

Remote in Southern Seas. Early New Zealand Books, 1840-1843

A Voyage of concern

Wheeler, D. *Extracts from the letters and journal of Daniel Wheeler.* 1840.

Amongst the religious mix that flowed around the globe in the 19th C, directed to conversion and Christian salvation, the quaker is a relative rarity, and definitely more in the role of a witness, not a missionary. London-born Daniel Wheeler (1771-1840) joined the quakers in 1790 and then took the unusual route of travelling to Russia, becoming trusted by Tsar Nicholas I, and ending up farming in the St Petersburg region from 1817 until 1828. He returned to England and in 1833 sailed on an extended voyage into the South Pacific as a missionary in a 'voyage of concern' for Australia and the Pacific promoted by the Society of Friends. He returned to England in 1838, and died in 1840 during a missionary tour of the United States, buried in New York. His memoirs were published in 1842 by his son.¹

Wheeler, D. *Extracts from the letters and journal of Daniel Wheeler, while engaged in a religious visit to the inhabitants of some of the islands of the Pacific Ocean, Van Diemen's Land, New South Wales, and New Zealand, accompanied by his son, Charles Wheeler.* Philadelphia: Printed by Joseph Bakestraw, for sale at the office of the friend, and by Kimber & Sharpless, No 50 North Fourth Street; and Uriah Hunt, No. 101 Market Street. 1840. Bagnall 6014a, Hocken ne. 1st American edition.

This is a presentation copy, with 'Elizabeth Gaskill from P.D. unknown, 1840' written on the fly leaf. Mrs Gaskill was a prominent Victorian novelist and biographer with interests in social reform, and incidentally, knew William Howitt (q.v.), who published her first article in his 'Visits to Remarkable Places' in 1840. It is in the original green cloth with strengthened spine, and is the first American edition. The first London edition did not include the New Zealand visit. Bought from auction in 2004 and it's not that common.

The *Extracts* were published in various forms and compilations. There is a frontispiece lithograph of Wheeler, with 'on stone by A Newsam', Newsam being a prominent Philadelphia artist who worked with the engraver Peter Duval, whose name is also on the portrait. The extracts were originally published in London 'under the direction of the *Meetings for Sufferings*'² in four parts as they came to hand³. The American issue includes



*Daniel Wheeler.
Frontispiece in Wheeler,
1840.*

¹ <https://www.quakersintheworld.org/quakers-in-action/287/Daniel-Wheeler>. Accessed 22 June, 2022.

² **Wheeler, D.** *Extracts from the letters and journal of Daniel Wheeler, while engaged in a religious visit to the inhabitants of some of the islands of the Pacific Ocean, Van Diemen's Land, New South Wales, and New Zealand, accompanied by his son, Charles Wheeler.* Philadelphia, Joseph Bakestraw, 1840. p. iii.

³ **Wheeler, D.**, [Extracts from the Letters and Journal of Daniel Wheeler. Now engaged in a religious visit to the inhabitants of the Islands of the Pacific Ocean, Van Diemen's Land and New South Wales, accompanied by his son, Charles Wheeler.](#) London. Harvey and Darton. 1839. This contains all 4 parts. Various memoirs of Wheeler have also been published between this date and the 1870s.

parts not in the London edition, and rearrangement into chapters for greater reading convenience. The work covers Van Diemen's Land, Tahiti, The Friendly Islands, the Sandwich Islands, Australia and New Zealand. Wheeler and his son in February, 1835, meet the prominent quakers James Backhouse and George Walker in Australia, who had also undertaken a voyage under concern for the Society of Friends, specifically to observe, witness and assess conditions and dealings with aborigines and convicts in Van Diemen's land, and elsewhere in Australia^{4,5}. For the Quakers, travelling 'under concern' was a long-established way of travelling to observe and witness the suffering and injustices of others, particularly in slavery and people under colonial or incipient colonial dominion. The first notable quaker in New Zealand and the Pacific was Sydney Parkinson, artist on Cook's first voyage.

Wheeler meets Marsden in Sydney in December 1834: '*venerable grey hairs – the plainness and simplicity of his manners, and the abundant store of authentic information he possesses, made his company not only edifying but animating.*'⁶ He hears positive things about New Zealand and Māori. He also meets the self-styled Baron de Thierry preparing to sail to New Zealand with plans to virtually take it over for colonisation under his control, an abortive, fraudulent enterprise frequently referenced in the House of Lords Select Committee hearings in 1838.

Wheeler eventually sailed, coming from Tonga, into the Bay of Islands and anchors on the 24th November, 1836. They meet Gilbert Mair, who was postmaster, the missionary John White, and are appalled at the sight of Māori women swarming over a (unnamed) ship that sailed into the harbour near them. They meet Busby: '*it would be well if more, with as clean hands, abounded among the Isles of the Pacific ocean,*'⁷ Henry Williams, William Williams, and James .Kemp, and even does a little preaching, and indeed begins to sound a little like a missionary. He speaks more about the Lord's work and the gospels and teachings than Māori, and you get the impression that he in reality made little contact. They leave on the 18th January, 1837, and he receives a letter from the Paihia missionaries, all of whom have taken warmly to him, and express their pleasure, and perhaps a little hidden surprise: '*we take this opportunity of expressing the pleasure, and we hope, the edification we have derived from your unexpected coming to this country.*'⁸ They return to Sydney and embark on the 'Lloyds' on the 9th December, 1837, reaching London 5 months later by way of Cape Horn.

⁴ James Backhouse (1794-1869) was from a prominent quaker family in Darlington, and later published an account of his time in Australia: *A Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies* London: Hamilton Adams and Co. Paternoster Row, 1843. A later family member was the fraudulent sinologist Sir Edmund Backhouse (1873-1944).

⁵ **Edmonds, P.**, Elite and "Shadow Networks": Quaker investigative counter travel, protective governance, and Indigenous worlds in the Southern oceans. *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, 19, number 2, Summer, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2018.

⁶ **Wheeler, D.**, op. cit. p.47.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 305.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 319.

Going out for the occupation of land and employment

Petre, H.W. An account of the settlements of the New Zealand Company. 1841.

The New Zealand Company now comes into its own, publishing, influencing and being supported by immigrants, travellers, colonisers sitting in London, artists and surveyors. The Hon. Henry Petre leads the way. During the sitting of the House of Lords Select Committee on New Zealand in 1838, his father Lord Petre was asked:

“Has your Lordship turned your attention to the consideration of that Plan [of the New Zealand Association], so as to form any Idea as to the Advantage to be derived from Englishmen going out there?

Yes. I attended several of the meetings, having an Idea that some of my Sons would probably go out there, if I found that the Clauses in the Bill were such as I approved and for their advantage; I have two of them very anxious for this sort of thing.

.....

You thought so well of it that you entertained the idea, in case such an arrangement should be made as you thought satisfactorily, of letting some of your family go out?

I do not wish to say positively, but if the Bill was such in its minute parts as I approved of, I should probably let one of my sons go out; one of my sons is anxious to go out.

.....

Are you able to say, from what you have seen of the Association, whether the Individuals who have taken any part have any pecuniary interest in the concern further than the advantages which may be derived from the being settlers?

I do not see how they can have; I do not mean to say I do not expect pecuniary advantage if my son goes out; he will be going out for the occupation of land and for employment.”⁹

William Henry Francis (1793-1850), the 11th Baron Petre was a passionate huntsman, and in Thorndon Park, established a herd of fallow and red deer, which became the source of all the deer in New Zealand. He also had 12 children, and his second son, Henry William (1820-1889) was the one referred to as keen to go out with the NZ Company to New Zealand. Profligate breeding was passed on and his two eldest sons William and Henry had 29 children between them. With such a family, Lord Petre, in an unattributed comment,¹⁰ said that how could he not be a supporter of colonisation; if nothing else it might solve the problems of what do with his children. He was a Director and sometime Chairman of the New Zealand Company, and Whanganui was first named Petre after him; Henry got New Zealand, and the others America.



Henry arrived in Wellington in 1840 on the *Oriental*¹¹, along with business friends Edward Hopper, a New Zealand Company director, and Francis Molesworth. The three went into business in the lower Hutt Valley, setting up a sawmill and flourmill. Hopper was drowned in the Hutt River nine months after their arrival. Brees published an etching of

⁹ Report from the Select Committee op. cit. pp. 345-346.

¹⁰ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_Petre,_11th_Baron_Petre. Accessed 23 June 2022.

¹¹ The *Oriental* was a 506 ton barque, one of the first 5 ships chartered by the NZ Company, leaving London in 1839, and sailing to Port Nicholson, and later to New Plymouth.

Petre's residence beyond Mooring's creek, Petone¹², and George Swainson sketched Petre's house, Herongate, in around 1845¹³. His book reflects his time in the Hutt and Wellington



Moorings Creek Petone & the Honble Henry Petre's residence shown in the distance. Brees, 1847, Plate 14. Alexander Turnbull Library, record #22606916

areas during the 13 months he was there before temporarily returning to England, where he saw the book through the press, and got married.

Petre, H.W. *An account of the settlements of the New Zealand Company, from personal observations during a residence there. London, Smith, Elder and Co. 65, Cornhill, 1841. pp 87, frontispiece, folding map. Bagnall 4544, Hocken 98.*

I bought my copy from AD in 1989, very early on in the piece, in the original stiffened embossed blue cloth covers. It has the bookplate of Percy James Hoyland White of New Plymouth¹⁴ on the verso of the fly leaf. It is very scarce in this original, very good condition.

There are two steel-etched plates, the first a drawing reduced from a larger one by Charles Heaphy (q.v.) and engraved by J.C.Armytage¹⁵, of *Part of Lambton Harbour, Port Nicholson*. Anderson states that two of the ships in the picture are the NZ Company's barques *Cuba* and *Brougham*, now names of Wellington streets.¹⁶ The other records T Allom¹⁷ as lithographer, printed by C Hullmandel¹⁸, showing *Part of the New Plymouth Settlement in the District of Taranaki, New Zealand*. It is from a drawing by George Duppa, who was also on the *Oriental*, and joined the New Zealand Company as a draughtsman. He sailed to New Plymouth on the *Brougham* in 1841 and apparently drew his view from on

¹² **Brees, S.**, Pictorial Illustrations of New Zealand. 1849. p.26.

¹³ <https://digitalnz.org/records/22396290>. Accessed 223 June 2022.

¹⁴ James White (1874-1942) was a prominent New Plymouth businessman and JP.

¹⁵ J C Armytage (1802-1897) was a London engraver and printer.

¹⁶ **Anderson, J.**, op. cit. p. 26.

¹⁷ Thomas Allom (1804-1872) was one of the greatest travel illustrators of the first half of the 19th C, particularly noted for his work specifically used in travel books, such as the one on China published in 1843, in collaboration with George Newenham and Karl Gützlaff.

¹⁸ Charles Hullmandel (1789-1850) was one of the most important of English lithographers in the 19th C

board the ship¹⁹. These two engravings, from the same plates, were also published in *The New Zealand Portfolio* of H S Chapman in 1843²⁰, and in Jameson's 1841 book on New Zealand and Australia (q.v.). The map is a quarto fold-out of New Zealand with an inset of the world, in case the reader was unsure of New Zealand's location, which seems to have drifted further south than usual. The New Zealand map, from 'Official Documents' contains much detail around Northland, Auckland, Bay of Plenty and Cook's Strait.

There is a claim that the book was written by H.S. Chapman (q.v.). Chapman was a friend of Wakefield's and in 1840 became the owner-editor of *The New Zealand Journal*, essentially a New Zealand Company publication, and wrote on New Zealand and colonisation, culminating in *The New Zealand Portfolio*. He was appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court for the southern districts of New Zealand, and arrived in Wellington in December 1843, along with Robert Fitzroy who was taking up the Governorship. He continued with positions in Tasmania, finally heading the Supreme Court in Dunedin and dying there in 1881.²¹ The claim, outlined in Anderson²², and previously in Hocken (98), is that Chapman wrote the work in London when Petre had returned, with his notes and observations. It seems largely to consist of a view that Chapman had a poor view of Petre as poorly educated and incapable of writing anything. But then Chapman seemed to have a dim view of most people, including Fitzroy and George Grey.²³ Bagnall (4544) dismisses the claim.

The book, for all its slightness and appearance as something of a New Zealand Company text, was popular, and the second edition was rearranged into chapters, the first only having some major headings along the way. Five

editions in all were published through 1841 and 1842. Anderson describes all the editions, including a smaller, cheap issue of the 5th.²⁴ Petre says that having been in the first of the Company's parties of emigrants, and returning to London, he had so many enquiries about the Company's emigration plans and New Zealand that he (or the Company) felt compelled to address these collectively by publishing '*the following brief sketch of what came under my own observation, and what I could gather from authentic sources, during my residence there.*'²⁵ He covers the five first ships, his arrival and Port Nicholson, the colony there, Company matters



Part of Lambton Harbour, Port Nicholson, New Zealand. Petre, 1841, frontis.

¹⁹ Anderson J., op. cit. pp. 26-28.

²⁰ Chapman, H.S., *The New Zealand Portfolio*; embracing a series of papers on subjects of importance to the colonists. London. Smith, Elder & Co, 1843. Bagnall 1055.

²¹ Edwards, D.G., 'Chapman, Henry Samuel', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1c14/chapman-henry-samuel> (accessed 24 June 2022).

²² Anderson, J., op. cit. pp. 23-29.

²³ Edwards, D.G., op. cit.

²⁴ Anderson, J., op. cit. p. 25.

²⁵ Petre, H.W. *An account of the settlements of the New Zealand Company, from personal observations during a residence there.* London: Smith, Elder and Co. 65, Cornhill. 1841. p. 5.

and difficulties overcome, soil, climate and production, and prospects, all good, in all, reliable information for the intending colonist.

It was reviewed in Chamber's Edinburgh Journal,²⁶ as '*The first book by a New Zealand settler..*' by the Hon Mr. Petre...'*one of a group of young scions of the English aristocracy who had been so manful as preferring a bustling life in this young colony to the emptiness and vanity too often the character of the existence of such men at home.*' It goes on largely to describe what Petre writes about the colony, but does give an opinion on the fate of Māori: '*From the sturdy faculties of the New Zealanders, thus indicated, we anticipate a far different fate for them than that which the society of Europeans has brought upon the poor red men of America.*'

Petre left England again in 1842, arriving in February with his young wife. He established farming interests in the Wairarapa, particularly engaged in horses and racing. Petre was involved in politics and Company business from the start, becoming a member of the illegal provisional committee in 1839 that signed a Provisional Constitution in London, which was carried with them to New Zealand²⁷, and once there got involved in local politics. In 1846 he was appointed treasurer of the Southern District of the colony.

In 1850, Charlotte and John Godley, living in Wellington after their recent arrival on the *Lady Nugent*, along with Edward Jerningham Wakefield on his second visit, and before establishing themselves in Canterbury, socialised with the Petres. Charlotte described their house and household in some detail, ever conscious of her social ranking. She is full of admiration for the young Mrs Petre, raising children, making butter, working in the kitchen with only 2 maids for help, '*young-looking, with wild spirits, and enjoys a ball, or a ride, or a scamper of any kind, and is sometimes very pretty*'.....*He is immensely tall and thin and looks like a set of fire irons badly hung together, and on the top of his head that would be good-looking enough if the features had not that sort of lengthened look that you may see in your own by consulting the back of a silver spoon. He is very pleasant, though, and good-natured, and quite a gentleman....*²⁸ .

Petre held other treasurer posts, and was appointed postmaster general in 1853, joining the Legislative Council, but this position was disallowed and he finally returned to England.²⁹ He later wrote a short tract on British Colonisation which is rarely seen, and in which he reflected, two years before his death in 1889, on the New Zealand Company and its ventures.³⁰ He is remembered as one of the founders of Wellington, and his son, Francis, became a notable architect, responsible for the Dunedin Catholic cathedral. Petre gets praise from his contemporary R.G. Jameson, who says in the preface to his own book on Australia and New Zealand, published by the same publishers in the same year "*...[the author] begs to express cordial admiration of that manliness of character which has induced this gentleman [Petre] and others to exchange a life of luxury and ease for the more arduous but more useful career of colonisation.*"³¹ The book, is an important and pivotal one, constantly referenced by others at the time, leading the charge on the burgeoning emigration, and the New Zealand Company and its policies and actions.

²⁶ Chambers's Edinburgh Journal, No 513, 1841, pp. 357-358.

²⁷ This was the Provisional Constitution of the New Zealand Company, led by E G Wakefield, and signed by him, Petre, Duppa, Molesworth and others, laying down regulations for their colony and published in the New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator, Vol. 18, issue 2, April 18, 1840.

²⁸ **Godley, Charlotte**, Letters from Early New Zealand. Ed. John Godley. For private circulation, 1931. pp. 68-69.

²⁹ **Scholefield, G.H**, op. cit. vol 2. p. 163.

³⁰ **Petre, H.W.**, Half a Century of British Colonisation: 1836 to 1887. Effingham Wilson, London, [1887]. Bagnall 4550.

³¹ **Jameson, R.G.** New Zealand, South Australia, and New South Wales: a record of recent travels in these colonies, with especial reference to emigration and the advantageous employment of labour and capital. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. [1841]. p. vii.

The following pages have no pretention to literary fame

Bidwill, T.C., Rambles in New Zealand. 1841.

And now we come to where rarity far transcends value. Bidwill's book has achieved the status of the most expensive early New Zealand book on the market, apart from the 18th Century voyages. This is entirely because of its rarity; its intrinsic value is no greater than that of any contemporary account. Bagnall (507) asks what happened to the 685 copies taken up by the subscribers, mostly Devonians, and Anderson notes that 2 subscribers took 50 copies each.³² If they have any sense, their heirs will drip feed their copies onto the market and take home their thousands, though this hasn't happened to date. A trawl through the libraries of the stately homes of Devon might be rewarding too. You can readily read the book, however, since a reprint was issued in 1952.³³

Bidwill (1815-1853) came out of south west England, and arrived in Sydney in September 1838. He says that he was kicking his heels waiting for a land purchase outside of Sydney when he decided to embark on one of the small schooners that were frequently trading to the Bay of Islands.³⁴ He spent 2 months in the north and centre of the North Island, collecting plant specimens and exploring, returned to Sydney, but was back again in 1840, spending time in Port Nicholson and Port Jackson. He returned to England in 1843, but his book was published in 1841, after the second of his trips to New Zealand.

Bidwill, Thomas Carne. Rambles in New Zealand. London. W.S. Orr & Co., MDCCCXLI. viii, 104 pp, frontis. map. Bagnall 507, Hocken 92.

I don't have a copy, though have seen one at an auction house. It was first issued in limp brown paper covers, and it seems unlikely that any copies in the market have not been rebound.

The book has a frontispiece of a fairly crude map of the central North Island showing the author's route to the central volcanos, except that the route per se is not actually shown, only the features. He aligns himself very quickly with the New Zealand Company, dedicating the book to Lord Devon, Governor of the Plymouth New Zealand Company³⁵, and in his preface, makes clear that he was only interested in providing a 'hastily thrown together' account of his 'rambles' and 'a desire to add something to the little stock of information respecting New Zealand, which, amidst the general interest emigration has excited in England, obtains no ordinary share of consideration.'³⁶



³² Anderson, J., op. cit. p. 46.

³³ Bidwill, T. C. Rambles in New Zealand. Pegasus Press, Christchurch, 1952, with an introduction by C.R.H. Taylor, and a note on Bidwill the Botanist, by H.H. Allan. The book has wood engravings by the noted New Zealand engraver E. Mervyn Taylor.

³⁴ Ibid. p. 23.

³⁵ The Plymouth New Zealand company was established in February 1840 and merged with the New Zealand Company in 1841 after experiencing financial difficulties. Some six ships from the Plymouth and New Zealand companies brought emigrants mainly from Devon and Cornwall, to New Plymouth between 1840 and 1843.

³⁶ Op. cit. p. 19.

Compared with the more systematic effort of Petre, and those who came after him, potential emigrants would feel short changed with Bidwill's offering, though they would learn quite a bit about Bidwill himself, and the New Zealand flora. He does, however, devote a couple of pages at the end to covering his second trip back to New Zealand, describing the Thames and Waihou regions, and Port Nicholson, with regard to colonisation potential, the latter winning. Nevertheless, in essence, the book and Bidwill are only interesting for two reasons. The first is that he was a serious botanist, describing new species and collecting everywhere he travelled, his Māori companions intrigued by his collecting habits³⁷. His botanising and contributions have been summarised in a piece by H. H. Allan in the 1952 reprint, Allen being the leading New Zealand botanist of the first half of the 20th Century.³⁸ Bidwill knew Sir William Hooker³⁹ well, contributing specimens for him at Kew Gardens, and accompanying him in collecting expeditions at Port Jackson, on Bidwill's second trip. He gets mentioned in Hooker's *Flora Novae-Zelandiae* for contributing some 90 species. Bidwill also gets a bit cross at having some of his discoveries attributed to Dieffenbach, that other New Zealand explorer of the 1840s.



The second reason is his ascent of Mt Ngauruhoe (Tongariro in his journal²²¹), which included a trek across the central plateau, starting from Tauranga, through Rotorua to Taupo, where he provides a fresh and detailed description of how it appeared, pretty much unchanged from pre-Māori times until European settlements appeared. Bidwill is a man of his times, though, and shows a robust dismissal of Māori culture, tapu, and sensitivities stronger than we are accustomed from the missionaries. He climbs Ngauruhoe alone because his Māori companions are afraid and the mountain is tapu, and even when admonished by the leading chief of the region afterwards, brushes him off with a few gifts; he is happy to be carried through rivers and places where he might get wet and dirty; happy to kick and beat his companions when they are too slow or reluctant to travel. At the same time, he develops a friendship with some of them, and they seem not to have any animosity towards him; he buys his way there and back with tobacco, knives and trinkets. His briskness and endurance is pervasive.

After returning, Bidwill makes a journey inland again into the Matamata area, then sails north, stopping at Thames and the Hauraki Gulf before reaching the Bay of Islands. He returns to Sydney, for business matters, then comes back for a short visit to Port Nicholson and more botanising, before returning to England, and publishing his book. He returned to Sydney in 1843, and appointed Director of the Sydney Botanic Gardens in 1847. The appointment, given by Governor Fitzroy, was short-lived however, as it was superseded by the Colonial Office appointment of Charles Moore. Bidwill went on to live and become a magistrate at Wild Bay, and died from the aftereffects of an infection³⁷, caught while lost for 8 days when surveying a new road in the forests of the Queensland coast.

³⁷ Moon, P., *The Voyager. Remarkable European Explorations in New Zealand*. Auckland, Penguin, 2014, pp. 98-106.

³⁸ Op. cit. p. 11-14.

³⁹ Sir Joseph Dalton Hooker (1817-1911) was one of the leading botanists of the 19th C, travelling widely on collecting expeditions, and succeeding his father William Hooker as Director of the Kew Botanical Gardens. He took part in Ross's Antarctic Expedition in 1839-43, and was in New Zealand from August to November, 1841.

Unvarnished descriptions

Dieffenbach, E., *New Zealand and its native population.* 1841.

Dieffenbach, E., *Travels in New Zealand,* 1843.

Johann Karl Ernst Dieffenbach (1811-1855), born in Giessen, and medically trained, would likely have earned the approval of his predecessor naturalist and traveller in the Southern Seas. Like Georg Forster⁴⁰ some 40 years earlier, Dieffenbach became a refugee from Germany, in this case for his support of political reform, involved in student protest, and eventually being imprisoned in Zurich, and then expelled by the Swiss in 1836, where he had taken refuge. He moved, in what seems a natural movement of the time, to England. He moved in the right circles, Darwin, Lyell and Richard Owen, and possibly through them ended up with an appointment as naturalist with the New Zealand Company.⁴¹ He sailed on the *Tory* in 1839, along with Charles Heaphy (q.v.) and William and Edward Jerningham Wakefield (q. v.), a trio who all had an impact on early European settlement in New Zealand, and who would have provided a set of contrasting personalities for the long voyage. They engineered debates on board, and William Wakefield records that Dieffenbach proposed a subject: '*The causes of the decay of Nations and whether it will be possible to prevent the decay of character.*'⁴² Dieffenbach wasted no time in observing and writing immediately on arrival, and *New Zealand and its native population* is a description of the Māori in Queen Charlotte Sound and Cloudy Bay, where the *Tory* first reached New Zealand on 16 August, 1839.



Ernst Dieffenbach, 1850, from the Hessisches Staatsarchiv Darmstadt, R 4, 15560

Dieffenbach, Ernest, *New Zealand and its native population.* London, Smith, Elder, and Co. 1841. x [11]-30, 2 pp, 8vo. Bagnall 1598, Hocken 83.

I bought this in 2022 from a bookseller in Baden, just outside of Vienna, who claimed that the book had long been waiting to go home. Well, it was a good line. It was also nice to think that just possibly, the book had ended up in Vienna because of Dieffenbach's living in Germany, though I guess Giessen is as far from Baden as is London. It is bound in later boards with blue buckram spine.

This tract or letter was sent to the Aborigine's Protection Society⁴³, of which Dieffenbach was a corresponding member. It includes at the beginning a preface from the

⁴⁰ Georg Forster (1754-1794) sailed with his father and Cook on the second voyage wrote his account of it, tussled with Leibniz and got involved in revolutionary politics in Germany, dying in Paris in 1794 where he went as a delegate from the idealistic Main Republic.

⁴¹ **McLean, D.,** Dieffenbach, Johann Karl Ernst, Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1d13/dieffenbach-johann-karl-ernst> (accessed 29 June 2022)

⁴² **Bell, G.E.,** Ernest Dieffenbach. Rebel and Humanist. Dunmore Press, Palmerston North, 1976. p. 31.

⁴³ The Aborigine's Protection Society, with a Quaker background, was set up in London 1837, with the specific aims of protecting the well-being and rights of indigenous people subject to the expanding colonisation of the early 19th C. It had a particular focus on Canada, South Africa, the Congo, Australia, New Zealand and the

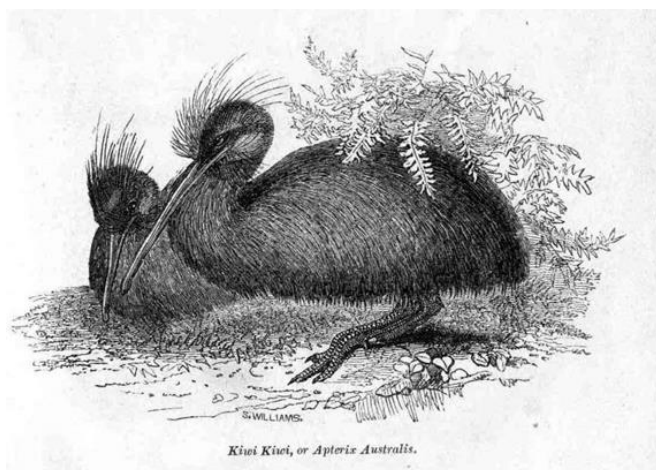
Society covering their views, including an announcement from the British Government of an enquiry into European land claims. At the end are two pages of an appeal from the Society. The letter was also published in the *New Zealand Journal*, 1841, pp 202, 238 and 260. In this, Dieffenbach signals early on, that his views of indigenous people and colonisation are not necessarily those of the establishment, missionaries, settlers or other British commentators.

Dieffenbach was not long in New Zealand. From Nelson and Cloudy Bay, the passengers of the *Tory* sailed on and landed in Port Nicholson on September 20. He then travelled widely in the North Island for the Company, but it is clear he was not in accord with it. After about a year, his contract was up, and he had to leave, returning to London to publish his account.

Dieffenbach, Ernest, *Travels in New Zealand; with contributions to the geography, geology, botany, and natural history of that country*. London: John Murray, Albermarle Street. 1843. Vol 1 pp 431, frontispiece, vol 2 pp 396, advert, 5 illustrations. Bagnall 1600. Hocken 109.

My copy is a near fine one of the reissue, in the familiar green embossed cloth of the time, bought from England in 1994. I had bought an earlier copy with loose boards and had it re-cased by a young guy in Auckland who was starting up a bookbinding and repair business. He seemed to prefer to be paid in whiskey, and did a terrible job; the business didn't last, and neither did the book. The copy has the signature of a previous owner, "James Muspratt Esq. 'Seaforth Hall'." On the prelims. James Muspratt (1793-1886), was a leading chemicals manufacturer in Liverpool, and built Seaforth Hall in Liverpool in 1844.⁴⁴ He and his family, including four sons, lived in it until his death, and his family afterwards, until it was demolished in the 1920s. The book may have belonged to him, or his son James Sheridan Muspratt (1821-1871) who studied chemistry and in 1843 entered the laboratory of the renowned chemist Liebig⁴⁵ in Giessen, a mentor of Dieffenbach, later publishing on the chemistry of plant and mineral materials. The link with Dieffenbach might be assumed through the latter's link with Giessen and geology. The signature is dated 1844, a year after publication but before Dieffenbach returned to Giessen. Muspratt returned to England in 1848, the same year Dieffenbach returned, and lived in Seaforth Hall.

There were two issues of this edition in 1843. The first (Bagnall 1599) has 7 plates and a map, and the second 5 plates and no map, and also has a few small wording changes noted by Anderson⁴⁶. There are vignettes on each of the title pages, signed by S Williams. In



Kiwi Kiwi, or *Apterix Australis*. Dieffenbach 1843, Vol II, title page.

Pacific Islands. Louis Chamerovzow was Secretary of the Society from 1847, publishing his book on Māori rights in 1848.

⁴⁴ <https://www.flickr.com/photos/allan15/23693305155> Accessed 1 July 2022

⁴⁵ Justus von Liebig (1803-1873) was a leading German chemist regarded as a founding figure of organic and biological chemistry, foundational in plant nutrition and fertilisers. We used to use Liebig condensers in our chemistry classes.

⁴⁶ Anderson, J., op. cit. pp. 43-44.

Vol I this is of ‘*Cascades of boiling water at Rotu Mahana*’ (the white terraces), and in Vol. II a fanciful engraving of two kiwi. These are likely to be by the London engraver Samuel Williams (1788-1853; see also William’s earlier engravings in the books by Yate and Wade), noted for his book illustrations, mainly from the 1840s. The 5 plates are lithographs by Louis Haghe based on sketches by Dieffenbach himself or J. J. Merrett⁴⁷. They are of Taupo, Mt Egmont, Ruapehu and Tongariro and Te Waro [sic]. The latter is of particular interest, depicting the chief Te Waru castigating his daughter for murdering a slave, with Dieffenbach



Te Waro. Dieffenbach, 1843. Vo. 11. Frontispiece.

(the first figure in the cape) and either Ensign Best or Captain Symonds on the far left, all three, along with the artist J. J. Merrett, visiting Waipa together in 1841.⁴⁸ This encounter is also recorded in the journal of Ensign Best, published in Wellington in 1966.

The first volume covers Dieffenbach’s accounts of travelling through the Cook Strait, Wellington and Taranaki regions, then Northland, and finally the Waikato, Tongariro and Ruapehu and Thames, with a final chapter on botany. He is not allowed to climb Tongariro because of Bidwill’s indiscretions earlier, but ascended Mt Egmont with a companion, James Herbeley, a local settler and former whaler⁴⁹. He also visited the Chatham Islands in May to July, 1840, publishing his findings from that trip in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*⁵⁰. Colenso and Bidwill both looked askance at Dieffenbach’s account, mildly accusing him of claims where perhaps he shouldn’t have, getting some things about botany wrong, and with Colenso, a little professional jealousy perhaps creeping in.⁵¹ The second volume is ethnographic, covering Māori lives and customs, traditions and characters, with a chapter on how to legislate for them. Then there is a chapter by John Gray⁵² on the New Zealand

⁴⁷ Joseph Jenner Merrett (1815-1854) was an artist working in Auckland in the 1840s, accompanying Dieffenbach and Best during their North Island travels, and later doing work for George Grey and others. See Una Platts’ book on Nineteenth Century New Zealand artists of 1979.

⁴⁸ <https://natlib.govt.nz/records/23021299> Accessed 1 July 2022

⁴⁹ Moon, P., op. cit. pp. 107-114.

⁵⁰ Bell, G.E., op. cit. p.73.

⁵¹ Anderson, J., op. cit. p. 45.

⁵² John Gray (1800-1875) was a leading British zoologist and taxonomist, Keeper of Zoology at the British Museum from 1840 to 1875. He wrote the Fauna of New Zealand article published by Dieffenbach in Volume 2.

fauna, with a fine sketch by Gray of *Balaena antipodarum*, the Southern Right Whale. The last part of the book is on the language.

Dieffenbach didn't want to leave. He wanted to extend his naturalist explorations to the South Island, and asked the Government if he could be taken on. Hobson supported him, but Governor Gipps in New South Wales declined, on the basis of the money being needed elsewhere, though it can hardly have been much, and Dieffenbach had seemed happy to have them cover his expenses only.⁵³ So he returned to England in 1841. He oversaw the publication of his book, and we don't seem to have an explanation for the reissuing. A belated review appeared some 7 years later⁵⁴, along with reviews of Russell's *Polynesia* (1842) and Williams' *Missionary Enterprises* (1842), but Dieffenbach gets little mention and the lengthy article is about indigenous races, particularly Māori, population statistics, breeding, customs and the likelihood of survival. It is anonymously written by someone who lived in New Zealand for some years. Dieffenbach also found time to translate Darwin's account of the voyage of the *Beagle*.⁵⁵

Some of Dieffenbach's collections ended up in Kew and the British Museum, resulting in Gray's description of New Zealand fauna. He eventually returned to the University of Giessen in 1848, as Director of the Geological Museum, and died there in 1855, probably from typhus.

His book could be regarded as the most important New Zealand work of the earlier part of the 19th C. He brought a scientist's eye, tempered with the liberality of his student and political days, and although a New Zealand Company man, was in reality, anything but that, showing many times his discomfort with Company views, and with an overriding empathy and admiration for Māori. He *'broke new ground in joining a meticulous account of the life and physical character of the new country with penetrating and humane observations about the plight of the Maori before the rising tide of European settlement. Dieffenbach looked at New Zealand with the fresh and sensitive eye of a nineteenth century liberal. He picked the importance of land and language to the survival of the Maori people and made a strong plea for special measures to protect what he called 'a magnificent race, people of a fine and gentle disposition'*⁵⁶ There was some benefit in not being British.

⁵³ Bell, G.E., op. cit. pp. 80-82.

⁵⁴ Edinburgh Review, vol. 91, 1849-1850, October-April. pp. 443-

⁵⁵ Darwin, C.R., *Naturwissenschaftliche Reisen...*, Braunschweig, Frederick Vieweg, 1844. Tr J. Dieffenbach.

⁵⁶ McLean, D., op. cit.

A staple export, as inexhaustible as it would be valuable

Bell, F.D.; Young, F. Reasons for promoting the cultivation of the New Zealand flax.1842.

We are now well into the depths of the New Zealand Company, with Heaphy, Jameson, Heale, and the Company's own publications; there were some eight or more books published in 1842 alone associated with the New Zealand Company, colonisation and emigration. But first let's hear about flax. Early traders such as Peter Dillon, and the masters of many of the ships regularly sailing between New Zealand and Australia, carried shipments of flax, sort after by the navy for rope making. At the House of Lords Select Committee on New Zealand, flax was a frequent subject of questioning. They ask Nicholas:

'Is there a good deal of Flax cultivated? Not cultivated, but it is spread over the Country in great Quantities.'

And of Charles Enderby:

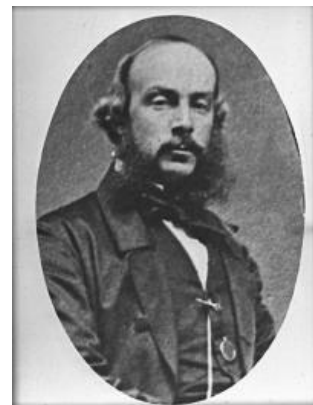
'Has the New Zealand Flax been within your knowledge used for cordage? It has, we have used it of our own manufacture, and we use it now. It is brought over in a very rough state. It has not been generally introduced from its being imported in a very indifferent state....Is it not like ordinary flax? No, it is not; it is the Phormium tenax. You say you have manufactured it; to what purposes have you applied it? For rope.....'

And:

'Do you, in your firm, make use of New Zealand Flax? We do; we prefer it to Russian Hemp. Can you get it much cheaper than the Russian Hemp? It costs us less than the Russian Hemp does; not per ton, but because the same Length is lighter; it does not weigh so much per ton; it is more costly, but we can get for the same weight an increased length and an increased strength.'

It seems that just about every person giving evidence is required to make a comment on flax, its use, processing, importation and economics.⁵⁷

Francis Dillon Bell (1822-1898) though born in Bordeaux where his father was British consul, was almost born into the New Zealand Company, E G Wakefield being his father's cousin. At just 17 he started working for the New Zealand Company, and three years later, at 21, he published his book on flax with Frederick Young.⁵⁸ Young (1817-1913), was a traveller, writer, and a friend of Alfred Domett, and whose politician father, George Frederick Young (1791-1870), had more connections with New Zealand. The father was on the Board of the New Zealand Company, bought land in Wellington, one of the off-shore speculators since he never visited, had shipping interests which no doubt was useful to the Company, and wrote the agreement which emigrants to New Zealand signed.⁵⁹ Young's



⁵⁷ Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords. Op. cit.

⁵⁸ Scholefield, J., op. cit. vol. 1, pp. 56-58.

⁵⁹ <https://natlib.govt.nz/records/22372433>

elder brother, William Curling Young, did sail out, worked for the New Zealand Company and in their employ, but was drowned while crossing the Wairau River in 1842.

Bell, F.D.; Young, F. *Reasons for promoting the cultivation of the New Zealand flax.* London: Smith, Elder and Co., Cornhill. 1842. Bagnall 400, Hocken 100

I bought this very common pamphlet many years ago from England. Then lost it, and bought it again from Calgary in Canada, the same dealer from whom I bought a couple of books on China in 2021, and sent the considerable amount of money to a faulty bank account number. There the money sat, in limbo, and possibly for eternity, but then my bank was able to retrieve it. However, this time the Calgary dealer sent me Heale's small book by mistake, and it didn't seem worth sending it back or going through the purchase process again. I then found another copy of Bell and Young in a shop in Devonport, in very good condition, bound in half calf and marbled boards. It seems a lot of effort for something a bit inconsequential.

The reader is launched into the book without preliminaries, the first page headed '*Reasons, &c, &c.*' There is a rationale: '*Almost every arrival from the Colony has brought renewed assurances of the settlers' confidence in the success of a systematic attempt to cultivate and prepare for a market its chief indigenous production; but these assurances are always accompanied with expressions of regret that such an attempt has not been made.*' And the main reason for this failure '*has been the want of the necessary machinery for properly preparing the fibre.*'⁶⁰ It proceeds to describe the state of the art of flax production and export, quoting copiously from evidence given to the House of Lords Select Committee by Nicholas, Enderby and others, the works of Petre, Heaphy and Terry, and at the end are tables of imports and prices, comparing flax with hemp.

It is a Company production, presumably the authors were supplied with their information by the Company, and strenuous efforts are made to show that it would be a viable export, and how such exports based on natural resources are essential for the growing prosperity of the colony in the absence of more advanced manufactures. Flax as an export loomed so large in the early thoughts and enterprises of the first settlers, largely because both flax, and spars from species such as kauri, were the only obvious natural products, with a ready market in the Royal Navy, that might be turned to a profit. Yet in the end this came to nothing, perhaps for want of the processing equipment, domestic cultivation in the light of land clearances for more



Flax dressing by the Maories, New Zealand.
Illustrated Sydney News, 1865; artist C C Clarke.
Image from Alexander Turnbull Library, records# 22839930.

⁶⁰ **Bell, F.D.; Young, F.** *Reasons for promoting the cultivation of the New Zealand flax.* London: Smith, Elder and Co., Cornhill. 1842. p. 1.

advanced agriculture, and perhaps also, with the advent of steamships and decreased need for such raw product in shipbuilding and rigging.

Smith, Elder include several pages of advertisements, revealing the growing number of accounts of New Zealand. They include Heaphy, Petre, the Company tracts on New Plymouth, Jameson, Lang, Ward, and maps and plans of the country, Wellington, and New Plymouth, to entice the potential emigrant. Bell wrote no other books, but Bagnall records a couple of pamphlets, and Hocken an article on British colonisation in New Zealand for the *Colonial Magazine* in November 1840, when Bell was still working as secretary of the New Zealand Company (Hocken 77).

This all precedes Bell's actual emigration, which took place in 1843, when he sailed on the *Ursula*, arriving in Port Nicholson in September of that year. On board also was a John Sharp, only in his mid-teens, but who became clerk to Bell in New Zealand. Bell worked for the Company, buying land for it in Auckland, and joined the militia in the Bay of Islands when hostilities broke out in the early 1840s. He climbed Mt Egmont in 1846, worked in the Wairarapa, was appointed resident agent in New Plymouth in 1847, married in 1849, and continued over the next 10 years to be involved in land purchases with the Government. He was called to the Legislative Council in 1854, and joined the Domett ministry in 1862. Bell was involved with the Waikato wars and eventually moved south to Otago, becoming involved in provincial politics. He spent time off and on in England, was Speaker of the House in 1871, was a reasonably talented artist, and fathered Francis Henry Dillon Bell, who became the first New Zealand-born Prime Minister, for just 16 days, in 1925. Bell died while back in New Zealand in 1898.⁶¹

⁶¹ Scholefield, J., op. cit. pp. 56-61.

In opposition to such a mass of talent, rank and power

Heale, T. New Zealand and the New Zealand Company. 1842.

On 17 April 1840. Captain Theophilus Heale wrecked his ship the *Aurora* when it hit a rock on leaving the Kaipara harbour. It was enroute to England with mail and a cargo including spars. All the crew survived, travelling overland to the Bay of Islands.⁶² The *Aurora* had previously undertaken two convict shipments in the early 1830s, and then was chartered by the New Zealand Company as one of their first ships to bring out emigrants in 1839. There were 148 settlers aboard, and she entered Port Nicholson on 22 January, 1840.



Heale (1816-1885) returned to England later in 1840, where he published his pamphlet with his critical views on the New Zealand Company.

Heale, T. New Zealand and the New Zealand Company: being a consideration of how far their interests are similar. In answer to a pamphlet entitled How to colonize: the interest of the country, and the duty of Government. London, Sherwood, Gilbert, and Piper. 1842. 63 pp, Bagnall 2547, Hocken 102.

My copy is like new, unbound with the gatherings sewn, and it is a fairly common publication, bought from a Hamilton dealer now no longer in business.

Heale's pamphlet, as given on the title page, was in answer to what Bagnall (2547) calls 'a rambling defence of the New Zealand Company by a member of Parliament and Company shareholder and director', by R. D. Mangles.⁶³ Heale knows what he is talking about, since he captained one of the first Company ships, when he accuses the Company of 'precipitate and rash measures, which are irretrievable, and which must for years inflict grievous injury on the colony.'⁶⁴ In the preface he strongly criticises the decision of the Company to land the settlers at Port Nicholson, even though it was inappropriate for farming: 'Bitter was the disappointment of the first settlers, when they looked upon the steep and barren hills which surrounded them,...'⁶⁵ and when they found that Governor Gibbs in New South Wales had refused to recognise their land titles, there was even talk of continuing on to South America. The body of the work, while addressing Mangles, is a comprehensive, and devastating analysis of the Company's colonisation policy and progress. In doing so, he discredits Bidwill (q.v.), asks questions on the veracity of Jameson (q.v.) and takes shots at Petre (q.v.), and it is difficult not to agree with him, as well as be entertained.

Pamphlets and tracts such as this are easy to disregard amidst the more attractive offerings of books with plates and maps and traveller's anecdotes, but as the colony got under way, and with the New Zealand Company at the charge in the early 1840s, its writing such as this which gives us a good guide to the problems of colonisation and immigration,

⁶² Sydney Herald, 10 June, 1840.

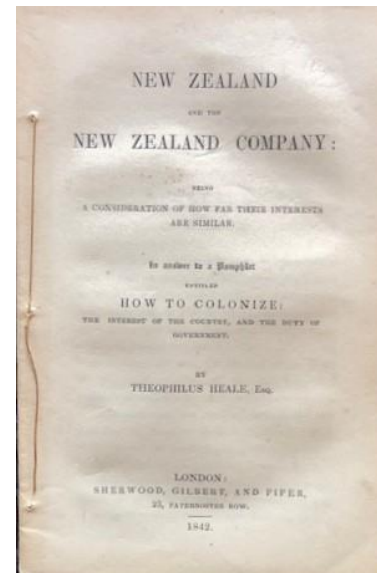
⁶³ **Mangles, R.D.**, How to colonize: The interest of the country, and the duty of the Government. London, Smith, Elder and Co., 1842. Mangles (1801-1877) was sometime Chairman of the East India Company

⁶⁴ **Heale, T.** New Zealand and the New Zealand Company: being a consideration of how far their interests are similar. In answer to a pamphlet entitled How to colonize: the interest of the country, and the duty of Government. London, Sherwood, Gilbert, and Piper, 1842. p. 4

⁶⁵ Ibid. p.5

and a reminder that traveller's accounts must be read with care and a nod to self-interest and allegiances.

Heale was no anti-coloniser however. He gave evidence to the House of Commons Select Committee on New Zealand in 1844, and back in New Zealand in 1845, was appointed a member of Fitzroy's Legislative Council. He became involved in several potential businesses including bringing out a sawmill to be set up at Cornwallis on the Manukau Harbour (a Scottish settlement venture that failed), mining on Kawau and Great Barrier islands, and in politics, becoming an MP for Auckland in 1860. He was fluent in te reo Māori, subsequently holding surveying and administrative positions in Southland, wrote a book on *Principles and Practice of Surveying* in 1871, and eventually became Judge of the Land Court in 1877. His public life appeared to suffer from a lack of the 'assertiveness of character necessary for advancement in public life',⁶⁶ though that should not necessarily be a bad thing when there are other qualities. He retired in 1883, returned to England and died there two years later.⁶⁷



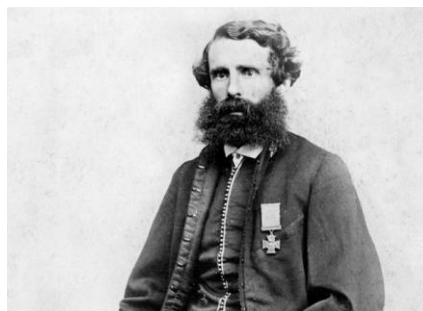
⁶⁶ Scholefield, J. op. cit. vol 1. p. 372.

⁶⁷ Heale, Theophilus, from An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, edited by A. H. McLintock, originally published in 1966. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/1966/heale-theophilus> (accessed 03 Jul 2022)

A brief account of the present state of the settlements.

Heaphy, C. Narrative of a residence in various parts of New Zealand. 1842.

For many, Charles Heaphy (1820-1881) is not known so much for his book, as for his art and his VC, and perhaps the eponymous tramping track.⁶⁸ Amongst the talented dabblers of the time, he stands out as one of the few trained artists, attending the Royal Academy before being contracted by the New Zealand Company as a surveyor and artist, still not 20 years old, and signing on only three days before his ship sailed⁶⁹. He was one of the notable trio of young men who sailed on the *Tory* in 1839, accompanying Dieffenbach and Edward Jerningham Wakefield, whiling away their time with hypnosis and debates, where apparently Heaphy asked for one on the French Revolution.¹⁸¹ He had a 3 year contract with the Company, and travelled widely during his couple of year's stay, including visiting the Chatham Islands and Taranaki, and in 1841, being alongside Arthur Wakefield at the establishment of Nelson, before returning to London to report to the Directors. His job as artist was very much about providing advertising material for the company, and it published lithographs of his work, which also appear in other publications including those of Petre and Edward Jerningham Wakefield. Heaphy's report was accepted positively by the Company Directors, and it is this which becomes the book published in London in 1842.



Heaphy, C. Narrative of a residence in various parts of New Zealand. Together with a description of the present state of the Company's settlements. London, Smith, Elder and Co., 65, Cornhill. 1842. pp 142, viii, advertisements. Bagnall 2549, Hocken 102.

My copy is as published in the grey covers with the advertisements on the back and the prelims are a bit foxed, the rest clean. It is rarely seen like this and was bought from a regular dealer in England in 1987. I remember taking it with me to read on a research trip to Central Otago, not a sensible thing to do, but it survived. It contains the bookplate of Sir William Molesworth (1810-1855), who was a leading radical British politician and associate of Edward G Wakefield. His association with colonisation went further, in that he was Colonial Secretary in London for a few months before his death, and his brother was Francis Molesworth, who voyaged out with Petre on the *Oriental* in 1840 as one of the first settlers of the New Zealand Company, buying land in the Hutt, but returning to England where he died in 1846.

There are no illustrations, but the advertisements at the back include those for Petre's and Jameson's accounts, John Ward's book on immigration, Company publications on the Latest Information from New Plymouth and other familiar publications that were part of New Zealand Company's advertising and propaganda for its immigration scheme. Heaphy accordingly seems a little sensitive to a potential claim that he is a Company man. In the preface he says: *'..it may be imagined that I am interested in upholding its [the Company's] principles, and am now writing by its dictation. That, however, is not the case; and although.....I am*

⁶⁸ A biography was published in 2008: **Sharp, Iain**, Heaphy, University of Auckland Press, Auckland, 2008.

⁶⁹ **Moon, P.**, op. cit. pp. 182-189.

*inclined to think that its system of colonisation is the best, and am predisposed in its favour, I must disclaim any participation or interference of it in my writings.'*⁷⁰

His book covers his arrival, Queen Charlotte Sound and then observations on the colony at Port Nicholson, and appropriate, in the Company's eyes, disdain for Hobson. Wakefield had travelled to the Bay of Islands 'with an address of congratulations, and promises of support from them to the Lieutenant-Governor, The answer which he brought was, however, vague and indecisive, and had not the effect of tranquilising the public mind.'⁷¹ And in a conclusion at the end of the book, he returns to this: 'The conduct of Captain Hobson and his



*subordinates is alike censured in every part of the country, and the dislike and dissatisfaction evinced by all classes in the colony amounts to something more than the effects of mere prejudice.'*⁷²

He gives his views on the climate, geography and the people and colonisation progress in Wellington, Whanganui, New Plymouth and Nelson, and the book has been described as 'statistical rather than descriptive',⁷³ which is a bit harsh if that is meant as a criticism. There is an Appendix on his visit to the Chatham Islands, where he addresses the Directors, describing the whaling, agricultural possibilities, how to lay out a town and proceed with colonisation, right down to itemised costs. No mention of selling it to the Germans, which is what the Company tried to do, despite not actually owning it. He has a personable style, speaking directly; you'd be happy to sit down for an evening with this man.

Heaphy's watercolours and sketches are well known. The four early ones produced for the New Zealand Company in 1839 were of Wellington (2), Mt Egmont and Nelson Haven. The lithographs, from the original watercolours, are by Thomas Allom, and the New Zealand Company felt bound to introduce some figures into the people-less original landscapes, to show that the country wasn't devoid of hard working colonists. Along with the work of contemporary sketchers, Heaphy's have something of the air of English pastoral, unthreatening for potential colonists⁷⁴. His lithographs appear in Petre and Chapman, both published by Smith, Elder along with Heaphy, and the Illustrated London News.⁷⁵ To some extent, Heaphy was much more interesting than his book. He appeared to get no further support from the Company, but returned to New Zealand and Nelson in 1842. He farmed in Motueka, and then undertook a number of inland treks to explore the country over to the West coast, two of these with Thomas Brunner, William Fox and Kehu (Ngāti

⁷⁰ Heaphy, C. Narrative of a residence in various parts of New Zealand. Together with a description of the present state of the Company's settlements. London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1842. pp. vii-viii.
⁷¹ Ibid. pp. 10-11.
⁷² Ibid p. 112.
⁷³ Anderson, J., op. cit. pp. 39-40.
⁷⁴ Moon, P., op. cit. p. 184.
⁷⁵ Ellis, E.M. & D.G., op cit. pp. 89-95.

Tūmatakōkiri)⁷⁶, the later a notable guide and figure in the North West of the South Island. Heaphy, and particularly Brunner, seemed to have a liking for a tough life, as their explorations involved much hardship, cumulating in Brunner's return journey from Nelson to the coast, described in his journal, and called '*one off the greatest feats of overland exploration in New Zealand's history.*'⁷⁷ It equally might be called Kēhu's great journey, for he guided him (along with 3 other Māori) but most accounts fail to give him his due. Without him it would never have happened.

For the rest of his career, and life, Heaphy stationed himself in and around Auckland, taking up a post as a draughtsman in the Auckland Survey Office in 1848. He married, accompanied Governor George Grey to New Caledonia and moved to Warkworth, continuing to sketch and work as a surveyor. Until 1856 he worked and lived in Mahurangi as a surveyor. He joined the Auckland Rifle Volunteers in 1856, was involved in surveying the southern road into the Waikato used for the Waikato wars, fought at Rangiriri, and was awarded the VC, the first New Zealander (for that is what he now was) for his actions at Paterangi. Initially the application from his superiors was turned down, since Heaphy was a member of the militia, not the British Army, but after protests, including from Heaphy himself, it was awarded.



Thorndon Flat and part of the City of Wellington, 1841. One of the most frequently used of Heaphy's watercolours. Alexander Turnbull Library #23171707

Heaphy later got involved in politics, becoming MP for Parnell and Commissioner for Native Reserves. He caught tuberculosis in 1881, moved to Brisbane hoping that would help, but it didn't, and he died there the same year.

He didn't write another book, though he did publish an article, now unbearably poignant, about how he and Dieffenbach, guided by local Māori, went in search of huia in the bush-clad hills around the Port Nicholson harbour. They found them by their call, a pair, admired them greatly, then shot them.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Mitchell, H & D., [Kehu \(Hone Mokehakeha\): Biographical Notes](#). Nelson Historical Society Journal, Vol 6, 1996.

⁷⁷ Brunner, T., *The Great Journey. An expedition to explore the interior of the Middle Island, New Zealand, 1846-8*. Christchurch, Pegasus Press, 1952. p.7, in a preface by John Pasco. The original manuscript of the journal has been lost, but in 1848, Charles Eliot of the Nelson Examiner published a 17p. transcription, the issues and printing of which has been described by Bagnall (722).

⁷⁸ Heaphy, C., *Notes on Port Nicholson and its Natives in 1839*. Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute, Vol VII, pp. 32-39, 11 Oct 1879, (read before the Wellington Philosophical Society by Major Charles Heaphy V.C.) See also, Anderson, J., op. cit. pp. 42-43.

Colonization is the natural remedy for that wide-spreading national distress which arises from great excess of labour over the means of employment

Jameson, R.G. New Zealand, South Australia, and New South Wales. 1842.

Bright, J. Hand-book for emigrants, and others. 1841.

While R G Jameson was not a Company man, he might as well have been. He was appointed surgeon-superintendent by the British Government's Colonisation Commission, in charge of the well-being of emigrants on the *Surrey* which left England on June 1838, arriving in Port Adelaide on 11 October 1838 from London. Some of the migrants went on to establish the town of Surryville, near Hurtle Vale in South Australia. He travelled extensively around the coastal regions of South Australia until moving on to New South Wales in February 1839, and then to New Zealand, on board a schooner enroute to Fiji, arriving in the Bay of Islands in November 1839. After travelling through 1840, he returns to England, for business reasons, and gets his book published by those publishers riding high on colonisation, Smith, Elder and Co.

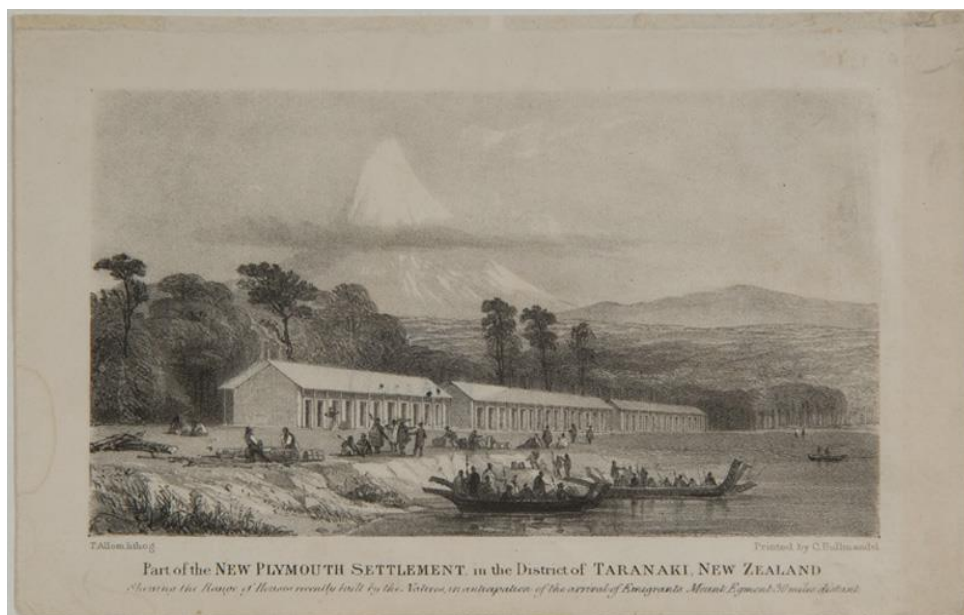
Jameson, R.G. New Zealand, South Australia, and New South Wales: a record of recent travels in these colonies, with especial reference to emigration and the advantageous employment of labour and capital. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. [1841]. Pp.372, xii, 2 maps and 2 engravings. Bagnall 2862, Hocken 95.

I bought a first copy from a Bethune auction in 1991, without the map, and it looked like the version described by Hocken (95). But then I bought another copy in 2017 from AD. This is the first edition (undated) with the maps and plates as described by Anderson⁷⁹. It is in a contemporary binding of half calf and marbled boards and is rarely come by. A second edition with a different placement of the plate and maps, and dated, was issued in 1842.

Smith, Elder were nothing if efficient. The book has the same plates of Port Nicholson by Heaphy and New Plymouth by Duppa that they published in Petre's book, and the same map, plus they have added, in a nod to the Australia market, an Arrowsmith map of Australia and New Zealand. There is a dedication to A.B. Sparke, Esq of Tempe, New South Wales. Sparke was a prominent businessman who at the height of his success ran export and shipping companies, owned large estates in Australia (Tempe at Cook's River, at one stage employing 35 servants) and New Zealand, was involved in banking and a wide range of commerce. He had his ups and downs, and is quietly damned by his biographer '*Despite his activity in public affairs Spark was too patronizing to make much impact on colonists less wealthy than himself. His severe judgments on wrongdoers were rarely matched by self-criticism and his oft-expressed piety seemed meaningful only when he was distressed. His knowledge of shipping and commerce was undoubtedly a boon to New South Wales, but his personal detachment prevented any deep identity with his adopted country.*'⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Anderson, J., op. cit. p. 29.

⁸⁰ 'Spark, Alexander Brodie (1792–1856)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/spark-alexander-brodie-2684/text3755> published first in hardcopy 1967, accessed online 10 July 2022.



Part of the New Plymouth settlement, in the district of Taranaki, New Zealand. Shewing the range of houses recently built by the natives, in anticipation of the arrival of emigrants. Mount Egmont 30 miles distant. Jameson, 1841, p. 1. Artist George Duppa

The book has some 175 pages on Australia, comprehensive material on agriculture, convicts, commerce, colonisation, and then at page 175 he reaches New Zealand, ‘I was led by business, shortly after my arrival in New South Wales, to visit what was then the cynosure of all eyes, New Zealand,....’ He explores the Northern region, then travels south to the Coromandel and Thames, Tauranga, Rotorua and Taupo. He ends up providing information, from secondary sources, on the South and Stewart Islands, New Zealand plants and animals, timber and a plea to encourage the youth, presumably of England, to emigrate by providing colonial cadetships. There are a number of Appendices with various documents and letters on colonisation in Australia and New Zealand.

His book was favourably reviewed, in terms of information for immigrants, in the Westminster Review in January 1842, alongside the 5th edition of Petre. ‘The emigrant would do well to consult all these works [Petre, Jameson, Bright] and compare their evidence...’⁸¹ The short notice, which may as well have been written by a Company man, is mostly made up with a further broadside at Hobson, siding with the Wellington settlers ‘he has never visited the spot (Port Nicholson) where the greater number of new settlers have established themselves.....Governor Hobson has adopted a course which has given satisfaction to no one.’²¹¹ There was also a positive review in Chamber’s Edinburgh Review, ‘As the production of a well-educated man, possessing considerable powers of observation, and of a sober and moderate turn of mind, we consider it a book of some value to intending emigrants, besides having the advantage of being one of the attest reports on the subject.’⁸²

As for Jameson, we know little more about him, though he appeared to have continued a career in emigration, if not being a colonist himself. His dedication to Sparke

⁸¹ The Westminster Review, January – April, 1842, Vol XXXVII, London, H. Hooper. pp. 253-254. [Note that H. Hooper is the publisher of the John Bright History of New Zealand, and includes it in the notice reviewing Jameson and the 5th ed of Petre.]

⁸² Chamber’s Edinburgh Review, vol XI, numbers DXXI to DLXXII, April 1842, pp. 93-94.

suggests that he was circulating in high end business circles. He published a book in 1852 on Australian gold fields⁸³, R.G. Jameson, M.R.C.S.E given as author, two years resident in, and late Medical Superintendent, under Her Majesty's Commissioners for Immigration to Australia. At the time he appears to have been running an Australian Emigration Office in New York, and was active in exploring the concept of a sea link between the Pacific and Atlantic oceans, including being medical officer on an expedition in Colombia to seek a river connection (all this later solved by the Panama Canal).⁸⁴ The letters denote Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, Edinburgh. Their archives also note that he was born on the HMS Ardent²¹⁷. This ship was launched in 1796 and broken up in 1824. Jameson was initiated as a licentiate of the College in 1831, so is likely to have been born early in the century.

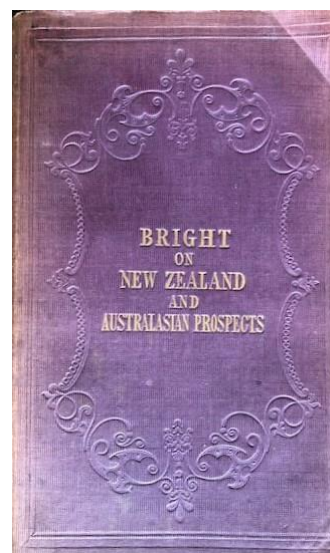
That Westminster Review article on colonisation mentioned a book by Bright, also published in 1841, a titch self-serving since the Review and Bright's book were both published by Henry Hooper in London. Bright, on the title page of his book⁸⁵, is given as having lived four years in the Southern Hemisphere, and a member of the Royal College of Surgeons, and is likely to have come out on an immigration ship to South Australia as a surgeon, a little like Jameson perhaps. Again, like Jameson, he moved from South Australia, the climate not agreeing with him, and on to New Zealand, a little earlier in this case since he arrived in the September of 1839, as he says, 5 months before Hobson. He was back in England in 1841 for the publication of his book.

Bright, John. Hand-book for emigrants, and others: being a history of New Zealand, its state and prospects, previous and subsequent to the proclamation of Her Majesty's authority: also remarks on the climate and colonies of the Australian continent London: H. Hooper, 1841. 2 p.l., 212 pp, corrigenda slip tipped in at end, 8vo. Bagnall 657 Hocken 92

My copy is in the original, limp purple cloth covers, blind-stamped with a gilt title, in very good condition, and there is quote on the verso of the title page: 'Terrestrial paradises are not for embodied souls; from the attributed defects of this world spring attractions to it Ruler; therefore would I have you weigh well every consideration.' There is no attribution.

The book is not well known, though a copy did come up at auction in 2019. As is common with these early books on emigration, a second edition was issued though there seems to be confusion with the date, given as 1841, but indicated as 1843 by Bagnall (658), and by a different publisher (George Routledge).

Bright lived at Kororareka and was present for Hobson's arrival and the signing of the Treaty. He gives a broad description of the geography of the country, presumably mostly from secondary sources, of Kororareka as it was when he landed, and the climate, soil, agriculture



⁸³ Jameson, R.G., Australia and her gold regions: a full description of its geology, climate, products, natives, agriculture... accompanied by a map of the country and statistical tables...information requisite for those desirous of emigrating: the whole forming a complete guide-book to the gold mines. New York, Cornish, Lamport & Co, 1852.

⁸⁴ There is an entry on Jameson in the biographies of the Edinburgh Royal College of Surgeons,

<https://archiveandlibrary.rcsed.ac.uk/surgeon/3761784-robert-grant-jameson>

⁸⁵ <http://www.enzb.auckland.ac.nz/document/?wid=3624&page=0&action=null>

and food. He mentions illnesses and diseases of Māori and his own efforts to treat them, and describes Māori in a way that seems about 20 years out of date, as though from a much earlier visitor. He talks of the settlers, quotes Petre on his negative views of Hobson, and gives a vivid first-hand account of the signing of the Treaty, not forgetting the celebrations and mutterings that went on outside the tent. There is consideration given to the economics of colonisation, with tables of costs, and he makes a claim to be independent of the Company: *"I have no wish to be thought to look upon any matters on which I have written, with a party-directed eye."*⁸⁶ In all, the latter parts directed to potential settlers seem harder nosed, more factual and thus more useful than many more effusive works. John Bright the man remains elusive.

⁸⁶ **Bright, John.** Hand-book for emigrants, and others: being a history of New Zealand, its state and prospects, previous and subsequent to the proclamation of Her Majesty's authority: also remarks on the climate and colonies of the Australian continent London, H. Hooper, 1841. p. 178

With regard to the country, I think no one can dislike it

Latest information from the settlement of New Plymouth. 1842.

Letters from settlers & labouring emigrants. 1843.

[Ward, John], Information relative to New Zealand. 1839.

[Ward, J], New Zealand. Nelson, the latest settlement of the New Zealand Company. 1842.

In the early 1840s, The New Zealand Company published many tracts and pamphlets on colonisation in New Zealand, mostly targeting prospective immigrants, providing them with information (and sometimes misinformation) on the nascent colony, and rather cleverly, including many letters from settlers, naturally positive, though giving a pretty good picture of life and conditions. There is a little coyness around authorship of the some of them, and in the case of the plug for New Plymouth, a helpful form at the back, which you could fill in to buy a plot of land in that new settlement.

Latest information from the settlement of New Plymouth, on the coast of Taraneke, New Zealand. Comprising letters from settlers there; with an account of its general products, agricultural and commercial capabilities, &c. Published under the direction of the West of England Board of the New Zealand Company. London; Smith, Elder and Co. 1842. pp 57, advertisements, woodcut frontispiece. Bagnall 3928, Hocken 103.

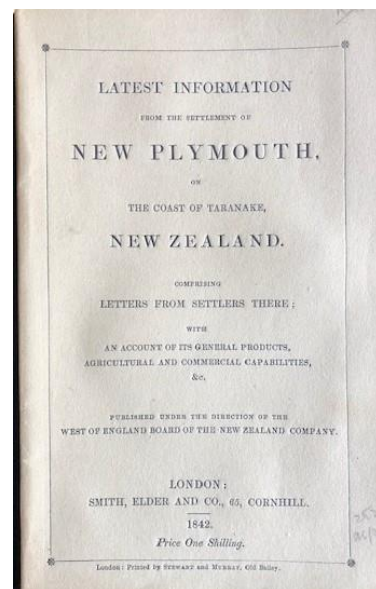
This pamphlet is reasonably common, but mine is in almost mint condition, in the original printed paper wrappers. It was bought from England in 1991. The same dealer I bought quite a few books from, including on 18th C plant science. Lovely guy, but never got into credit cards and I always had to go to the bank and get an international bank draft and post it. Almost, but not quite, put me off. He came out to New Zealand at some stage, and made some comment on the relatively poor condition of many early New Zealand rare books. He was largely right – you have to search for very good or fine copies.



View of the site of New Plymouth. The Company's storehouses to the right – Holsworthy Hill on the left. Latest information, 1842, frontispiece.

This pamphlet has a frontispiece of a wood engraving by ‘Walmsley’. Ellis cites this as Wilmsley⁸⁷ but closer inspection shows it is Walmsley. There was an artist and engraver John Walmsley active in London at the time, with a portfolio largely of grand country houses and romantic scenes, and a record of book illustrations⁸⁸. The engraving must have been taken from a contemporary sketch, made from an inland viewpoint looking out across the nascent settlement to the roadstead with a ship in the far background (New Plymouth was criticised from the first for being selected for settlement in the absence of a harbour). There are figures in the foreground doing useful work. There seems to be no other record of the sketch or the engraving. There is a slight resemblance with the sketches of Emma Wickstead in New Plymouth in 1843, or George Duppa, perhaps who sketched one of the earliest scenes, reproduced in Petre and Jameson. Emma Wickstead was the wife of John Tylston Wickstead, the Company’s resident agent in New Plymouth.

So who wrote or compiled this? It is a publication from the West of England Board of the New Zealand Company, and the notice at the back on the terms for land sales to settlers is signed by John Ward, the Company’s Secretary, and author of the company publication on Nelson of the same year, under the pseudonym of ‘Kappa’. He would have been involved in compiling this. The first pages provide a background on the choice of New Plymouth *‘The settlers all lament the want of a harbour, but there is no difference of opinion, as to the extraordinary fertility of the soil, and the great promise which is held out to agricultural settlers.’*⁸⁹ The company promised to send out two sets of moorings. The region was first surveyed in January 1841 by Frederick Alonzo Carrington, who was appointed surveyor by the Company, with his brother Augustus Octavius Croker Carrington as his assistant. Col. William Wakefield had scouted the region a little earlier and the Carringtons sailed there on the *Brougham* in February 1841. There follows a description of the survey, the problems of the lack of a harbour, the ‘natives’ and comments from settlers. There is a section summarising the establishment of the colony and then a number of settlers’ letters, finishing with a notice from the Company, signed by Ward, of the terms of purchasing land. There is no mention of issues with Māori over land (which occurred), and Carrington in the end broke with the Company (or vice versa), and returned to England where he gave evidence to the House of Commons Select Committee in 1844. He returned to New Plymouth in 1855, taking up administrative positions and becoming something of a ‘father’ of the city.⁹⁰



⁸⁷ Ellis E M & D G., op. cit. p. 308.

⁸⁸ The Examiner, London, Oct. 8, 1842, p. 656.

⁸⁹ **Latest information** from the settlement of New Plymouth, on the coast of Taranaki, New Zealand. Comprising letters from settlers there; with an account of its general products, agricultural and commercial capabilities, &c. Published under the direction of the West of England Board of the New Zealand Company. London; Smith, Elder and Co. 1842. p. 5.

⁹⁰ **Tullett. J.S.**, Carrington, Frederic Alonzo, Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1c7/carrington-frederic-alonzo> (accessed 14 July 2022)

A more substantial publication from the Company, again via Smith, Elder and Co, appeared in 1843.

Letters from settlers & labouring emigrants, in the New Zealand Company's settlements of Wellington, Nelson, & New Plymouth, from February, 1842, to January, 1843. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1843. pp 211 [6 plus adverts]. Bagnall 3140, Hocken 111

This again is not uncommon, though the original brown paper wrappers tend to be delicate and not especially clean. My copy was bought in 2000 from the same English bookseller, who must have, by this time welcomed the rich vein of purchase from New Zealand.

The book doesn't bother with an introduction, but launches directly into reprinting almost 100 letters from settlers in Wellington, New Plymouth, Whanganui and Nelson, from various sources, such as the *New Zealand Journal*, and between family members. As Bagnall (3140) says: 'A careful selection from 90 or so originals which despite the Company's natural preference for favourable, optimistic comment, nevertheless give good first-hand impressions of pioneer conditions in the four settlements (includes Wanganui).'

A couple of the more prominent Company pamphlets were openly authored or compiled by John Ward (1805-1890). With a training, uncompleted, in law, and as a journalist and a position as inspector of prisons, Ward became private secretary to Lord Durham, and through his influence in May 1839, was appointed as Secretary to the newly established New Zealand Company, fulfilling a wish to become involved in colonisation schemes in South Australia and New Zealand⁹¹. He was involved in a number Company publications, starting from contributing to Wakefield's *British Colonisation of New Zealand* (q.v.), and authoring the Company publication of 1839, *Information Relative to New Zealand*, using information from published sources for prospective colonists. This was published a month after the departure of the *Tory*, and a further 3 editions were issued during 1841.

[Ward, John] Information relative to New Zealand, for the use of colonists. London, John W. Parker, M.DCCC.XXXIX. pp. vi, 80, frontispiece folding map. Bagnall 5864, Hocken 76.

[Ward, John] New Zealand. Nelson, the latest settlement of the New Zealand Company. By Kappa. London, Smith, Elder and Co., 65, Cornhill. 1842. Bagnall 5868, Hocken 103.

The Nelson book is not too scarce, and my copy is clean, as sewn, as they say, which usually means no extra paper wrappers and tied with string. Another English purchase from 1990.

Ward is a little disingenuous here, since he never came to New Zealand, but poses as an interested colonist, indeed, stating 'Rather extensive wanderings in newly-peopled countries, leading to an acquaintance with their capabilities, deficiencies, and requirements in the means of conferring happiness, and a watchful attention to the progress of events in new Zealand, have induced the writer to consider the present as a favourable moment to extend such views as are contained in the following paper.'⁹² The whole tract is rather high-minded in its concern for well-being of young people and happiness and destiny. As Bagnall (5868) states: 'Slender

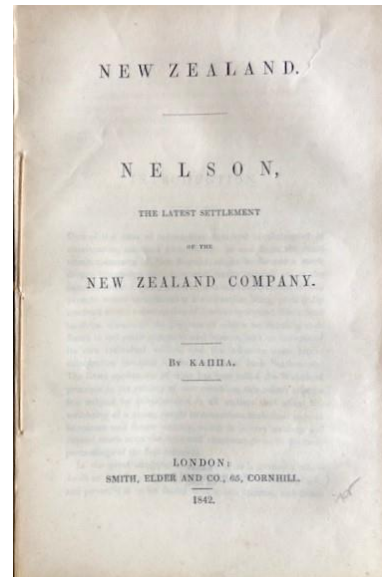
⁹¹ Burns, P., op. cit. pp. 99-100.

⁹² [Ward, John] *New Zealand. Nelson, the latest settlement of the New Zealand Company. By Kappa. London: Smith, Elder and Co., 65, Cornhill. 1842. p. 4.*

background information with copious quotations of high moral import from the US Unitarian Dr W E Channing.' There is hard information on Nelson, and appendices with extracts from Darwin, and Hobson's instructions (presumably to further nail down the earlier dispute between the Company's settlers and Hobson's administration).

After stepping down as Secretary in 1843, colonisation seemed to lose out as Ward from 1844 onwards developed a substantial career as a diplomat representing Britain, particularly in Germany.⁹³ He retired in 1870 and died in Dover in 1890. Incidentally, Ward's mother was sister of the famous Dr Thomas Arnold (of Rugby)²⁷³. Arnold's son and Ward's cousin, also Thomas, emigrated to New Zealand in 1848, to Nelson, but later moved on to Tasmania.

As a footnote, for those who like connections, another emigrant to New Plymouth with the NZ Company scheme was one Charles Armitage Brown⁹⁴. Brown was the close friend of the poet John Keats in his last years, travelling with him to Scotland and sharing his home near Hampstead Heath. He spent almost 10 years in Italy, partly sorting out Keat's legacy, promising to write a never written biography, raising his son Carlino, and trying to make a living by writing for magazines. He later sailed to New Zealand in 1841, 2 months after his son took the same voyage, sailing on the *Oriental*, the same Company ship that brought Petre out a couple of years earlier. There were difficulties with the settlement, land disputes, unfulfilled promises from the Company, no harbour, and Brown took the lead in putting forward complaints, including getting letters published in England. He died not long after in 1842 and his son eventually became a notable Taranaki figure, leaving an extended family that kept the Keats' linkage through to the mid-20th Century.



⁹³ **Ward, A.W.**, Ward, John (1805-1890), Dictionary of National Biography, 1885-1900, Vol. 59.

⁹⁴ **McCormick, E.H.**, The Friend of John Keats. A Life of John Armitage Brown. Victoria University Press, Wellington, 1989.

Taken a deep interest in the country and people

Wade, W.R. *A journey in the Northern Island of New Zealand.* 1842.

The book by Wade is another good example of unearned value through relative scarcity; like Bidwill. William Richard Wade (1802-1891) and his wife Sarah, along with William Colenso, sailed from England on the Prince Regent, leaving on the 18th June 1834⁹⁵. They eventually arrived in New Zealand in December 1834 on board the *Blackbird*, a dirty ship with a dirty crew and dubious passengers, including John Guard, of the *Harriet* shipwreck notoriety, and with Sarah Wade pregnant.⁹⁶ Wade had been appointed as superintendent of the mission press,⁹⁷ although it appears that he didn't do much in that regard, and spent most of his time in the first months assisting William Williams with teaching at the Waimate station. It seems unlikely, however, that Colenso would have operated under the superintendency of anyone. Apparently Wade had some views at variance with the mission, on baptism⁹⁸, though we haven't been given their exact nature, and was transferred down to Tauranga to establish the Te Papa mission with Phillip King in August 1835⁹⁹. The mission was unstable, partly due to fighting amongst the Ngāi Te Rangi and Te Arawa, and Wade was removed back to Paihia in 1836¹⁰⁰. He ended his association with the CMS and left for Tasmania in 1840, establishing himself there as a Baptist Minister and art teacher. It was there in Hobart that he published his book.

Wade, W.R. *A journey in the Northern Island of New Zealand: interspersed with various information relative to the country and people.* Hobart Town, George Rolwegan, 1842. pp 206. Bagnall 5770, Hocken 107.

My copy was bought from Smith's in 1990. It's not very pretty, with grey printer's boards, quarter morocco, paper spine label, and some external slight grubbiness matched by internal foxing. But it's rare, and interesting. Its noticeable, from this publication, that books from here on involve more characters and connections, things are happening, not just being observed.

The book is notable for the dedication to Lady Franklin and the long list of subscribers at the beginning, headed by her Ladyship and her husband Sir John Franklin, Governor of Tasmania. If, as appears, all the subscribers for some 500 copies including orders from Launceston and Longford in Tasmania, were Tasmanians, then those good folk took an almost unnatural interest in New Zealand. Lady Franklin visited the Bay of Islands in 1841. Sir John Franklin was the Arctic explorer who had fought at Trafalgar, and made a couple of expeditions to the Arctic regions before becoming Lieutenant Governor of Van Diemen's Land. At the age of 59, after leaving that position, he again went to find the North West Passage, famously dying with his crew on the *Erebus* in the attempt¹⁰¹. Lady Franklin (Jane Griffin, second wife) had visited New Zealand in 1841, and was, unusually for the time,

⁹⁵ **Bagnall, A.C. ; Petersen, G.C.**, William Colenso, printer, missionary, botanist, explorer, politician. His life and journeys. AH & AW Reed, Wellington, 1948. p.28.

⁹⁶ Ibid. pp. 32-33.

⁹⁷ **Scholefield, J.** op. cit. p.432.

⁹⁸ <https://www.daao.org.au/bio/william-richard-wade/biography/> Accessed 16 July 2022

⁹⁹ http://taurangahistorical.blogspot.com/2013/08/on-this-day-in-1835_3.html Accessed 16 July 2022

¹⁰⁰ <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t1/tahu-matiu-parakatone>

¹⁰¹ <https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/franklin-sir-john-2066> Accessed 16 July 2022.

active in social issues with convicts and in the sciences, a considerable traveller, and an inveterate searcher of her husband.¹⁰²

The book was printed by William Pratt, a convict who on release set up a printing business in Hobart, and the publisher was George Rolwegan, a free emigrant who arrived in Hobart in 1834, and became one of the most noted bookbinders and booksellers of the period.¹⁰³

Wade's experiences in the country around the Bay of Islands and across to the Hokianga are covered in the book, with much on the flora, where he is a very amateur botanist, the geography, the settlements and stations such as Waimate, and Māori, their culture, their living, the villages, their practices. He travels with Robert Maunsell, trying to find a new route to Rotorua through the Waikato¹⁰⁴, and then on to Tauranga, the Coromandel and back to the Bay of Islands. *'The reader, wearied with prosey narration, will probably rejoice to have arrived there too.'*¹⁰⁵ There is an appendix of a plant list from Cunningham¹⁰⁶, arranged according to Linnean taxonomy, with Māori names in some places.

It is subsequent to the travels related here that he made another journey north, with William Colenso, to Cape Reinga, the pair leaving Paihia on 20th March, 1839.¹⁰⁷ He says that an account of this and his time spent living in Tauranga is something for later, but nothing seems to have eventuated.

Wade doesn't mention Colenso or the issues over the printing press, and his arms-length view of many of the missionaries hints at the differences he is encountering, partly due to his unordained status, as with Colenso, and the opposition of the local missionaries to that changing¹⁰⁸. He has a similar distance from Māori, and lacks the emerging empathy of a Colenso. The nature of the dedication and the subscriber list gives a slightly triumphant air, as though he can tell the New Zealanders that he is better treated and better placed here in Hobart Town.²⁴⁰



Sketch by Wade of a missionary, probably James Kemp, preaching to Māori at a campfire. Church Missionary Paper, 1837. Alexander Turnbull Library Record#23040745

¹⁰² <https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/franklin-lady-jane-2065> Accessed 16 July 2022

¹⁰³ <https://andrew-bent.life/2020/09/11/bookbinding-2/> Accessed 20 July 2022

¹⁰⁴ Moon, P., op. cit. pp. 136-144.

¹⁰⁵ Wade, W.R. A journey in the Northern Island of New Zealand: interspersed with various information relative to the country and people. Hobart Town, 1842. p. 191.

¹⁰⁶ Allan Cunningham (1791-1839) was the English plant collector, botanist and explorer who spent much of his life in Australia. He visited the Bay of Islands in August 1826 until January 1827, collecting and classifying plants.

¹⁰⁷ Bagnall, A.C.; Petersen, G.C. op. cit. p. 77.

¹⁰⁸ Wevers, L., op. cit. pp. 97-102.

Wade was also an artist, with a sketch appearing in the Church Missionary Papers in 1837, accompanying a general report on progress of the Bay of Islands Mission.¹⁰⁹ The attribution is from the Alexander Turnbull Library¹¹⁰. He continued to combine his ministerial roles with teaching and lecturing on drawing and Australian reports suggest that he made a number of water colours of New Zealand and Tasmanian scenery.²³⁷ The only other sketch found is held by the Alexander Turnbull Library, and is of the Puriri mission station on the Waihou river, Hauraki Plains, made in May 1836¹¹¹.

Wade spent the rest of his long life in Tasmania and Victoria, dying in Melbourne in 1891.

¹⁰⁹ Church Missionary Paper, No. LXXXVIII, Christmas, 1837.

¹¹⁰ **Wade, William Richard**, 1802-1891. Wade, William Richard, 1802-1891: Night scene in New Zealand. [1837]. Ref: PUBL-0031-37. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. </records/23040745>

¹¹¹ <https://natlib.govt.nz/records/22714372> Accessed 26 December 2022

The description of Auckland, the capital, and of the neighbouring country and coasts will, doubtless, excite considerable interest

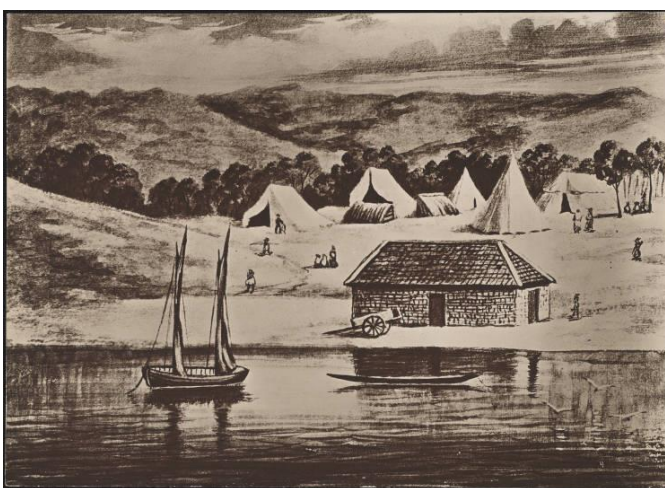
Terry, C. New Zealand, its advantages and prospects as a British Colony. 1842

The focus is starting to shift south. Petre and Heaphy are the new Wellingtonians, and now Charles Terry arrives, in 1840, and settles in Auckland, said to be the first pakeha to settle there. We need to write quite a bit about Charles Terry (1791-1859) since there appear to be no coherent biographical entries anywhere for someone who was one of the first on the scene in Auckland. In London, he trained as a glover, and became a man of industrial science, sufficiently inventive with patents, and well connected, to have become a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1833, his specialities and patents being in oil and sugar refining, inks, and leather manufacture.¹¹² In the 1820s he married Susannah Cooper, and ran a business in Shoe Lane in London, particularly dealing with powdered forms of ink, and in the mid-1830s was a director of an anti-dry rot company, the product advertised as a treatment for cordage and timbers.

Then things get interesting. In November and December 1838, the Stock Market gets excited about possible fraud in the anti-dry rot company and on December 5, 1838, the *Bury and Norwich Post* records: 'Mr. Terry, the treasurer of Kyan's Anti-Dry Rot Company, has absconded with about 70,000l., which he got together by fraudulently re-issuing the scrip notes of the Company.'¹¹³ He is declared bankrupt, but has disappeared, causing a minor sensation. The bankruptcy proceedings continue over the next year, and Terry seems to have appeared at the bankruptcy court on 15th October, 1839.

He next appears in Auckland, witnessing the Deed of Purchase by Governor Hobson that established

Auckland, on 26 July, 1841.¹¹⁴ There is no record of his arrival, but it must have been late in 1840 or early 1841. He notes in his book that when the *Platina* arrived in the Waitemata from England on 13 September 1840, with a house for Hobson, there were no Europeans on



Government Store, Commercial Bay, Auckland, 1840. Photograph of original print by unknown artist, showing Charles Terry's tent (triangular) with John Logan Campbell and William Brown's tents in middle distance. S G Frith Collection, Auckland Library, Auckland Heritage Collections 1043-090

<https://kura.aucklandlibraries.govt.nz/digital/collection/photos/id/99712/>

¹¹² <https://caliendi.com/Beal/indii519.html>. Accessed 24 July 2022. This website provides a full list of publicly available information and transactions associated with Terry from birth, through his businesses, publications and on to his death in 1859.

¹¹³ *ibid*

¹¹⁴ **Platts, U.**, *The Lively Capital. Auckland 1840-1865*. Avon Fine Prints, Christchurch, 1971. pp.10-11.

the shores. Symonds¹¹⁵ arrived a couple of days later from the Bay of Islands, and the British flag was raised on September 19.¹¹⁶

While Terry is largely absent from his book, there are a few signs of his presence, such as his warm comments on the Chief Te Kawau, one of the signees of the Deed of Purchase, and his son Te Rewiti Tamaki.¹¹⁷ His tent is visible however, pitched in Commercial Bay, along with those of John Logan Campbell and his business partner William Brown, shown in a drawing by an unknown artist.¹¹⁸ Terry set up a flax mill, which fits with his previous industry processing interests, but it was sited near the Government Stores, and the 'newly invented Machine for dressing flax'¹¹⁹ was burnt down in a disastrous burn-off to clear the land. Terry is seen again at the laying of the Foundation Stone for St Paul's Church on 28 July, 1841, where he was Master of Ceremonies.¹²⁰ While we don't know how or when he arrived exactly, a possibility was the ship *Chelydra* which made a number of voyages between Sydney and Auckland in 1840-41, though his name is not found in the Cabin passenger lists. We know that Terry left the colony to return to England late in 1841, as he states in his Preface. There he probably grappled with his on-going bankruptcy case and published his book: "...notes were made, from personal observation and investigation, as well as from communication with respectable persons, long resident on the Islands. These memoranda accumulated to a considerable extent; and, on returning to England, in the latter months of 1841, their arrangement and condensation was an occupation to beguile the monotony and tediousness of a long voyage."



Auckland. Commercial Bay, Shortland Crescent & Barracks, from the *Westward*. Terry, 1843, p. 131.

Terry, C. *New Zealand, its advantages and prospects as a British Colony with a full account of the land, claims, sales of Crown lands, aborigines, etc. etc.* London. T. & W. Boone, 29, New Bond Street. MDCCCXLL. [1842]. Pp 366, xi, frontispiece, folding map against p 1, 11 plates (12 in all), Bagnall 5502, Hocken 106-7.

Mine is a near fine copy bound in contemporary marbled boards, rebacked spine, very clean inside. A fine copy is scarce, fine price of course. Bagnall gives an original binding in green cloth boards with map in pocket and adverts. The map in this copy is bound in the front against p.1. There is a book plate on the inside cover, that of Frederick John Partridge. There was a Lieutenant Partridge of that name, b. 1821, serving in the Royal Navy and recorded in the Naval Biographical Dictionary of 1849. J L Apsey is handwritten on the book plate, obviously that of a later owner.

¹¹⁵ Captain William Cornwallis Symonds (1810-1841) came out to New Zealand in the 1830s, was a close supporter and assistant to Hobson, made Chief Magistrate of Auckland and deputy Surveyor-General, helping Felton Matthews lay out the plan of the future city.

¹¹⁶ **Terry, C.** *New Zealand, its advantages and prospects as a British Colony with a full account of the land, claims, sales of Crown lands, aborigines, etc. etc.* London. T. & W. Boone, MDCCCXLL. [1842]. pp. 29-30.

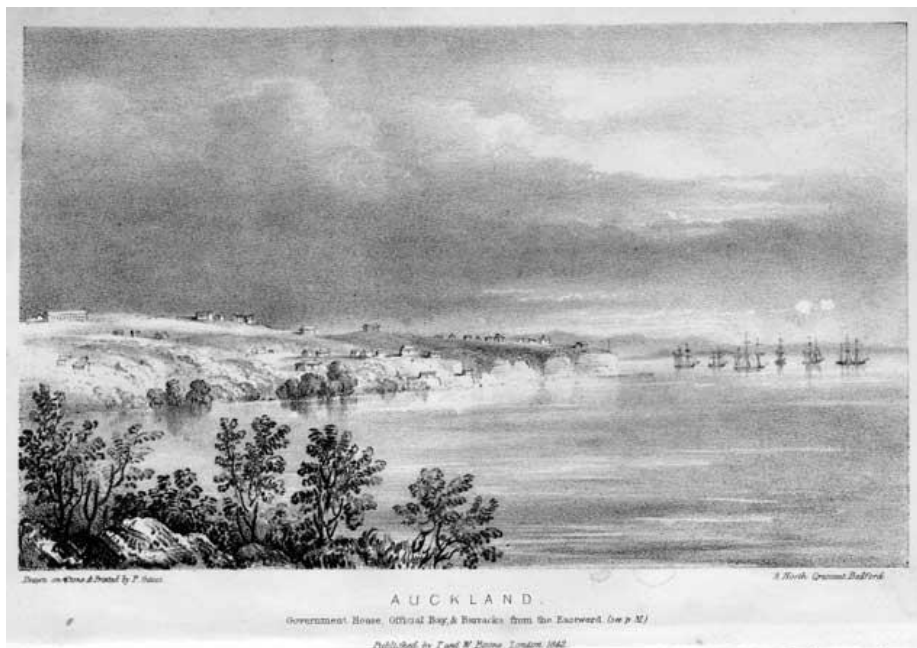
¹¹⁷ **Platts, U.**, op. cit. pp. 35-36.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 21 for a reproduction of a photograph of this from the S.G.Frith Collection, Auckland Libraries Heritage Collections 1043-090.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.* p. 75.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

The map is special. It is titled: *'The harbour and city of Auckland, the capital of New Zealand'*, with a wider description: *'The harbour and city of Auckland, the capital of New Zealand with the districts of the rivers Kai para, Waitemata, Tamaki, Waihou or Thames, Mercury Bay, Kawia, Piako, Waipa, Waikato, Manakao, Tauranga, etc., compiled from various surveys by John Arrowsmith.'* It has insets: *'Auckland, the capital of New Zealand surveyed by Felton Mathew; Trigonometrical survey of the harbour of Waitemata & the isthmus which separates the waters of the Thames from those of Manakao by Capt. Owen Stanley R.N. & Felton Mathew.'* John Arrowsmith in London was the cartographer. Felton Mathew the surveyor, was appointed Surveyor-General by Hobson and accompanied him in the visit to Auckland in January 1840. Owen Stanley RN, the hydrographer, was in command of *HMS Britomart* at the time, and later commanded the *Rattlesnake* in his surveying of New Guinea and parts of Australia later in the 1840s. The hand-coloured map extends from Bream Head in the North to Tauranga on the East coast and Kawhia on the West, and out to Great Barrier Island on the East. The Auckland city inset shows Mathew's attractive ideas on the structure of the city, only partly, and less imaginatively realised. When you unfold it, and then try to fold it back again, you can see the advantages of it being first presented in a pocket rather than bound in.



Auckland. Government House, Official Bay & Barracks from the Eastward. Terry, 1842. Frontispiece

The book is notable for the 12 plates. The lithographs include some of the first views of Auckland – Government House and Official Bay, Commercial Bay, the Britomart Barracks, the harbour entrance, two Māori pas, and portraits of the Chief Te Kawau¹²¹, and of his sons Te Rewiti, and Hira. They are all drawn on stone by Paul Gauci¹²² in London, and the artists of the original sketches do not seem to have been identified, except for the one of a Pa on Lake Okataina on p.106 of the book. The original of this, drawn by J J Merrett, is in the

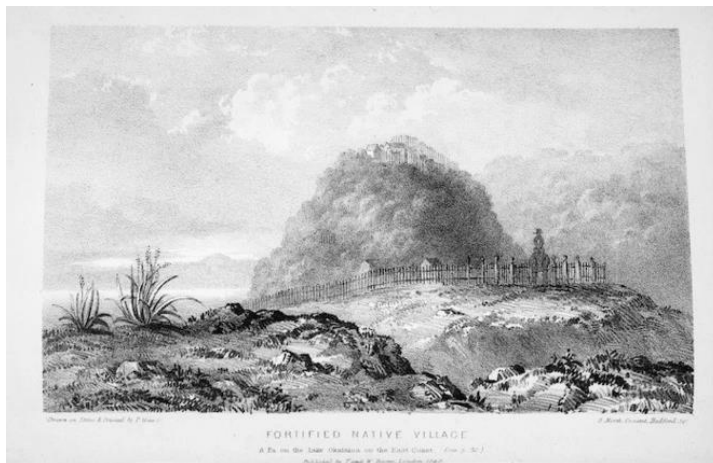
¹²¹ The Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tamaki has a copy of this lithograph.

¹²² Gauci was a leading lithographer in the mid 19th C in London, from a Maltese family, running a business in Bedford Square.

National Library, and the whaharoa (gate) shown is now in the Auckland Museum whaharoa (gate) shown is now in the Auckland Museum.¹²³

The book has a reputation for being a bit dull, but it is underrated. It is an exceptional account of early New Zealand, particularly for the Auckland establishment and region. It is in five parts, History of the Colony of New Zealand; On land claims in New Zealand; On the sale of Crown lands in New Zealand; Aborigines of New Zealand; On the future prospects of the Colony. Then there are Appendices on Proclamations, the Treaty of Waitangi, sailing directions in order to get there, financials etc. If Terry wrote this on the voyage back to England, then he had substantial notes and data with him, and that seems to fit with his role in editing newspapers and being in the centre of things during his first short stay.

Terry knew what he was talking about when it came to land sales. He turns up in the evidence given to the House of Commons Select Committee on New Zealand in 1844 by Walter Brodie, a contemporary settler and writer of his own later account.



Fortified native village. A Pa on the Lake Okataina, on the East Coast. Terry, 1834, p. 106.

[Brodie] *'When Mr. Terry went out with his flax machinery, in May 1842, he had a sort of certificate from the Government, to choose 20,000 acres of land; the only 20,000 acres the Government had in one piece was a part of those 37,000 acres that they had taken from Mr. Fairburn [the missionary]; consequently the Government gave Mr. Terry 20,000 acres of land which really belonged to the missionary. Mr. Terry was not aware what land it was. He went down, with all his machinery, and the natives went down too. They allowed him to land everything; and as soon as everything was landed, the natives asked who he was. He told them, and they asked him who sent him there. He told them that the Government had given him the land. The natives said the Government had no authority to give it him; that if it did not belong to Mr. Fairburn, it did not belong to Government, but to the natives themselves; and that those parties should not erect anything on the ground, unless with the consent of Mr. Fairburn. [The government had confiscated most of Fairburn's land, leaving him with only 3000 acres of his original 40,000].*

*Did they resist Mr. Terry's using the land? -Yes; Mr. Terry did not know what to do; he went back to the Government, and Mr. Clark went down to them, and after some conversation the chief's agreed to receive about two bales of blankets and 50 l. in cash from the Government.'*¹²⁴

¹²³ https://natlib.govt.nz/records/23012857?search%5Bi%5D%5Bname_authority_id%5D=-97120&search%5Bpath%5D=items Accessed 27 July 2022

¹²⁴ House of Commons Select Committee on New Zealand. op. cit. p. 42.

Before he left for England at the end of 1841, Terry had also tried his hand at journalism. He was a founder and the first editor of the short-lived *New Zealand Herald and Auckland Gazette*.¹²⁵ The newspaper was first published on 10 July, 1841 and lasted only a year, with two others taking over from Terry within that time. It was published by the Auckland Newspaper and General Printing Company, owned by 20 government officials and businessmen, and was critical of the colonial administration's policies on land. Terry resigned, most likely because of differences between the paper's stance and the conflicted political ownership.

Terry had returned to New Zealand by 1843, and we don't know any details of dates, and not a lot about what he did. However, he certainly had the touch as an editor. For a time in 1844, he was editor of the *Southern Cross*, which was first issued 22 April, 1843, taking over from Samuel Martin, who had been the final editor of the *New Zealand Herald and Gazette*. He is also recorded as the first editor of the new weekly paper the *New Zealander*, published by John Williamson, first issued on 7 June 1845. It was probably New Zealand's leading paper, seeing the *Southern Cross* off the street, until it itself closed in 1866.¹²⁶



Te Kauwau, Chief of the Nga Te Whatua Tribe; Te Rewiti, Eldest son of Te Kauwau, Terry, 1834 pp. 176; 194.

Terry may have missed getting a biographical account in the various encyclopaedia and biographical dictionaries, but he did get an entry in the *Encyclopaedia of New Zealand* entry about pseudo-duels¹²⁷. Apparently, Terry thought he was subject to a slight from Willoughby Shortland, Colonial Secretary and much derided acting Governor after Hobson's death, but friends convinced them to a reconciliation. The Shortlands weren't strangers to duelling options. In March 1842, Willoughby's younger brother Edward, a supporter of

¹²⁵ <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/new-zealand-herald-and-auckland-gazette>

¹²⁶ See <https://aucklanduniversitypress.co.nz/content/9781869407384.pdf> for an account of the *New Zealander*. Other mention of Terry as editor can be found in Day, A., *The making of the New Zealand Press 1840-1888*. Victoria University press, 1990, pp 36-37, and in *The Cyclopaedia of New Zealand. The Auckland Provincial District*. 1902. pp. 267-268.

¹²⁷ 'Pseudo Duels', from An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, edited by A. H. McLintock, originally published in 1966. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/1966/duels/page-2> (accessed 24 Jul 2022)

Hobson, was involved in challenges over Hobson's land claim bills. No blood was shed¹²⁸. The other strand of Terry's life, the inventor and industrial scientist, seemed to fade. He was a rather desultory Fellow of the Royal Society. In 1845, the Royal Society in London has a record of a paper on the Comet of 1844-45, written by J C Haile, Auckland New Zealand, communicated by Charles Terry. They have no record of any paper submitted by Terry himself; they do record his death in 1859 in London. He had an article published in H S Chapman's New Zealand Portfolio in 1843, with an advertisement for the publication listing 'No. IV "On the financial condition of New Zealand" by Charles Terry Esquire, F.R.S., F.S.A.'¹²⁹

Things are vague after this. It is believed that Terry left New Zealand in 1846, and there is a record of a Charles Terry arriving in Port Jackson, New South Wales on the *Rambler* from Tahiti, on the 27th October, 1846.²⁴⁵ If this is our Terry, then it is possibly the first stage of his trip home; perhaps the *Rambler* called in at Auckland. However, there is no record of the *Rambler* arriving at Sydney from New Zealand in 1846. He lived in Kensington in London and died there.

¹²⁸ Atholl Anderson. 'Shortland, Edward', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1990, updated December, 2013. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1s11/shortland-edward> (accessed 24 July 2022)

¹²⁹ New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator, Volume IV, Issue 298, 15 November 1843, Page 1.

The public mind in England seems to have forgotten the colony altogether

Fox, W. *Colonisation and New Zealand*. 1841

Fox, W. *The six colonies of New Zealand*. 1851

Fox, W. *The War in New Zealand*. 1866

William Fox (1812-1893) was born in Durham, educated in Oxford, trained in law in 1838 and was called to the bar in 1842. He married Sarah Halcomb in the same year, and as an admirer of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, decided to emigrate to New Zealand, sailing in May of that year on the *George Fyfe*¹³⁰. Shortly before he sailed, he published a short essay on colonisation in New Zealand.

Fox, W., Colonisation and New Zealand. London, Smith, Elder & Co., 1841. [3]-24 pp. Bagnall 2024, Hocken 101.

I don't have a copy of this. It is not seen very frequently, and is mainly of interest for its comparative statistics.

The book has a couple of ripe lines from *Paradise Lost* on the title page:

*"This delicious place, where thy abundance wants
Partakers, and uncropp'd falls to the ground."*

It's all there for the plucking. He starts with a comparison of the colonisation of the Swan River in Western Australia, pointing out that the organised emigration to South Australia and New Zealand is much to be preferred: '*South Australia and New Zealand, were founded on a system which, if rightly carried out, could scarcely by possibility fail.*'¹³¹ In a bow to his hero, he talks of the Wakefield System, describes the New Zealand Company, then New Zealand's climate, productivity, flax (which at this time still seemed obligatory to discuss), the natives, and the native reserves. As with others writing at the time on colonisation policy, he talks of the terrible conditions under which England's poor live, and how emigration may relieve this, and even for the middleclass tradesmen and professionals. There is a table of prices, and a plea to those intending to emigrate, to shore up their knowledge, particularly as a defence against those who might try to dissuade you: '*Let your first endeavour be to obtain all the information you can on the subject. Do this before you mention it to your friends. You will probably find many of them strongly opposed to your plans, and anxious to divert you from them. You will, by this means, be prepared to answer their objections.*'¹³²



William and Sarah Fox sailed with some 30 other cabin and more than 60 steerage passengers, and arrived in Wellington in November 1842. He says he left '*intending to follow*

¹³⁰ Keith Sinclair and Raewyn Dalziel. 'Fox, William', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1f15/fox-william> (accessed 16 November 2022)

¹³¹ **Fox, W.**, *Colonisation and New Zealand*. London, Smith, Elder & Co., 1841. p. 4.

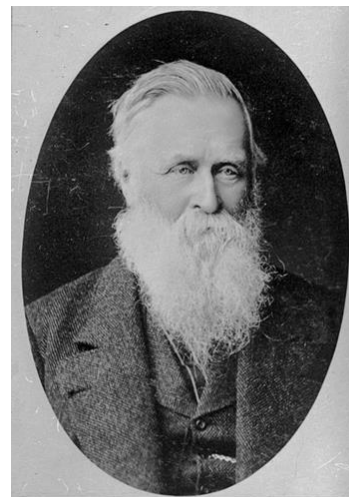
¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 22.

*the avocation of a private colonist.*¹³³ The intention might not have been too strong, since on Arthur Wakefield's death in 1843, he took over his role as Resident Agent of the New Zealand Company in Nelson. In 1848, he resigned that and was offered the position as Attorney-General for the southern province of New Munster, but finding that the assurance of self-government was not forth-coming, resigned that also. He was on his way to Auckland when William Wakefield died; he says '*...on the death of Colonel William Wakefield, the Principal Agent of the New Zealand Company, his office devolved onto me*'²⁹². More objective commentary suggests that Fox quickly returned to Wellington and enacted a minor coup in taking over managing the business of the Company, edging out Francis Dillon Bell whom Wakefield had recommended as his successor.²⁸⁹ His time in Nelson was difficult, leading the efforts to resolve the aftermath of the conflict there; he was a constant opponent of Governor Grey, and in 1850, with the New Zealand Company being wound up, he travelled back to London, as an advocate for a group of Wellington settlers looking for reform. He was by now well immersed in politics, spending the time with Wakefield and his colleagues, proposing a federal Government system with six strong provincial administrations. It was here at this time that he published his work on the six colonies.

Fox, W. *The six colonies of New Zealand.* London, John Parker and Son, West Strand. MDCCCLI (1851). viii, 168 pp. adverts. Bagnall 2035, Hocken 159.

My first copy was bought in auction way back in 1988 missing the folding map, as is common, and the original embossed brown cloth boards were marked, the spine damaged. In all, pretty grubby. Then I bought a very good copy, with map, original brown embossed boards in great condition, in Dec 2022 at auction for a very good price. There is an inscription on the front end paper "R.S Rintoul, with the authors compliments". Rintoul was the editor of the Spectator in London, and a strong supporter of Wakefield's emigration schemes, which Fox was involved with at this time.

Fox gives his credentials in the Preface, pointing out his role for the Company in its affairs across the new colonies, and his visits to most of them before returning to England, The book gives a general description of the six colonies, potentially offending Aucklanders with his comments, and a section on the pensioner villages, which he says: '*..whether viewed in a military or colonising aspect, they are costly failures, affording a most decided warning against the continuance of the experiment, or its renewal elsewhere.*' It seems they were designed as '*...a sort of cordon around Auckland, to protect it from the large tribes to the south and west..*', the pensioners are, '*..for the most part, considerably beyond the middle period of life....and a large proportion of them of very intemperate habits.*'¹³⁴



William Fox. The Nelson Provincial Museum, Tyree Collection 67874

The second part is on the natives. He gives statistics, and then: '*Unless, therefore, some check be immediately interposed to the process of dissolution, and the native race can be forced back into the vortex into which it is descending, the annihilation of the New Zealanders, as a race, will occur in about fifty years, at longest.*' It is a bleak and rather cold assessment, and Fox

¹³³ Fox, W. *The six colonies of New Zealand.* London, John Parker and Son, West Strand. MDCCCLI. p. iv.

¹³⁴ Fox, W. *The six colonies of New Zealand.* London, John Parker and Son, West Strand. MDCCCLI. pp. 43-44.

goes on to cover physical and moral decline, the effects of the missionaries and provides a section on native title to waste lands, which Hocken (139) says was written by Henry Sewell. A rather negative view of Māori sits strangely with William and Sarah Fox's later adoption of a young Māori boy, Ngataua Omahuru, baptised William Fox junior, who later became a lawyer.

The last section is on Government and constitutions, and there is an Appendix on land transfer. Bagnall (2035) says that the book was written at the request of the Duke of Newcastle¹³⁵ for the overtly political reasons of discrediting the Tory's colonial record.

Fox returned to New Zealand in 1854 and launched himself into politics, opposing the 13-day Sewell Government in 1856. In replacing Sewell, he was unable to hold the premiership for a day longer than Sewell's record. Edward Stafford then took over, and Fox opposed him, until in 1861 he took over the premiership for the second time. Again, he could only hold office for a short time and he resigned in 1862, spending the years 1864 to 1867 in Australia and England. It was during this time in England that he published his book on the New Zealand war.

Fox, W., *The War in New Zealand*. London, Smith, Elder and Co., 1866. xvi, 268 pp., frontis. plan, 2 folding maps, errata slip bound in. Bagnall 2037, Hocken 243.

The book has a quotation on the title page from Capt. John Smith of Virginia which starts: '*It might be well thought, a countrie so faire, and a people so tractable, would long ere this have been quietly possessed, ...*' Which seems to suggest that if the people would only cooperate then, the country might be quietly taken over, but since not, then war seems inevitable. There is a frontispiece of a plan of the Pah at Orakau (Ōakura)¹³⁶, and there are two maps. In the Preface, Fox starts out claiming that many people are tired of hearing about New Zealand, something that few other writers of the time seem to have noticed or worried about. He sees the need for a '*a more connected outline of events in the colony during the entire period of disturbance than any which has yet appeared. At present there is none.*'¹³⁷

Claiming little knowledge on military matters, he uses despatches from General Cameron¹³⁸ and his staff, and newspaper accounts. His chapters cover the '*Arithmetic of the War*', statistics on forces, the origins and history, the campaigns in Taranaki and the Waikato, the East Coast campaign and the murder of the Rev Volkner, Government relations, and at the end, something on the future of the Māori race. Again, as he wrote earlier, he has little confidence in a future, promulgating the late 19th Century view that Māori were doomed. '*The native question is, however, only one of time, and I regret to say of very limited time. The race is melting away; and if there were no more war, and the Europeans were to leave the country to-morrow, the extinction of the Maori, in an exceedingly brief period, is as certain as any thing human can be. A very few figures will show this.*'¹³⁹ And he ends with another common view, put forward by settlers from the New Zealand Company days onwards, that lays such problems at the feet of the Government: '*My own conviction is, that had the colonists from the first been allowed to arrange their own relations with the native race, and conduct their*

¹³⁵ William Pelham (1811-1864), 5th Duke of Newcastle and Colonial Secretary at various times through the mid-19th C.

¹³⁶ The Pah in Taranaki that Grey fortified with redoubts during the Taranaki wars.

¹³⁷ **Fox, W.,** *The War in New Zealand*. London, Smith, Elder and Co., 1866. p. vi.

¹³⁸ Lieutenant General Duncan Cameron (1808-1888) was commander of the Imperial forces in New Zealand from 1861 to 1865, leading the Waikato and South Taranaki campaigns.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 256.

*own political intercourse, no serious difficulty would have arisen between the two races. It is to the representatives of the Imperial Government, in whose hands the administration of native affairs, and the function of purchasing native lands, were jealously reserved, and to the injudicious advice of self-constituted friends of the Maori at home, that all the troubles of that unhappy colony are attributable.'*¹⁴⁰

Fox returned to New Zealand and in turn was returned to parliament, in 1868. He became Premier again from 1869 to 1872, and remained active in politics through to 1877. He and Sarah moved to Auckland, and she died in 1892. In 1872, she published a short tract '*Hope*' (Bagnall 2023), and was she the Mrs Fox included amongst the artists used in Jerningham Wakefield's *Illustrations*? It is likely, though her name is not apparent on any of the lithographs. Fox himself was an accomplished artist, with his landscapes and New Zealand scenes in most national collections. There he is with his wife sailing down to Canterbury in 1851 along with Justice Chapman and Henry Petre visiting the Godleys '*Mr Fox made a capital sketch of the Plains, from the top of the bridle path; exactly like it, but not on a clear day for the distant hills, the Kaikoras not visible. He made another of the jetty, another of the encampment of Charlotte Jane, and one more including our house.*'¹⁴¹ He died in 1893, with a reputation as '*a very intelligent man, an excellent debater, but bitter, vituperative.*'²⁹⁹

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 261.

¹⁴¹ Godley, C., op. cit. p. 155.

Simplicity, Perspecuity and Completeness

Maunsell, R. A Grammar of the New Zealand language. 1842.

While the most prominent books of the early 1840s were accounts from residents and visitors, and from the New Zealand Company, publication of work on te reo Māori, and tracts and pamphlets of translations of the bible and other religious material continued and increased. Milestones were the dictionary of Lee in 1820, Williams' dictionary in 1844, Colenso's printings from 1834-1842 at Paihia, printings from the St John's College press, transferred by Bishop Selwyn from Paihia to Tamaki in 1845¹⁴², and in between, Maunsell's Grammar of 1842.



Maunsell (1810-1894)¹⁴³ was only a toddler when Marsden arrived at Rangihoua, and he was one of a second generation of missionaries, in this case with exceptional linguistic skills and a mostly empathetic view of Māori that would be tested in the rising resistance of Māori to European land incursions. He was born in Ireland, studied with the Church Missionary Society, including under Samuel Lee of the earlier dictionary fame, was ordained in 1834, and sailed the following year to Australia and on to the Bay of Islands in the *Active* (not Marsden's *Active*), arriving there with his wife Susan in November 1835¹⁴⁴. In his first year he was stationed, and travelled, in the Waikato and Tauranga areas, but then in 1836, he established a new mission with the Rev James Hamlin¹⁴⁵ at Moetoa¹⁴⁶ on the Manukau, not far from modern Waiuku. It was visited by William Wade, as recorded in his book (pp. 80-81). In 1839, Maunsell and his wife moved to Maraetai at the Waikato Heads to establish a mission station there, and later in 1853 further up the river at Kohanga. There is a sketch of the Maraetai mission by Richard Taylor¹⁴⁷ in May 5, 1847, which shows the house and garden, and the small church¹⁴⁸. It was from Maraetai that Maunsell arranged for the publication of his Grammar

¹⁴² Williams, H.W., *A History of Maori Printing to 1900*. Shearer, Wellington pp vii-ix.

¹⁴³ Garrett, H. *Te Manihera: The Life and Times of the Pioneer Missionary Robert Maunsell*. Reed, Auckland, 1991.

¹⁴⁴ Scholefield, J., op. cit. vol 2. pp. 75-76.

¹⁴⁵ James Hamlin (1803-1865) was a missionary, arriving in the Bay of Islands in 1826, and mainly working in the South Auckland, Waikato and Hawkes Bay regions.

¹⁴⁶ Harris, J., *Mayhead Road, Waiuku: archaeological monitoring, final report*. Report to The New Zealand Historic Places Trust and AS Wilcox and Sons Ltd. 2011. The land was sold to Maunsell and Hamlin in September 1837 by Ngati Te Ata chiefs. A comparatively recent archaeological survey found fragments of glass, pipes, bricks and ceramics. The Report in this citation includes an Appendix on the life of the Station, and the lives of Maunsell and Hamlin.

¹⁴⁷ The Rev Richard Taylor (1805-1873) was a CMS missionary, at first in the Bay of islands in 1839, and later from 1843 in Whanganui and the surrounding districts.

¹⁴⁸ Taylor, Richard, 1805-1873 :Maraetai C. Mission house and church, May 5 1847. Taylor, Richard, 1805-1873 :Sketchbook. 1835-1860.. Ref: E-296-q-077-3. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. [/records/23051453](#)

Maunsell, R. *A Grammar of the New Zealand language.* Auckland. J. Moore. 1842. Pp 186, xv, dedication to Hobson, explanation of abbreviations. 1 ed. A variant issue resulting from changes made to Part 1 while parts were still being issued. (Parts 2 and 4 of this issue are the same as in the first issue.). Reissue as described by Bagnall 3460; Williams 82; Hocken 104.

My copy was bought at auction in Auckland for quite a lot of money, bound in contemporary half calf with marbled boards and the original spine label. It's a slim volume and nice to hold. This copy is exactly as described in Hocken 104.

It appears that the Grammar was first issued in four parts with blue paper covers, as described by Bagnall (3460a). Williams (82) details the printing, noting that there were two issues of Part 1, the second being that in the bound copies, where a number of errors, such as pagination, were corrected. This bound reissue, described here, is in 20 chapters, with no indication of the original 4 parts, as described by Bagnall 3460. The title page has: *'The profits of this work, if any, will be appropriated towards defraying the expenses of the erection of a chapel at Waikato Heads.'* On the verso of the dedication to Governor Hobson (clearly not written by a Wellington New Zealand Company man), is a short list of abbreviations. Following the 20 chapters, there is, unusually for the time, an index and 2 pages of Errata. Then there is a page (p.185) of acknowledgement of support, but in fact it is a number of statements which are clear endorsements of the work. These are from William Martin, George Clarke, and the missionaries the Revs Brown, Whitely and Hadfield. Finally, there is a list of subscribers for the combined volume. Governor Hobson took 12 (but died too soon), Bishop Selwyn 19 and Colenso 12.

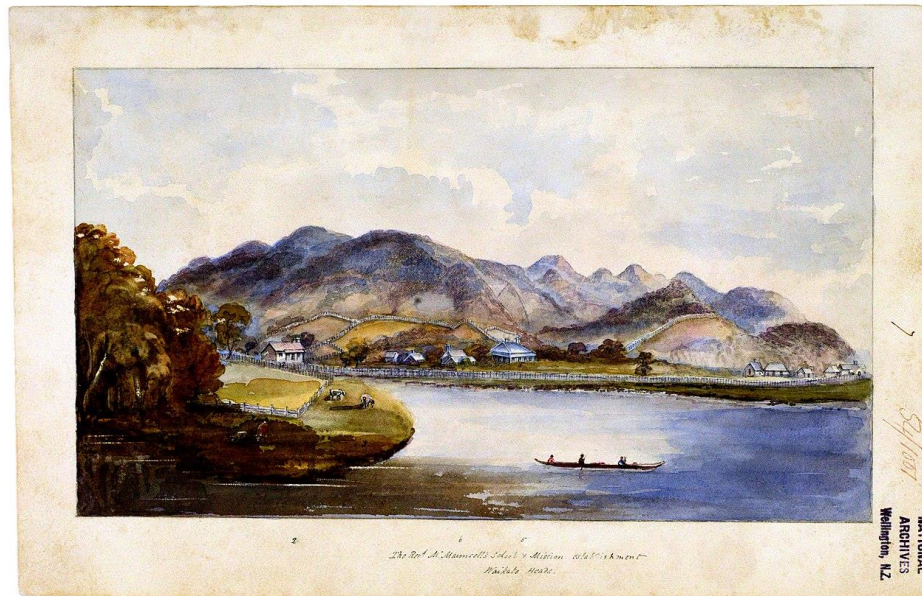
Maunsell's Introduction is dated Waikato Heads, February 1842. This section is an extended discussion of dialects, the problems of imposing an English language structure on the Māori language, and comments on Māori origins. The 20 chapters cover the various components of grammar – noun, verb, adjectives etc, then their syntax. Maunsell had been studying the language since he had arrived, and his linguistic skills were such that the Grammar appears to he been assembled quite quickly. He says that it was after a visit to Auckland in November 1841, that he decided there was a need for the grammar, and at the end of his Introduction states that two thirds of it was ready for the press and would be published in instalments. He thanks William Martin, the Chief Justice for seeing the work through the press. He was not alone in compiling this. His relationship with Māori were good, and there has to have been a largely unacknowledged contribution from them. *'He acquired the language while travelling about with his Māori companions, and to ensure perfection, he stipulated that whoever detected him in a blunder should receive a piece of tobacco for reward.'*¹⁴⁹



Maratani Mission House & Church, May 5, 1847. Artist Richard Taylor

¹⁴⁹ Hocken, T.M., op. cit. p. 482.

If it is likely that the book was the first to be published in Auckland. High Street in Auckland has always been the centre of Auckland's book trade, Paull's, Unity, Jason's and the iconic Anah Dunsheath Rare Books. It can trace its relationships with books and printing back to 1841, where New Zealand's most experienced printer had his premises and this is where this first book was printed. The printer John Moore (1807-1863) was established in High Street in 1841, where he also published the short-lived *New Zealand Herald and Auckland Gazette* (first edited by the aforementioned Charles Terry). The Grammar went into 3 editions.



Robert Maunsell's home & Mission Station, Waikato Heads, painted in 1854 probably by Francis Dillon Bell. The boys' and girls' schools are shown along with Maunsell's house and the church. Archives Reference: IA1 Box 3459/ SEP no.4 (from 1854/10010)
collections.archives.govt.nz/web/arena/search#/?q=R21583266

Maunsell had earlier also undertaken to translate the Old Testament from Hebrew into Māori. However, the first attempt was destroyed when his house at Maraetai was burned down. He took it up again and it was published in 1857. He could be disparaging about Māori culture, yet sided politically with Māori in Taranaki, and was outraged at the disenfranchisement of Māori in their struggle for land rights, where he saw the government in breach of the Treaty¹⁵⁰. And then he later supported the Waikato invasion, and as Archdeacon of Waikato (appointed in 1859), was chaplain to the colonial troops.

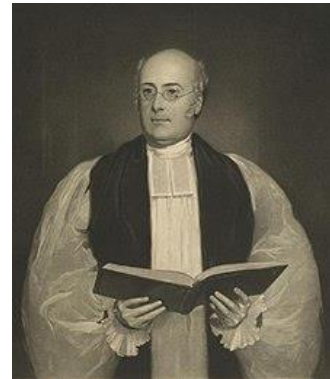
His second wife Beatrice died in 1864, and he gave up his strenuous activities in the field, particularly in education, to move to St Mary's Parish in Parnell, was appointed Archdeacon of Auckland from 1870 to 1883, and died there in 1894.

¹⁵⁰ **Bishop, R.**, The Waikato mission schools of Reverend Robert Maunsell: Conflict and co-operation. Access: Contemporary Issues in Education. Vol 11, No.2, 66-76, 1992.

On Zealand's hills, where tygers steal along

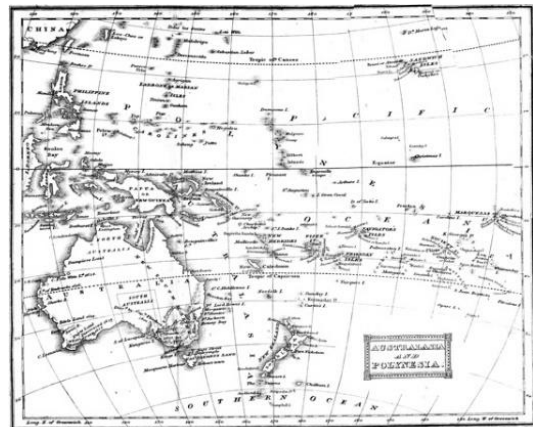
Russell, M. (Right Rev.) Polynesia. 1842.

Now an interlude. Another armchair traveller and commentator, and we assume driven, as with so many of the day, by an interest in the missions and Christianity at large. The Rev Michael Russell (1781-1848) was elevated to the Bishopric of Glasgow and Galloway in 1837 and retained it until his death. He wrote many books, ranging in his mind, like a man in lockdown, from Iceland and Greenland to the Eastern Mediterranean with Palestine and Egypt, further on to Abyssinia and then the leap to Polynesia, all written between 1831 and 1850. *Polynesia* was published in 1842 in both Edinburgh and London. It looks as though Bishop Russell stayed securely in Glasgow, never visiting any of these places.



Russell, M. (Right Rev.) Polynesia: or, an historical account of the principal islands in the south sea, including New Zealand; an introduction of christianity; and the actual condition of the inhabitants in regard to civilisation, commerce, and the arts of social life. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, Tweeddale Court; and Simpkin, Marshall. & Co., London. MDCCCXLII (1842). 440 pp, folding map, [16] adverts. 12mo. Bagnall 4964, Hocken 105, Taylor 60.

My copy has the original brown cloth boards, and a new spine. It has the frequently seen book plate of W H de Leun. It is a neat enough book, but of less interest than, say, Craik, since written much later. Bought from AD in 1989.



It was a popular work, with a second edition in 1843 and a third in 1845, and there was a New York edition from Harper & Bros in 1843, and further editions into the 1850s. Dealers seem unable to decide whether all the editions were 12mo or 8vo. These designations denote the number of times the printing page is folded, 12 or 8 times, and the overall dimensions will vary according to the initial page size. It is not particularly rare.

New Zealand occupies only one chapter of 11, which hardly merits the exposure in the book's title. But he clearly addresses the interest of the day, where New Zealand seems to be prominent amongst other colonial candidates, such as Canada, Australia and America. He ranges over the general issues and information of the Pacific, and specifically on New Zealand, starts with Tasman, then Cook, Marion and the *Boyd* for their obvious interest and drama, Moehanga and Māori in London, missionaries and the New Zealand Company and its fledgling settlements. You can see the pile of early New Zealand books on his desk, since he refers specifically to Cook, Cruise, Petre, Yate, Crozet, John Williams, and the New Zealand Company publications.

He finishes with '*Reflections on the actual state of the Colony and its prospects*', then a chapter on general remarks on Polynesia. Near the end, in a flourish of colonising

exuberance, he gives a picture of the Anglo-Saxon race, coursing through the Oriental world, *'humanizing, not destroying, as they advance; uniting with, not enslaving the inhabitants with whom they dwell...'*¹⁵¹ He then refers in a footnote to *'Ships, Colonies and Commerce'* (the famous grumble of Napoleon about what the British have over the French) in an address whose author is unclear, but may be that of Frederick Marryat¹⁵², quoting Edmund Burke, or perhaps neither. And further, quotes from the poet Thomas Campbell's popular poem *Pleasures of Hope*¹⁵³, the stanza beginning: *'Come bright Improvement! on the car of Time...'* A few lines on the original reads:

*'On Erie's banks, where tygers steal along,
And the dread Indian chaunts a dismal song...'*

But the Bishop does a little judicious rewriting and swaps Canada with New Zealand, replacing a couple of words:

*'On Zealand's hills, where tygers steal along,
And the dread Indian chaunts a dismal song...'*

If we look past the tygers stealing along the hills, the book gives an accurate reflection from the home country of what was known about Polynesia and particularly New Zealand at the time, just as the burst of colonisation, and the conflicts associated with it, are starting to emerge.

¹⁵¹ **Russell, M.** (Right Rev.) *Polynesia: or, an historical account of the principal islands in the south sea, including New Zealand; an introduction of christianity; and the actual condition of the inhabitants in regard to civilisation, commerce, and the arts of social life.* Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, Tweeddale Court; and Simpkin, Marshall. & Co., London. MDCCCXLII (1842). pp 429-430.

¹⁵² Captain Frederick Marryat (1792-1884), author of *Mr Midshipman Easy*, and other works, but also an unsuccessful politician who declared he was running for *'Ships, Colonies and Commerce'* (see Patrick Brantlinger: *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830–1914*, 1988.)

¹⁵³ Thomas Campbell (1777-1844) was a popular Scottish poet who wrote long lyrical, and often didactic, works. *Pleasures of Hope*, published in 1799, deals with civilising the world, the French revolution, slavery, amongst other romantic and liberal issues of the day, and a romantic and lyrical call for hope in the future of man, but not about New Zealand.