1875.* Avon Fine Prints, Christchurch, 1978. p. 61.

⁸ Dillon, Peter, *Narrative and Successful Result of a Voyage in the South Seas, performed by Order of the Government of British India, to ascertain the Actual Fate of La Perouse's Expedition, interspersed with Accounts of the Religion, Manners, Customs, and Cannibal Practices of the South Sea Islanders.* By the Chevalier Capt. P. Dillon, Member of the Legion of Honour; of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and of the Geographical Society of Paris: Commander of the Hon. East-India Company's Ship Research. In two volumes. London: Hurst, Chance, and Co., St. Paul's Church-Yard. 1829. Vol II, pp. 201-202.

⁹ Nicholas J. L., *Narrative of a voyage to New Zealand, performed in the years 1814 and 1815, in company with the Rev. Samuel Marsden, principal chaplain of New South Wales.* James Black and Son, London, M.DCCC.XVII. (1817). pp. 428-9.

¹⁰ Scholefield, G.H., *op. cit.* vol. 2., pp 88.

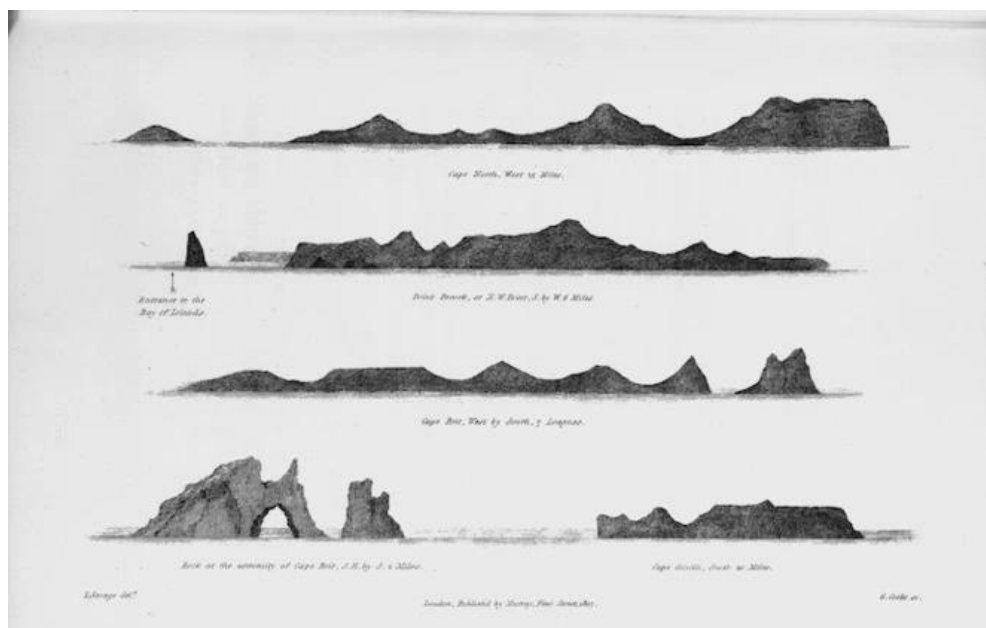
¹¹ Belich, J., *Making peoples. A history of the New Zealanders from Polynesian settlement to the end of the Nineteenth Century.* Auckland, Allen Lane, 1996. p. 31.

¹² <https://www.nzherald.co.nz/kahu/unsanitary-brutal-society-kiwis-celebrate-anniversary-maori-discovered-britain/> Accessed 9 May, 2022.

¹³ Davidson, J.W., *Peter Dillon of Vanikoro, Chevalier of the South Seas.*, Ed O. H. K. Spate. Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1975. p. 132.

friend in court, and another doctor, allowed him to get his permission needed to make his voyage. This successful endeavour occurred more than 30 years after the failed search by d'Entrecasteaux at the turn of the century.

Savage's short book doesn't really deserve the scorn it has received from New Zealand bibliographers. In the short time available, and most of these early accounts are of short visits, you observe, listen and garner the best information you can in an alien land and culture. Accuracy can be a luxury of after sight. In a reprint of 1939, the editor, A. K. McKinlay notes '*...it is legitimately the starting point of our historical literature - a place it additionally deserves by reason of its general accuracy and high literary quality.*'⁶ It set the pattern for western accounts of New Zealand over the next couple of decades, most being written by visitors passing through, or at least, not permanently resident.



Cape North, Point Pocock, Cape Brit[sic], Rock at Cape Brit, Cape Colville. Savage, 1807, p.2.

For the amusement and information of his private friends

Turnbull, J., Voyage around the world. 1813.

You would think that a career turned on trade and business in China and across the Southern Seas would have included a visit to New Zealand, even as early as 1800. However, John Turnbull (?-1813) pork trader and mariner, failed to set foot on New Zealand soil despite some 4 years of trading and voyaging. He is sighted sailing from Sydney on 17 August 1798 in the *Barwell* along with his companion John Buyers, as second and first officers respectively¹⁴. The *Barwell* in this instance had transported convicts from England, though it had a history of trading voyages including two previous trips to Whampoa, the anchorage about 12 miles downriver from Canton. The Imperial Chinese court restricted foreign trading to Canton, an on-going issue with traders, and one that lay behind the British embassies to Peking in 1792 (Macartney) and 1816 (Amherst). The traders spent about 2 months there and were attracted by the prospects of fur trading between the American North-West and China. On returning to England, they together bought the ship *Margaret*, registered to John Turnbull & Co., Buyers commanding and Turnbull handling the business, sailing from England in July 1800 to undertake a 4-year voyage of trading across the Pacific. The North-West fur enterprise failed and Turnbull and Buyers, after initially trading among different Australian colonies, voyaged across the Pacific, taking in Hawaii and the Society Islands, 'discovering' and naming a few islands, until the ship foundered on a reef in the Palliser islands (in the Tuamotu group). The crew managed to reach Tahiti, where Turnbull had remained salting pigs for trade with New South Wales, using salt from their trade with Hawaii, and all took passage to Sydney in 1804, then returning to England in the *Calcutta*¹⁵. Turnbull wrote up his account, largely, as he says, for his own amusement and the first edition was published in 1805¹⁶.

Turnbull, J., Voyage around the world, in the years 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, and 1804: in which the author visited Madeira, the Brazils, Cape of Good Hope, the English settlements of Botany Bay and Norfolk Island; and the principal islands of the Pacific Ocean, with a continuation of their history to the present period. Second edition. London, A. Maxwell. 1813. xv, 516 pp. Bagnall. 5654, Hocken 36, Taylor 113.

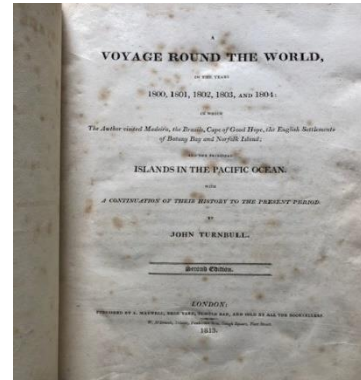
My copy came from England, sight unseen but with confidence in the bookseller. Contemporary black half calf with marbled boards, gilt title on spine, and pages vii-ix not bound (though no textural matter seems to be missing), some foxing as seems normal and a titch of water staining in some later pages. It is the second edition which has the New Zealand appendix, pp. 491-516, not present in the first. Both editions are reasonably common. It is a comfortable book without a picture in sight, but then it's a book to read.

¹⁴ Arrival of Vessels at Port Jackson and their Departure. Australian Town and Country Journal (Sydney, NSW: 1870 - 1919) Saturday 3 January 1891, p.16. Accessed 6 May 2022.

¹⁵ **Te Rangi Hiroa** (Sir Peter Buck), 'Explorers of The Pacific: European and American Discoveries In Polynesia.' Bishop Museum, <http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-BucExpl-t1-body-d20-d2.html>, accessed 6 May, 2022.

¹⁶ **Turnbull, J.**, A Voyage Round the World, In the Years 1800,1801,1802,1803 and 1804; In which the Author visited principal Islands in the Pacific Ocean, and the English Settlements of Port Jackson and Norfolk Island. Richard Phillips, London, 1805.

A review in the *Edinburgh Review* in 1807, of the first edition¹⁷, gives a detailed description of the work, but also says: 'Admitting, what is always to be presumed, unless there is internal evidence of the contrary, that the publication is authentic, and that Mr Turnbull is, what he describes himself, we look upon his work as one of the most interesting books of travel which have appeared for many years.' The review continues, raising suspicions that Turnbull did not write it but employed some else to do so, providing a number of examples in the style and content as evidence. The reviewer then seems to enjoy the work. This first edition was issued in 3 volumes with German, French and translations issued in 1806 and 1807 respectively, and an American edition in 1810.



There was a significant shift in Turnbull's writing and perspectives between the 1805 and 1813 editions. 'In his 1805 Voyages, Turnbull appears as an intolerant trader hurrying across a global stage, with no time for cross-cultural friendships or the recording of navigational details. But in the second version of his Voyages, published in 1813, Turnbull underwent a rather startling metamorphosis. He boasted of discovering islands, accurately located their bearings and removed the sections of his books that had trumpeted the virtues of trade. Significantly, he now also saw cross-cultural friendship as the ideal medium for imperial commerce.'¹⁸ This difference reflected a response to reviewers criticising him for his steady focus on trade and markets in the first edition, and his own growing awareness of the importance and interest in the cultural and navigational aspects of his observations, and no doubt, the growing interest of potential readers in Pacific people and their customs.

And then there was the addition of the New Zealand Appendix. Turnbull provides an extended account of the lead up to, and occurrence of, the *Boyd* massacre, sourced from newspapers and a mix of truth and fiction. One suggestion for the reason for its conclusion is that Turnbull was able to portray the event as the result of a 'bad trader' breaching the contracts of friendship between Māori and traders at large, the latter a major emphasis of the second edition.¹⁸ He seems concerned to portray normal relationships between friendly Māori and traders, with the former not the barbarians as were often portrayed.¹⁹ His second edition had a much warmer reception.

Incidentally, in an age when networks and connectivity across trading and exploration sea routes were common, Turnbull's account shows that trading north to Canton was commonplace. As well as his earlier voyage from Australia to Canton in the *Barwell*, his final voyage to Tahiti was induced by the need for provisions unavailable in Port Jackson, when they determined to undertake trade with China in seals sourced in the Bass Strait (a substantial trade, Turnbull citing 46,000 seal skins being taken around this time). This was also fulfilling a requirement from the East India Company, to whom they were licensed, to include Canton in their trading passage. Such trading routes, including the salted pork trade Turnbull took part in from Tahiti to Australia were a constant underlay of travellers' accounts of the Southern Seas and their people.

¹⁷ *Edinburgh Review*, vol 9, No XVIII, 1807, pp 332-347.

¹⁸ **Simmonds, A.**, *Trading Sentiments: Friendship and Commerce in John Turnbull's Voyages (1800–1813)*. *Journal of Pacific History*, 48, 2013, pp. 369-385.

¹⁹ **Wevers, L.**, *op. cit.* pp. 28-30.

Minutely particularizing the incidents in their proper order

Nicholas, J.L. Narrative of a voyage to New Zealand. 1817.

The unenterprising businessman, John Liddiard Nicholas would have been quickly forgotten except that he became the first-hand chronicler of Marsden's 1814 visit to the Bay of Islands on the brig *Active*, arriving in November 1814 and returning to Sydney in February the next year. Nicholas (1784-1868), from an ironmongering business, sailed to Australia, arriving on the *Earl Spencer* in 1813 with a partner John Dickson, from whom he soon parted, with the promise of £10,000 and a steam engine which he proposed to sell to the Governor for sawmilling²⁰. However, he seemed to spend most of time in the company of Samuel Marsden, and towards the end of the following year, he is on board the *Active* with Marsden in the Bay of Islands. During his 5-month stay, Nicholas served as a witness on 24 February to the deed of sale of the first piece of Māori land (81 ha) to the Church Missionary Society, for 24 axes. After his return to Sydney, he was granted land, but left for England at the end of 1815, later selling the land to Marsden.

There, in 1817, he published his account of his time in New Zealand, probably his most important achievement, and it quickly becoming the most authoritative account of early New Zealand, recorded by and for British eyes.

Nicholas, J.L. Narrative of a voyage to New Zealand, performed in the years 1814 and 1815, in company with the Rev. Samuel Marsden, principal chaplain of New South Wales. In two volumes. London: Printed for James Black and Son, Tavistock-Street, Convent-Garden. M.DCCC.XVII. (1817). V.1 xx, 431 pp, frontispiece, 1 folding map, 1 folding plate. V.2, xii, 397 pp, frontispiece, 1 plate, 1 map. 8vo. 1 ed. Bagnall 4268, Hocken 37.

The first copy I bought was very good, re-cased in original calf, but the map was missing. About 20 years later, I bought a finer copy from AD, in original calf, in lovely condition. When I sent the first to auction, they said that the map is bound in the second volume. I must have known originally, but when I read the work, it was in the modern reprint. You should always read the original.



The plates were engraved by Neele of the Strand²¹. In volume 1 there is a Māori chief frontispiece engraving of a drawing probably based on one by Sydney Parkinson²² from Cook's first voyage. The volume also includes a fold-out set of views of Cape Maria (van Diemen), Cape Brett, and Cape Colville, and a fold-out map of New Zealand based on Cook's charts, showing the track of the *Active* from the Three Kings down to the Bay of Islands. Volume 2 contains a frontispiece of an etching of a view of North Cape,

²⁰ **John Barrett**, Nicholas, John Liddiard (1784–1868), Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/nicholas-john-liddiard-2506/text3383>, published first in hardcopy 1967, accessed online 7 May 2022

²¹ Samuel Neele (1763-1824) ran a large engraving business in London at 352 The Strand, producing maps and illustrations.

²² However, it is not in Parkinson's account of Cook's first voyage (A Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas..., 1773). The National Library (<https://digitalnz.org/records/22758133/nicholas-john-liddiard-1784-1868-a-chief-of-new-zealand-neele-sculp-strand-?from-story=null>) entry says it is loosely based on the Parkinson drawing "A New Zealand Warrior in his Proper Dress".

with a sailing ship at anchor with canoes around it. This is of unknown origin but may depict the visit to the Cape that the *Active* made on its way back to Sydney, to pick up flax, and where Nicholas and Marsden went ashore²³. There is also, a map of the Bay of Islands (after Cook), and a drawing of moko ("A fac-simile of the Amoco or tattooing on the face of a New Zealand chief, as drawn by himself on board the ship *Active*, March 9th, 1815"). This woodcut is likely to have been redrawn by Neele from one by Moeranga²⁴ (Moehanga), the young man that Savage took to England and whom Nicholas later met during his visit to the Bay of Islands.

The book contains a Māori vocabulary, probably provided by Thomas Kendall²⁵, and appendices comprising an extract of Collin's history of New South Wales covering Tiki and Huru, captured in Doubtless Bay and taken to Norfolk Island, an extract from Turnbull's narrative covering the relations between Māori and colonists from Port Jackson settlers, and Marsden's memoir of the chief Duaterra (Ruataru) from a letter from Marsden to the Rev Pratt of the Church Missionary Society in 1815.



North Cape of New Zealand. Nicholas, 1817, Vol II, frontispiece.



A Chief of New Zealand. Nicholas, 1817, Vol. I, frontispiece.

Nicholas seemed to have two aims in writing his account, to give a clear picture of New Zealand and its people, recognising the shortness of his stay, and to champion Marsden and his visit and establishment of the mission "The object of the author.... to render justice to the views of the benevolent Gentleman whom he accompanied; and this

Narrative, while it embraces other topics, is also a record of that Gentleman's proceedings in the cause of humanity."²⁶ He carried out this support of "the benevolent Gentleman" in other activities later in London, where he this book was published, and where he spent the

²³ Nicholas pp. 2090-212.

²⁴ Ellis, N., Ki tō Ringa Kingā Rākau ā te Pākehā?" Drawings And Signatures Of "Moko" By Māori in the Early 19th Century. *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, v.123, 2014, pp. 29-66.

²⁵ Binney, J., *The Legacy of Guilt. The life of Thomas Kendall.* Bridget Williams, Wellington, 2005. Kendall had come across from Sydney in the *Active* earlier in 1814, and stayed from March to August, establishing the first mission at Rangihoua, under the protection of Honga Hika and Ruataru.

²⁶ Nicholas, J., p. vii.

rest of his life. The book covers the mission in Sydney and preparation for the visit, with the Chief Duaterra (Ruatarua) who returned with them, their arrival at Rangihoua in the Bay of Islands and the subsequent, momentous interactions with the men and women there, the chiefs, Pomare, Te Pahi, trading, details of the customs. There is an expedition down the Hauraki Gulf and the Thames river. Duaterra is a prominent personality, Kendall moves in and out, there is comment on cannibalism (inevitably), the mission, other chiefs, escaped convicts – all the origins and signals of colonisation, the meeting of cultures and people and the panoply of missionary enterprises and trading, are there. They eventually leave, Marsden and Nicholas going ashore for a brief time at North Cape, and then back to Sydney. There is the narration of the Boyd massacre, though this time with a significant first-hand account and view point from George (Te Ara or Tarrah), who's lashing was the cause of the eventual massacre. It somehow pervades the work, as it seems to in the accounts from hereon over the next 10-20 years, though in the latter cases, there is an increasing understanding of the provocation and motivations of the Māori involved.²⁷ The book was well received, and translated into Dutch and German in 1819.

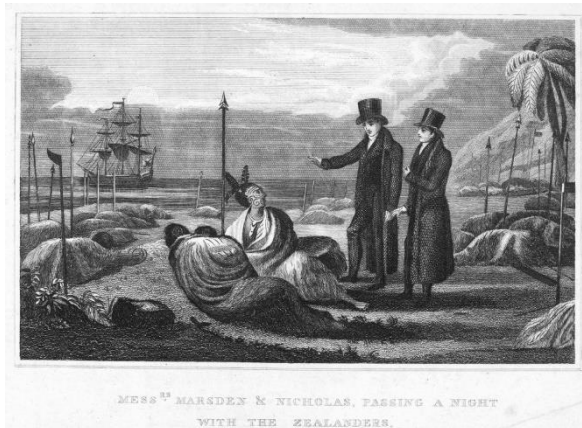
There are no images of Nicholas. However, in 1837, a rather fanciful lithograph was published entitled '*Mess^{rs} Marsden & Nicholas passing a night with the Zealanders*', showing top-hatted Marsden and Nicholas, with no attempt at any likeness, speaking with tattooed Māori lying in their blankets on the shore.²⁸

Nicholas seemed to have lived a life of leisure in England, supporting Marsden in his disputes, and playing some small part with Wilberforce, Elizabeth Fry and Marsden in attempts to improve conditions for female convicts on the ships sailing to Australia. He is also recorded as meeting with the Ngāpuhi chief Titore and his companion Tui (Titere and Tuai)²⁹, who sailed to London in 1817 on the *Kangaroo*. He gave evidence to the House of Lords Committee on New Zealand in 1838:

"Do you think that the Interference of the British between Tribe and Tribe would have the effect of checking the influence of the Missionaries?"

No, I think not. A Colony composed of men of moral and respectable characters would tend very much to promote the Labour of the Missionaries".^{30,31}

He died, senile, in Reading, in 1868.



Mess^{rs} Marsden & Nicholas passing a night with the Zealanders. Smith, 1837, Vol.1, p. 579.

²⁷ Wevers, L., op. cit. pp. 27-28.

²⁸ Smith, T., *The Origin and History of Missions ...: Comp. from Authentic Documents; Forming a Complete Missionary Repository*, in two volumes, Vol. 1. Boston, Gould, Kendall and Lincoln, 1837. p. 579.

²⁹ O'Malley, V., *Haerenga. Early Māori journeys across the globe*. Bridget Williams Books, pp. 67-72, 2015.

³⁰ Scholefield, G.H., op. cit. vol II, p. 124.

³¹ Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords appointed to enquire into the present state of the Islands for New Zealand and the expediency of regulating the settlement of British subjects therein; with the minutes of Evidence taken before the Committee, and an Index thereto. The House of Commons, 1838, pp iii, 374.

Represent their language in a manner as simple and unembarrassed as the nature of the subject and materials would admit.

Lee, S., A grammar and vocabulary of the language of New Zealand. 1820.

While many of the missionaries were notable for their language skills, it was Thomas Kendall who made the most lasting impact on development of Te Reo Māori as a written language. He arrived in the Bay of Islands with his family in 1814 to serve at Marsden's CMS mission³¹. His considerable facility with language resulted in the first book in Māori, published in Sydney in 1815.

Kendall, Thomas. *A Korao no New Zealand; or the New Zealander's first book; being an attempt to compare some lessons for the instruction of the natives.* Sydney, G. Howe, 1815. [1], pp 54, brown paper covers. Bagnall 2971, Hocken 36.

Don't go looking for it since there is only one known copy, in the Auckland Institute and Museum. A facsimile edition of 100 copies was issued in 1957. The first major work on the language, however, was compiled in the safety of Cambridge. In 1818, Kendall sent back to the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in London a manuscript of a vocabulary, which was seen by Prof. Samuel Lee, the Cambridge linguist, who raised doubts on it. Lee (1783-1852) was a protege of the CMS and Professor of Arabic, expert in a number of languages.



Kendall was determined to follow this up and took unauthorised leave to sail back to England, along with Hongi Hika, the northern chief under whose protection the mission had been established at Rangihoua, and his young relative, Waikato. Kendall worked with Lee and the grammar and vocabulary was the result. The vocabulary was based on material that Kendall had assembled over some previous years with the help of Titore and Tui, who also visited England in 1817, but returned to New Zealand in 1818 due to ill health, the same chiefs who Nicholas encountered in England, and who were encountered by Richard Cruise and Alexander Macrae in the Bay of Islands.

Lee, S., *A grammar and vocabulary of the language of New Zealand.* London, Church Missionary Society, 1820. [4], pp 230. 1 edition. Bagnall 3113.

The work³² is preceded by an advertisement signed by Josiah Pratt, Secretary of the Society, Church Missionary House, November 20, 1820.

'The Committee of the Church Missionary Society have availed themselves of the visit to this country of Mr. Thomas Kendall, one of the Society's Settlers at the Bay of Islands in New Zealand, to prepare the present work. Mr. Lee, who has very kindly directed the whole, explains, in the Preface which he has prefixed to it, the objects of this publication.'

It is noteworthy for calling the troublesome and rather tormented Kendall a 'settler', not a missionary. The involvement of the four Māori chiefs is acknowledged in Lee's Introduction, and Lee makes clear that the objectives, achieved after the two month stay of

³² <https://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-KenGramm-t1-front-d1-d1.html> Accessed 29 September 2022. Digitised copy.

Kendall, Hongi and Waikato, were to resolve issues with the orthography, and *'and, as far as possible, of reducing the language itself of New Zealand to the rules of Grammar, with a view to the furtherance of the Mission, sent out to that country.'* Thus, there was a strong drive, by the CMS and Lee, to provide something which would be *'useful to the New Zealanders themselves; and, to their Teachers — the Missionaries and Settlers.'* Lee wants the grammar to be living, asking that the missionaries have their copies interleaved so that they can note down comments on the grammar, and additions to the vocabulary.³³ The various sections of the book cover figures of speech, numerals, adjectives, noun, verbs etc through to syntax, phrases of sentences, dialogues, songs and creed, ending with the vocabulary.

Lees' foray into te reo Māori was comparatively brief, but lasting, since his orthography is still in use. Kendall of course, had a much more interesting life³⁴. While in England he was ordained to allow him to preach in New Zealand, since he had originally come out for the CMS as a settler and teacher. He returned to the Bay of Islands in 1821, and within a year had started dealing in guns, had an affair with a Māori woman, got offside with the CMS and in 1822 was dismissed. He was drowned off Jervis Bay in New South Wales in 1832, in the intervening years living in New Zealand, Chile and Australia, a life much charted and controversial.



Prof. Samuel Lee, Trinity College, Cambridge. Artist, Richard Evans.

³³ Lee, S., *A grammar and vocabulary of the language of New Zealand*. London, Church Missionary Society, 1820. pp. i-iv.

³⁴ Binney, J., *The Legacy of Guilt*. Auckland, University of Auckland Press, 1968.

Led from motives of curiosity

Richard Cruise: A journal of then month's residence in New Zealand. 1823.

The HMS *Dromedary* was well used by the time Richard Cruise visited the Bay of Islands in her in 1820. Bought by the Royal Navy in India in 1805, as HMS *Howe*, she was then renamed the *Dromedary* and used as a store ship, bringing out Macquarie as Governor to replace Bligh in New South Wales in 1809, together with the 73rd regiment. In 1819, she was back in England and made another voyage to Australia as a convict ship, with a guard of 57 soldiers of the 69th and 84th regiments. Here Richard Cruise (c1784–1832) appears, as Captain of the 84th, commanding the guard. With him was an Ensign, Alexander McCrae (1799-1871). In 1820, The *Dromedary* under Captain Richard Skinner, sailed to New Zealand to collect kauri spars; Samuel Marsden was also on board. She departed from Sydney on 12 February and sailed on her return voyage on 20 December. The story of the *Dromedary* continues. She is a mute observer of the turmoil of Bligh, Macquarie and Commissioner Bigge. Cruise and McCrae returned to England in her, leaving Sydney on February 14 1821 and reaching Plymouth on July 3. In the end, she is broken up after sitting in Bermuda accommodating convicts³⁵. But it is Richard Cruise who has made his mark. He records his 10 months in New Zealand.



*Tetro, Chief of New Zealand.
Cruise, 1823, frontispiece*

Cruise, R.A. *A journal of a ten months' residence in New Zealand.* London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, Paternoster-Row. 1823. iv, 321 pp, coloured frontispiece. 8vo. Bagnall 1504, Hocken 39.

Cruise was the first early New Zealand book I bought, at auction in 1987. It is in in the original printer's boards, with a paper spine label, uncut, the pages as though just roughly assembled, the frontispiece coloured, the prelims with some foxing, and sheer magic. It has an old signature on the title page, E H xxx, and a small slip inside 'Vernon Brown', probably that of the prominent Auckland architect and University lecturer (1905-65). I then bought a more elegant copy in 2007, from a Melbourne dealer – it seemed right to bring it home; half calf, marbled boards, frontispiece again coloured, and barely a mark inside. But the first is the best.

The book has only one illustration, the coloured aquatint frontispiece. It shows Tetro; Chief of New Zealand. This is the same Titore that Nicholas met in London. He wears a fine cloak, is tattooed, huia feather in his hair, holding a taiaha, and stands on the shore of a romantic seascape, a European view,³⁶ and we are told it was drawn from life by R. Read in 1820. It is probable that this is Richard Read³⁷, known as 'Junior' to distinguish him from his

³⁵ <https://paulineconolly.com/2013/stores-ship-dromedary/> Accessed 20 May 2022

³⁶ Wevers, L., op. cit. pp. 108-112.

³⁷ Richard Read 'Junior' (b.1796) <https://www.daao.org.au/bio/junior-richard-daniel-read/biography/>; Richard Read (1765-1829) <https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/read-richard-2577> Accessed 20 May 2022.

presumptive father, also Richard Read, an eventually pardoned convict who arrived in Sydney in 1813 and established a drawing school there in 1814. The younger Read arrived in Sydney in 1819 as a free settler. Read is recorded as having for sale a collection of drawings of New Zealand and Australian natives, although there is no record of him visiting New Zealand³⁰. Māori chiefs were not too uncommon in Sydney. The engraver was Edward Finden³⁸.

The book covers what we might expect from an early voyage. Visits to the Bay of Islands, Whangaroa, Hauraki Gulf, Thames River and the Hokianga. We meet Marsden performing divine service, Moyhanga (Moehanga) again, Shungie (Hongi) after his return from his famous visit to England, notes on the preservation of heads, another description of the fate of the *Boyd*, escaped convicts '*squalid and miserable in appearance*', news of the death (29 January 1820) of King George III (Hongi's 'Mr King'), much on Māori customs, and even more on the weather. Cruise also unusually provides a set of notes at the back, explaining things like taboo, cutting of hair, being barefooted, more on the *Boyd*, and a little oddly, a short account of a man from Bengal who had appeared there about 10 years before and married a Māori woman. The book is known for its somewhat dispassionate stance, embedded in the power and transactions of muskets, gunpowder, and military presence and needs.³⁹

The book was received positively, and went into a second edition in 1824. An anonymous review⁴⁰ spends much time on cannibalism and other sensational aspects of the Māori, but was generally favourable, noting Cruise's empathetic perspective of the people. It also made an odd suggestion: '*The Cowie...is not very abundant in New Zealand....We trust, therefore, as the climates are nearly the same, that the settlers of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land will not neglect to raise plantations of this valuable tree, so important for naval purposes.*' Two modern reprints have been published, the first in 1921 with Māori spelling corrected by Gilbert Mair⁴¹, and the second in 1957 with an introduction by A.C Bagnall⁴².

In 1834, a visitor to New Zealand, Edward Markham, kept a journal which was eventually published over 100 years later⁴³, and in it he makes a passing comment that Cruise's book was more likely written by his clever Ensign, Alexander Macrae. This was promulgated by Hocken in his bibliography, but has had no further support and we should be happy to conclude that Cruise wrote his own work. Edward Markham was born in 1801 and entered the service of the East India Company in 1815, leaving it at a relatively young age in 1827. In 1833 he sailed for Australia and on to New Zealand where he was recorded by George Clarke and others, travelling in the Hokianga and Bay of Islands areas, for a total stay of just over 8 months. He returned to England in 1835 and died in 1865. The story of the manuscript and its publication is fully traced in the Introduction of the modern publication³³.

³⁸ Edward Finden (1791-1857) was a successful London portrait engraver who executed numerous works over a wide range of subjects. This would have come from the early days of his career.

³⁹ **Wevers, L.**, op. cit. pp. 111.

⁴⁰ Quarterly Review vol 31, No LXI, December 1824-March 1825, pp.52-65, 1825.

⁴¹ **Cruise, R. A.**, New Zealand 100 years ago: Journal Ten Month's Visit, By Major Richard A. Cruise of the 84th Regt. Brett, Auckland, 1921.

⁴² **Cruise, Richard A.**; edited by A. G. Bagnall, Journal of a ten months' residence in New Zealand [1820]. Pegasus Press, Christchurch, 1957.

⁴³ **Markham, E.** New Zealand, or recollections of it. ed. E.H.McCormick. Government printer, Wellington, NZ. 1963.

But back to the *Dromedary*. It looks as though we have missed a further key account of the time. Alexander McCrae on the *Dromedary* seems to have been regarded as a rather smart fellow and he may have been intending to write a full account of his visit, but most of his papers were destroyed in fire in his sister's house in Dunedin. McCrae joined the army at the age of 14 and as mentioned, served on the *Dromedary* as Ensign with Cruise. He was still on the army list in 1840 as Captain, returning to Australia after some time back in England. In 1840 he arrived in Melbourne, and became Postmaster General where La Trobe was Governor. He died in Richmond, Victoria in 1871, not holding any other position than honorary magistrate. His journal was not published until 1928. McCrae was the brother-in-law of the noted English-Australian artist Georgiana Huntly McCrae⁴⁴, who married his brother Andrew, and painted a half-length portrait of him⁴⁵. There was a third McCrae brother, Farquhar, and all three had emigrated.

McCrae, A. *Journal kept in New Zealand in 1820 by Ensign Alexander McCrae, of the 84th Regiment, together with relevant documents.* (ed. F.R.Chapman, notes by J.C.Andersen). Alexander Turnbull library, Bulletin No.3. Wellington. Government Printer. 1928. Bagnall M108.

McCrae's editor, Sir Frederick Chapman, provides a full discussion on McCrae's background and the fate of his journal and papers. One of the most interesting points is that McCrae appears to have provided information to his fellow passenger on the *Dromedary*, Commissioner Bigge, evidence that is covered in some detail in McNabb's Historical Records of New Zealand⁴⁶. McCrae's journal only covers the first couple of months of their visit, and there appears to be a section missing after the 18 March entry, the supposition from McCrae's editor being that this may have been given to Bigge.

The story of Commissioner Bigge, Lachlan MacQuarie and Marsden is a tale unto itself. Briefly, Bigge had been sent out to Australia by Lord Bathurst, Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, to enquire into the governing of New South Wales, particularly in response to concerns from hard-line settlers and landowners about the emancipatory policies of Governor MacLachlan. Bigges arrived in Sydney in September 1819, and in addition to his mission in New South Wales, undertook to enquire (largely at the prompting of Marsden) into the conditions and disposition of Māori. He sailed on the *Dromedary* with Marsden, Cruise and McCrae, collecting information on Māori, sailors and potential settlers.



Alexander McCrae, painted by Georgiana McCrae, 1832.

⁴⁴ Niall, B., *Georgiana: A Biography of Georgiana McCrae, painter, diarist, pioneer.* Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1994.

⁴⁵ McCrae, Georgiana Huntly, 1804-1890. McCrae, Georgiana Huntly, 1804-1890: Captain Alexander McCrae, 84th Regiment. June 23, 1832. Ref: A-429-045. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. [/records/32377999](#)

⁴⁶ McNabb, R., *Historical records of New Zealand.* Vols 1,2. Wellington. Government Printer. 1908-14.

After returning to Sydney, he continued on in the Dromedary to England, again with McRae and Cruise. Bigges' report relies heavily on, and quotes McRae, to the extent that his conclusions seem to be those of McRae '*Mr McRae considered that a small military force would be necessary in case it should be deemed expedient to give encouragement to the colonisation of New Zealand.*'⁴⁷ He reports on the harbours and land, flax, interactions of sailors and other itinerants with Māori, potential for settlers, and what would be needed to facilitate colonisation. As to the Australians, Bigge in his report to Bathurst in 1823, came down strongly on the side of those deploring McLachlan's liberal policy of rehabilitating and employing convicts, and McLachlan resigned.

McRae's account includes at the back, three photographs of paintings by James Barry. Two are of Tooi (Tuai) and Teeterree (Titeri, Titari, or Titore), the latter the subject of Cruise's frontispiece, and are the Māori men who Nicholas met in England. These were painted in October 1818, and the third is of the chief Waikato, Hongi and Thos. Kendall, painted in 1820. James Barry was commissioned by the Church Missionary Society to paint the portraits and they initially hung in the London premises of the CMS.



Tuai and Titore. Macrae 1928. Painted by James Barry, 1818

So, Cruise wrote the book, but McRae, who never gets mentioned by Cruise, seems to have been the man who mattered.

⁴⁷ *ibid*, p. 7.

To lay a narrative of the voyage before the public

Peter Dillon: Narrative and successful result of a voyage in the South Seas. 1829.

You could enjoy writing a book on Dillon, and of course, that's been done⁴⁸. This is the mariner, trader, explorer of the age whom you would most have wanted to meet. You would like to sail with him, should you be able to survive the crew.

Dillon (1788-1847) was born in Martinique, taken back to Ireland by his father, and served in the British navy until 1808 when he became involved in sandalwood trading in the Pacific. In 1813 he was involved in a famous altercation with Fijians where a legendary character, Charlie Savage, was taken on by the crew of the *Hunter*, but was eventually murdered, while Dillon managed to rescue the rest of the crew. He is frequently seen in the next years, trading between Australia, New Zealand, the Islands, and South America, losing two ships in the process, the *Phatisalam* in 1821 in the Bass Strait, and the *Calder* in a storm at Valparaiso in 1825. He is particularly a part of early missionary and trading



enterprises starting up in the Bay of Islands in 1814, when he commanded the newly bought *Active* for Marsden, leaving Hobart in May with the missionaries Kendall and Hall, and returning in July with Hongi. He had been instructed to trade in flax, spars, and pork, if possible, since Marsden wanted to recoup some costs, and this would have been much to his liking, being '...a Catholic, but not an enthusiast', and having not much enthusiasm for missionary objectives.⁴⁹ He was trading again in New Zealand in the 1820s and had grand plans, never realised, in the 1840s when in London.

Dillon's fame, however, despite the injection of a somewhat tempestuous and buccaneering Irishman into early European history of the Pacific, rests largely with the discovery of the fate of La Perouse. This is the principal subject of his book.

Dillon, P. *Narrative and Successful Result of a Voyage in the South Seas, performed by Order of the Government of British India, to ascertain the Actual Fate of La Perouse's Expedition, interspersed with Accounts of the Religion, Manners, Customs, and Cannibal Practices of the South Sea Islanders.* By the Chevalier Capt. P. Dillon, Member of the Legion of Honour; of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and of the Geographical Society of Paris: Commander of the Hon. East-India Company's Ship Research. In two volumes. Vol. I. [Vol. II]. London: Hurst, Chance, and Co., St. Paul's Church-Yard. 1829. First Edition, 2 vols. Vol. I, pp. lxxviii, [ii](Errata to both vols., verso blank), 302, [2](blank); folding litho. frontispiece showing the massacre at Fiji in 1823; Vol. II, pp. [iv](half-title, verso blank, & title, verso colophon only), 436; folding hand-coloured litho. plate frontispiece, folding litho. map at page 272 & plate at page 281, appendix (Remarks on Captain Dillon's Treatment at Van Deimen's Land); Bagnall 1616, Hocken 44.

⁴⁸ Davidson, J.W. Peter Dillon of Vanikoro. Chevalier of the South Seas. Ed. O.H.K.Spate. 1975; Guillou, J., Peter Dillon, Capitaine des Mers du Sud. Etrave, Paris, 2000.

⁴⁹ Ibid, p. 47.

My copy, bought from Australia, is almost fine, as somehow fits the man, contemporary marbled boards and half calf; Dillon the man dominates, jumps out from every page.

The book includes a fold-out panorama of the Fiji encounter (Vol 1), and hand-coloured fold-out illustration of the '*Natives of La Perouse's Island, or Mannicolo*', a fold-out map Mannicolo based on Dillon's own survey, and a plate of a canoe of the Isle of St Croix or Indenny (Vol 2).



Massacre at the Fejee Islands in Sept 1823. Dreadful situation of Capt Dillon and the two other survivors. Dillon, 1829. Vol. 1, frontispiece.

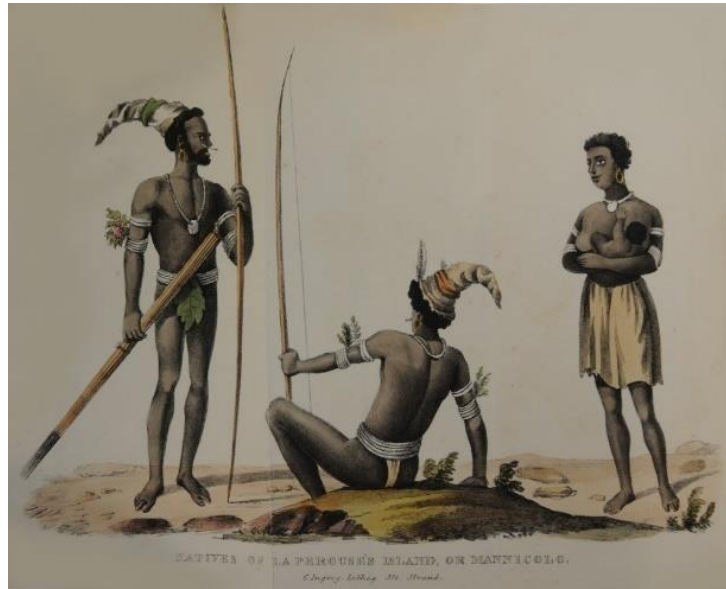
Jean François de Galaup, Comte de Lapérouse (1741-1788) embarked on a round the world voyage of discovery for the French nation in 1785 on the *L'Astrolabe* and *La Boussole*, visiting South America, California, Alaska, and the North and South Pacific before arriving in Australia at the time of the first fleet, in January 1788. From there they headed north towards New Caledonia, Santa Cruz, the Solomons and other coasts of Australia. They were never heard from again. In 1791, the French government sent Bruni d'Entrecasteaux with two ships to search for him, and they reached Santa Cruz and sighted an unknown island, now Vanikoro, to the south, though never landed there. D'Entrecasteaux died and the botanist Labillardière published an account of the voyage in 1800. It was Dillon who triumphed. In 1826, Dillon on the *St. Patrick* landed on Tikopia in the Santa Cruz islands, and found evidence of sword guards, teacups, knives and other items amongst the inhabitants, also hearing of accounts of ships being wrecked some time before on Vanikoro. He continued onto Calcutta where he convinced the East India Company to provide him with a ship (where he encountered John Savage in his role as a surgeon, helping give Dillon a medical clearance for the trip). He sailed to Vanikoro and found further evidence of the ships, taking this back to France where he was much feted. Ferdinand De Lesseps, the only member of the original expedition still alive at the time, identified them as all belonging to *L'Astrolabe*.

All this, of course is narrated in the book. Dillon dedicates it to the grandees of the East India Company, acknowledging that the voyage was undertaken by ‘*command of the Supreme Government of British India*’.... ‘*for the cause of humanity and science*’. There is a long Introduction where he lays out the story and consequences of La Perouse’s voyage. He covers the massacre in Fiji which he escaped and then chronicles his movements around the South Pacific, ending in the Vanikoro discoveries and return to Europe. Ever keen to get his rightful acknowledgement from the powers of the day, he includes at the back of volume two appendices of extracts from newspapers and journals on the voyage and testimonies of approbation as to his success.

And what of New Zealand? In June 1827, he calls into the Bay of Islands, having found ‘*to my utter astonishment found only twenty-seven casks*’,⁵⁰ his late chief officer failing to provide the voyage with enough water. He had visited before as he records: on the *Mercury*, November 1809; *Active* June 1814; *Calder* 1823 and February 1825; *St Patrick* April 1826. He is

an old hand, well welcomed and well-remembered, and his time is spent meeting with the local people, the missionaries, Moyanger (Moehanga) reappears, and he provides a full account in Moehanga’s words of the latter’s visit with Savage to England, visiting the King, asking for muskets, and reminiscing with sadness. Dillon has a lot to say about his crew: ‘*The European part of my crew were, without exception, the most abandoned set I ever met with; they were all deserters from other ships and not one of them going by his proper name.*’⁵¹ The Boyd massacre still hangs over them, heavily, and he spends much time in recounting the event and the narrative of George. He leaves in August, heading for Tonga and on to his discoveries in the Santa Cruz islands. He decides to return to New Zealand and arrives in November 1827 and leaves in December, having met with his old friends, and still recounting tales, observations and anecdotes.

Dillon never returned to New Zealand, but his footprint is indelible, the trader, raconteur and liberal observer of all things Māori and missionary.



Natives of La Perouse’s Island, or Mannicole. Dillon, 1829. Vol. II, frontispiece

⁵⁰ Dillon, P. *Narrative and Successful Result of a Voyage in the South Seas, performed by Order of the Government of British India, to ascertain the Actual Fate of La Perouse's Expedition, interspersed with Accounts of the Religion, Manners, Customs, and Cannibal Practices of the South Sea Islanders* London, Hurst, Chance, and Co., 1829. Vol. I, pp. 179-180.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp.207.

A people of no ordinary powers

William Ellis: Polynesian researches. 1829.

The next chronicler to call by was the missionary William Ellis (1794-1872). He wasn't part of the CMS effort to establish a mission in the Bay of Islands, but was sent to the Pacific Islands in 1816 by the London Missionary Society (LMS), visiting New Zealand in that year.⁵² After a stay in New South Wales, he arrived with his family in the Bay of Islands on 20 December 1816, enroute to the Society and Marquesas islands and remained there for about 8 days. He eventually returned to England in 1824, became Foreign Secretary of the LMS, and later continued his missionary activity in Madagascar. It worth noting that in Tahiti in 1817, Ellis set up a printing press, starting heroically with 2600 copies of a spelling book.⁵³ He had had some training in printing in England. This in a way, presages the efforts of Colenso some 20 years later at Paihia. *Polynesian Researches* was published in London in 1829, establishing Ellis as probably the first ethnographer of the Pacific people. But it is observation through a Christian lens, and you sometimes think that the perspectives of the likes of Nicholas, Cruise and Dillon are more objective and understanding, and sometimes more moral. As Ellis says, '*To the eye of a Missionary, New Zealand is an interesting country, inhabited by a people of no ordinary powers, could they but be brought under the influence of right principles.*'⁵⁴ Ellis's book is seen as one of the first examples, of many to come, addressing the British readership's desires for exotic geography and culture along with missionary enterprises aimed at bringing savages into the Christian fold.⁵⁵



William Ellis, painted by the English portrait painter W Gush

Ellis, W. *Polynesian researches, during a residence of nearly six years in the South Sea Islands; including descriptions of the natural history and scenery of the islands - with remarks on the history, mythology, traditions, government, arts, manners, and customs of the inhabitants. In two volumes. London: Fisher, Son, & Jackson, Newgate Street. M,DCCC,XXIX. (1829). Vol 1. xvi, 536 pp, frontispiece portrait, folding map, 4 plates, 9 engravings; Vol II. viii, 576 pp, frontispiece, 3 plates, 7 engravings. Bagnall 1797, Hocken 44, Taylor 58.*

⁵² Ellis, J.E., *Life of William Ellis, Missionary to the South Seas and Madagascar*. John Murray, London, 1873.

⁵³ **Lovett, Richard.** *The History of the London Missionary Society, 1795-1895*. In Two Volumes. London. Henry Frowde. 1899. vol.1: xiv, [3], 832 pp, 7 portrait plates incl. frontis., 10 maps; vol.2: vi, [2], 778 pp, 7 portrait plates incl. frontis., 5 maps. Large paper edition of 250 copies #103) signed by the author. Blue and cream cloth boards. 1 edition. Large 8vo. Vol 1, p. 213.

⁵⁴ **Ellis, W.** *Polynesian researches, during a residence of nearly six years in the South Sea Islands; including descriptions of the natural history and scenery of the islands - with remarks on the history, mythology, traditions, government, arts, manners, and customs of the inhabitants*. London, Fisher, Son, & Jackson, M,DCCC,XXIX [1829]. p.36.

⁵⁵ **Wevers, L.**, op. cit. p. 103.

My copy is in the original printer's grey cloth boards, and uncut. I like printer's boards; a book in this state seems to have the feel of raw material, rough-hewn, authentic. Inside it is immaculate. It is not uncommon in varying bindings.

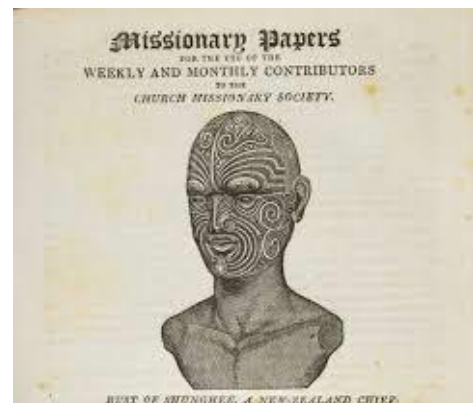
So, what did he actually say about New Zealand? Within the first few lines, we hear again about the *Boyd*, as they anchor off Whangaroa harbour; for some 20 years, none could seem to escape thinking about it, referring to it, talking with those involved. The two missionary societies (LMS and CMS) mingle and Ellis preaches two years to the very day of Marsden's first sermon at Rangihoua. He records his first meeting with Māori a little as one would an animal specimen, and I guess this is what ethnography was in its formative years. The chief Titore appears again, and his concern over his crying child is recorded favourably, as though a savage would not be expected to show paternal care. And so it goes, with his descriptions covering meeting with Māori, their appearance and customs, and some pages on the nature of the country and its future. He leaves on December 28.

The 2 volumes have a number of lithographs, some drawn by Captain R. Elliot R.N.⁵⁶, a folding map of Polynesia, and a drawing of the head of Hongi, taken from a bust *executed with great fidelity by 'Honghi during a visit to Port Jackson'*.⁵⁷

The book was reviewed quite positively in the Quarterly Review⁵⁸: 'A more interesting book than this, in all its parts, we have never perused, and seldom so immethodical one'.

The review spends some 50 pages concentrating on the missionary enterprises in Tahiti, and in unchristian lands in general. It is supposedly by Robert Southey, who contributed much to the journal from 1809 to 1839. A second edition was issued in 1831 with 4 volumes, and a third likewise in 1853, with a new enlarged edition published in 1859.

Ellis continued to work for the LMS, holding the position of Chief Foreign Secretary for some years, and then in 1853, was sent by them to Madagascar, returning in 1865 after various attempts to visit and establish an English missionary foothold in the country. He wrote 3 books on Madagascar⁵⁹, and had previously written an account of his early tour of the Sandwich islands (Hawaii)⁶⁰. He died in 1872 after catching a cold in a train.



Hongi's bust, used earlier in The Missionary Papers in 1816

⁵⁶ Robert Elliot (1790-1849) served in the Royal Navy in the Napoleonic Wars, and later in the East Indies and Pacific. Some of his sketches of India, China and the Red Sea were published in the early 1830s. He must have been at least to Tahiti, since Ellis includes some of Elliot's Tahiti scenes.

⁵⁷ Ellis, W., op. cit. Vol. 1, p. 30.

⁵⁸ Quarterly Review, Vol XLIII, May & October 1830, London, John Murray, 1830. pp. 1-54.

⁵⁹ Ellis, William, Three visits to Madagascar during the years 1853-1854-1856. NY, Harper, 1859; The American mission in the Sandwich islands: a vindication and an appeal, in relation to the proceedings of the Reformed Catholic Mission at Honolulu. NY, Whitney, 1866; Madagascar revisited, describing the events of a new reign and the revolution which followed. London, John Murray, 1867.

⁶⁰ Ellis, William, A Journal of a Tour around Hawaii, the Largest of the Sandwich Islands. New York, Crocker and Brewster, 1823.