

## No body of colonists ever had larger claims upon the sympathies of their fellow countrymen

*Chapman H.S. The New Zealand portfolio. 1843.*

Links between colonisation initiatives in Canada and New Zealand appear occasionally. Edward Gibbon Wakefield accompanied Lord Durham in his time there as Governor in the 1830s. Charles Hursthouse was sent there by his father in 1836 to check it out, and found it too cold. Henry Samuel Chapman (1803-1881) had more stamina, earlier emigrating to Quebec in 1823 and staying there until 1835, developing business and starting one of Canada's first newspapers, the *Montreal Daily Advertiser*, with Samuel Revans<sup>1</sup>, who himself later emigrated to New Zealand in 1840, becoming a pioneer in New Zealand journalism. Back in England, Chapman studied for the bar, acted for Canada in legal and governmental issues, and had some prominence in writing reviews and serving on commissions. He became well connected in liberal and colonisation circles, including with E G Wakefield. This connection led to Chapman starting up, as proprietor-editor, the *New Zealand Journal* newspaper in February 1840<sup>2</sup>. The journal lasted about 3 years, published fortnightly, and during this time, Chapman became something of a London resident expert on New Zealand governmental and legal matters. He wrote on this, and the result was the collection of papers published in 1843.



*Chapman H.S. The New Zealand portfolio, embracing a series of papers on subjects of importance to the colonists. Conducted by H. S. Chapman, (of the Middle Temple), Barrister at Law. London, Smith, Elder, & Co., 1843 viii, 136 [2] pp. Frontispiece, 1 plate. 8vo. Bagnall 1055, Hocken 208.*

This was first published in 6 parts with purple covers for 6d each, and then the compiled portfolio for 4s (Bagnall 1055). A facsimile reprint was published by the Hocken library in 1969. The book has a frontispiece and plate, the same two that Smith Elder (the publishers here and who were liberal in re-using plates) used in the book by Henry Petre, one being the Heaphy drawing of part of Lambton Harbour, Port Nicholson, and the other the Duppa drawing of the New Plymouth Settlement. Chapman cites himself on the title page as a conductor, not an editor, the papers are 'conducted' by H S Chapman. He makes his stand very clear. 'It was a bold adventure, theirs [the colonists] to trust themselves, with no better protection than the proud consciousness of their own intentions, among a set of untamed savages, inhabiting a part of New Zealand scarcely known to Europeans, and where their favourable reception by the denizens of the soil, was at that time extremely problematical.'<sup>3</sup> They are the words of someone who had never visited, though he speaks for them as one of them: 'the

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<sup>1</sup> Hopkins, J. Castell An historical sketch of Canadian literature and journalism. Toronto, Lincott, 1898. p.221.

<sup>2</sup> D. G. Edwards. '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 19 October 2022).

<sup>3</sup> Chapman H.S. The New Zealand portfolio, embracing a series of papers on subjects of importance to the colonists. Conducted by H. S. Chapman, (of the Middle Temple), Barrister at Law. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1843. p. iv.

*colonists – my fellow colonists - I may almost call them...'*. The parts are (1) a letter to the Colonial Secretary Lord Stanley on the administration of justice in New Zealand, pretty much setting out his credentials for his future role; (2) A letter to the MP John Abel Smith, Chair of the Australian Trust Company, suggesting a similar body for New Zealand providing '*advantages which would accrue to English Capitalists*'; (3) An address to owners of New Zealand land resident in England, on the need for them to organise themselves into a body, pooling their collective experience; (4) An account by Charles Terry (q.v.) on the financial condition of New Zealand, referring to Terry's book of 1842; (5) Observations on the need for moderate charges for chief and fore-cabin passages to facilitate emigration, addressed to Joseph Somes, Governor of the New Zealand Company; (6) A letter from Arthur Holroyd<sup>4</sup> on the need for banks and banking capital for New Zealand. He ends with a piece on the advantages of a representative assembly for New Zealand, and a notice that the *New Zealand Journal* will '*publish an extra number to be bound up as an Introductory to the Fourth Volume embracing an abridged History of New Zealand Colonisation from the discovery of the Islands up to the close of the year 1842.*'

The book is strong in opinion and has all the self-confidence of the expert absent from the scene, already indicating the style of the man who invoked sharp comments from Charlotte Godley, who disliked him and his high opinion of himself. Never short of a piercing comment, she notes that '*Judge Chapman...is at least clever and entertaining, though not very agreeable*'<sup>5</sup>. And again: '*...and now he talks, Oh! So grandly – plainly telling you that he considers himself too good for his present position. He has a great big faded-looking head, with bristling grey hair, spectacles, and a lame foot; and does not like a bad dinner at all.*'<sup>6</sup> As previously noted, there was talk of him writing Petre's book for him, having a low opinion of the latter's education, along with similarly poor views of other notables such as Governor Fitzroy, his on-board companion. In 1843 Chapman was appointed to the Supreme Court for the Southern District by Lord Stanley, and he arrived in Auckland in December 1843, on the same ship as Fitzroy. He presided in Wellington, until 1852 when he was appointed Colonial Secretary of Van Diemen's Land, but controversially opposed the current policy of convict transportation, was dismissed, and practised law in Melbourne, engaged in politics, and in 1864 was offered a Supreme Court appointment in Dunedin, which he accepted. He lived there for the rest of his life, experiencing the tragedy of his wife and three of his children drowning in a wreck on the way back from England in 1866. He married again, and his son Frederick became a judge, later editing the journal of Ensign Macrae. Another son started a prominent law firm that continues to this day. Chapman was an accomplished artist and there is a skilful oil of Auckland harbour (1865-88) held in the Turnbull library<sup>7</sup>.



*Entrance to Auckland harbour. c 1870. H S Chapman. Alexander Turnbull Library, records #22682720*

<sup>4</sup> Holroyd was an English lawyer who emigrated to New Zealand in 1843, then moved to Australia in 1845, eventually becoming a Supreme Court judge.

<sup>5</sup> Godley, C., Letters from Early New Zealand. Ed. John Godley. For private circulation, 1931. p. 61.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 227.

<sup>7</sup> <https://natlib.govt.nz/records/22682720> Accessed 20 October 2022.

## **I have dragged a whale over, in 40 minutes, from the east to the west coast.**

**Brodie, W.** *Remarks on the past and present state of New Zealand.* 1845

It is sometimes difficult to get a feel for the people who wrote these books, personal glimpses sometimes come through in what they wrote, or their prefaces and introductions, and accounts of their place in New Zealand history. They do come alive, however when giving evidence to the two Select Committees, of the House of Lords (1839), and the House of Commons (1844) on New Zealand. Nicholas remains a bit aloof, Joel Pollack smarts at being accused of running a grog shop, and Walter Brodie, in 1844, sounds full of life and facts, and is particularly rude about the Colonial Secretary Willoughby Shortland. Apart from his political attacks, he is a man more interesting than his book.

Walter Brodie (1811-1884) was born into a well-off family in Eastbourne, Sussex, his mother was the daughter of John Walter, the founder of *The Times*, inheriting shares in that company, and his father the Rev Dr Alexander Brodie, is recorded as not only the Vicar of Eastbourne, but Chaplain to George IV, and owner of slaves in Antigua, where he was born.<sup>8</sup> Walter, the sixth of 12 children, voyaged out to the Bay of Islands in 1839. He settled there and further north in Doubtless Bay, bought land, developed interests in copper mining, and is said to have purchased 300,000 acres in two stations in the Chatham Islands<sup>274</sup>, hiring the schooner *Hope* to take stock there in 1840. This is likely to be one or two zeros out: 300,000 acres is about 470 square miles, and the Chathams have only about 300 in all. He travelled widely in New Zealand, learned the language enough to tell the House of Commons Select Committee that he could speak with Māori in their own tongue, , witnessed the signing of the Treaty, spent 12 months in Tahiti in around 1842, and returned to England in 1844, along with much information on land deals and some strong views on the 'bad' administration. There he published his somewhat controversial book.<sup>9</sup>

**Brodie, W.** *Remarks on the past and present state of New Zealand, its Government, capabilities, and prospects; with a statement of the question of the land-claims, and remarks on The New Zealand Company; also, a description (never before published) of its indigenous exports and hints on emigration, the result of five years' residence in the colony.* London: Whittaker & Co. 1845. pp 171, vii. Bagnall 677, Hocken 118.

*My copy has the original embossed brown cloth boards, and library stamps of the Gawler Institute. There is an old hand-written inscription 'Gawler Institute presented by A D Murray Esq.'. Gawler is in South Australia. I don't much like library stamps, or emblems, though many people don't mind, perhaps some even collect them.*

There is a dedication to Lord Stanley, at the time Colonial Secretary, and later as Earl of Derby, serving terms as Prime Minister. The Preface is dated January 1, 1845 from The Gore, Eastbourne, Sussex. This is his family home, where he was born. His mother lived there until dying in 1864, living off her shares in *The Times*. It was a substantial house, and in 1874, two unmarried Gore sisters still lived there. It was sold with its 7 acres not long after and pulled down.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146639583/> Accessed 7 August 2022.

<sup>9</sup> Scholefield, J., op. cit. Vol 1, p. 96.

<sup>10</sup> <http://www.sussexhistory.co.uk/eastbourne-memories/eastbourne-memories%20-%2000110.htm>

The Preface has strong comments on the appointment of Shortland, choice of Russell in the Bay of Islands, Government and the NZ Company amongst other issues. He says in the Preface *"I have discussed freely, but without the slightest feeling of personal animosity, the conduct and errors of the Local Government..."* He summarises how the colony has *'been brought to the brink of ruin', and demonstrates 'the evils resulting to the affairs of the colony from: 1, The appointment of Mr Shortland; 2, The settlement of Russell Town; 3, the bad policy of the Local Government towards the Aborigines; 4, the non-settlement of land claims.'* There are many pages of details on the hapless Mr Shortland *'His conduct in office was marked by ignorance, harshness and obstinacy....'*<sup>11</sup> There follows much on the policy towards the 'aborigines' and on land claims and settlement, the New Zealand Company, Fitzroy, emigration and trade. There is a section on Rotorua and the Lakes, which Bagnall (677) doubts is his, though it is written in the first person, and if not his, then Brodie is masquerading. There are two appendices, including accounts of Māori legends.

Brodie was another who gave evidence to the House of Commons Select Committee on New Zealand in 1844. He got a long grilling, about 25 pages worth, largely about land deals and opportunities, about which he knew a lot, settlement and trade, Hobson and Government, and Auckland as the choice for the capital. The questions on land sales and legal issues, and on dealing with Māori dominate.<sup>12</sup>



Walter Brodie, depicted in the frontispiece of his book *Pitcairn's Island and the Islanders in 1850*. London, Whittaker & Co., 1851.

*'What was the nature of the land you bought? - Generally speaking, very hilly and bad land; it was bought for one reason, on account of a copper mine being on it.'*

And on Auckland, where, while the picture of Brodie dragging a whale across the isthmus is attractive, the whale in question is presumably a whaler, the clinker-built row boat.

*'Speaking from your general knowledge, which do you consider the best situation for a capital? I think that Auckland is so; though it is against my interest to say so; I think there cannot be a better situation than Auckland as a capital, from the extraordinary communication it has with the east and west coast; I have dragged a whale over, in 40 minutes, from the east to the west coast.'*

On land claims and deals, and the Acting Lt. Governor and Colonial Secretary Mr Willoughby Shortland, the man who *'has done all the mischief in the country'*:

<sup>11</sup> **Brodie, W.** *Remarks on the past and present state of New Zealand, its Government, capabilities, and prospects; with a statement of the question of the land-claims, and remarks on The New Zealand Company; also, a description (never before published) of its indigenous exports and hints on emigration, the result of five years' residence in the colony.* London: Whittaker & Co. 1845. pp. 2-5.

<sup>12</sup> House of Commons Select Committee on New Zealand, 1844. op. cit. pp. 25-52.

*'You mean that some native or other claims all the land? -Every bit of it; if I settled myself on an uninhabited spot, 20 miles from a native, he would soon come and turn me out, and I should find out that he had a right to the land;'*

.....

*'Were the Commissioners to give out deeds? - No; when the land claims had been investigated by the Land Commissioners, and reported to the Government, and approved of by them, the Government were bound by the acts in council to give the man his deeds. I can refer to an instance in my own case. A few days before I left Auckland, last June, I asked Mr. Shortland the question, whether I could get a title to my land, if I had it surveyed; he told me that I could, and I went to the expense of 60l. or 70l. in having it surveyed; but as soon as I had done so, and got everything settled, Mr. Shortland then turns round upon me, and says, 'You cannot get your title till the Governor [Fitzroy] comes out.'*

.....

*'Do you know what was Captain Hobson's state of health shortly before his death? - I do. What state of health was he in? - He had not been in New Zealand above six months before he had three strokes of paralysis, which quite unfitted him for the office he held. You conceive that the inactivity in the local government, as far as he was concerned, might be accounted for by his state of health? - I should say so; he has been, I know, a good deal abused; but I do not think that he has deserved all the censure which has been cast upon him; I think Mr. Shortland is the man who ought to be abused; he is the man who has done all the mischief in the country.'*

.....

*'You have stated that Mr. Shortland was concerned in land-jobbing; do you know of any other transactions of Mr. Shortland's of that nature, except what you have mentioned, of his selling the allotment to Mr. Porter, at a higher price than he paid for it? - I know that he has bought land, and sold the same land again to Mrs. Hobson.'*

.....

*'The statement made by you was, that the acting Governor [Shortland] could scarcely write his name; I wish to give you an opportunity to say that that expression was inconsiderate, or if you can, to sustain it by any evidence? - I saw the proclamation which Mr. Shortland issued; I certainly say that the proclamation he issued was a very bad grammatical proclamation; it was written more like a man with no education. You may have a very good opinion of Mr. Shortland, and so had I, till I found him out; from the heading of the proclamation, and the words put in, you would say he was a very illiterate man.'*

Brodie learned to speak te reo Māori and could converse, and presumably deal, with them in their own tongue. It wasn't necessarily a case of having much empathy, although there was a form of respect:

*'It is a bad thing to give in to a native chief; to be too intimate with him; it is sure to be to your loss if you are; they are something like dogs, in one respect, the more you kick them the better they like you.'*

.....

*'They [the natives] are as sharp, you think, as Europeans? -They are a great deal sharper. Talk of a protector for the natives indeed; they want a protector for the whites, I think, more than for the natives; it is very seldom that you hear of a native being imposed upon.'*

And is Brodie the first land banker?

*“You still hold a considerable portion of land, do not you? - I have a large quantity.  
Is that for the purpose of cultivating it yourself? - Of continuing on it myself: I would not sell an inch of that land in New Zealand, because I think it will be much more valuable in the course of a few years.  
From what source do you expect that the value will be derived? - From the exportation of flax and copper. .*

In the end, there is the question of balance, the grumble of the settler that is still heard today:

*“Do you think that if the land questions were settled, it would be equally advantageous to the natives and to the British settlers? - I think that it will be more advantageous to the British settlers than to the native; I do not see what benefit the natives would derive from it, except that many more of them, would be employed.  
Would they not derive benefit from their living in more peace and harmony than they do now? - Captain Fitzroy will settle all that when he goes out; he will give the European the same chance as the native; they have had it all their own way for some time;.....’*

Willoughby Shortland (1804-1869) was appointed Colonial Secretary after Hobson had his first stroke, and after Hobson’s death was the Officer Administering the Government of New Zealand until the arrival of Robert Fitzroy in 1843. He resigned a year later, after disagreements with Fitzroy, presumably to the satisfaction of Walter Brodie.

Brodie returned to New Zealand in 1851, importing pheasants and sparrows to his land at Mangonui. He lived in Auckland and became involved in politics, though not with any great success. He represented the Suburbs of Auckland in the second Parliament of 1856 but didn’t serve out his term, and in 1859 returned to England. His property interests in New Zealand presumably continued, and he returned once again to Auckland in 1878 but died back in England in 1884. In 1851, he also wrote a book on Pitcairn Island, which he visited in 1850 when blown off course enroute to the Californian goldfields.<sup>13</sup> The book went into 3 editions in 1851, and in it he mentions the extensive travels he has undertaken around the world. Given that he made three voyages to New Zealand, this was a man who couldn’t sit still.

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<sup>13</sup> Brodie, W., Pitcairn’s Island and the Islanders....together with extracts from his private journal...and a few hints upon California.... London, Whittaker & Co., 1851.

## Beguiling tedious hours

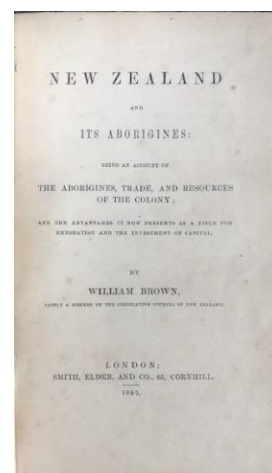
**Brown, W.** *New Zealand and its Aborigines: 1845.*

William Brown (1809-1898) is more famous for being part of a partnership than perhaps in his own right. He voyaged out to South Australia with his wife Jessie on the *Indus*, arriving in January, 1839. He spent 10 months in Adelaide, Port Misery as it was known, and after finding the land over-priced, boarded the *Palmyra* for Sydney later that year.<sup>14</sup> It was a fortuitous sailing, since on board, and friendly, was Dr John Logan Campbell (q.v.), a young Scottish doctor. The Browns carried on to New Zealand, arriving at the Bay of Islands in February 1840, and Logan Campbell arrived there in March. They met up in Coromandel in April, formed a business partnership, bought Motukorea (Brown's Island) in May, and established their business in Auckland, having guessed that the capital would move there. They bought land in what is now the central city, and ran an increasingly prosperous business as traders, auctioneers and shipping agents. In 1844, the Browns decided to return to England, Jessie being in need of medical attention, so the partners bought the *Bolina*, loaded it with the Browns, and exports to test the British market. It sailed from the Waitemata on 20 December, 1844, the first ship in the New Zealand export trade. On the ship, amongst a wide range of goods, were spars and furniture wood, 4 tons of gum, 45 tons of manganese ore, 30 tons of copper ore, 7 bales of wool, and 2 cases of plants for Sir W Hooker. On board also was Samuel Martin (q.v.), the other Scottish business man and friend of the Browns and Logan Campbell.<sup>15</sup>



It was on the voyage to London, filling in the weeks like so many others, that Brown wrote his book, and the ever ready and reliable Smith, Elder & Co published it the next year.

**Brown, W.** *New Zealand and its Aborigines: being an account of the Aborigines, trade and resources of the Colony, and its advantages it now presents as a field for emigration and the investment of capital. London, Smith, Elder & Co., 1845. pp. viii, 302, 24 pp. adverts. Bagnall 708, Hocken 119.*



My copy is in the original embossed cloth boards, bought from England in 1997. Somehow, New Zealand books sourced from England are in better condition than those which have circulated locally, except for the few dealers who treasure finer copies. Bagnall gives the pagination as 320, but p 302 is misnumbered as 320. There was a second edition in 1851.

<sup>14</sup> R. C. J. Stone. 'Brown, William', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1b37/brown-william> (accessed 12 August 2022); and <https://bound-for-south-australia.collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/1839Palmyra.htm>

<sup>15</sup> Daily Southern Cross, Volume 2, Issue 88, 21 December 1844, p. 2; [https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/DSC18441221.2.3?items\\_per\\_page=100&page=22&query=George&sort\\_by=byDA](https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/DSC18441221.2.3?items_per_page=100&page=22&query=George&sort_by=byDA)

Brown says in the Preface that the work originated in letters sent back to England as far back as 1840, but they never arrived. And so, like his travelling companion Samuel Martin, he decided 'to beguile a few of the tedious hours of a five month's homeward voyage...' by transcribing his manuscript.<sup>16</sup> It provides an extensive description of the 'aborigines', culture, living, practices and character, and particularly of the issues of land ownership and their improvement, the present government apparently having done nothing. Part II lays out his criticisms of the government, and the policies needed for land and trade, and in this he joins his contemporaries and fellow



*The Russell house and timber yard at Kohukohu in the Hokianga, with the Bolina the ship in the background, and the Francis Spaight in the foreground. The painting is by Charles Heaphy*  
<https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/kohukohu-hokianga>

authors, Terry, Brodie, and Martin particularly, with their criticisms of Governor Hobson and his policies on land ownership, particularly aiming at his interim successor, Willoughby Shortland. The book ends with 24 pages of Smith, Elder's catalogue for December, 1844, including volumes on the zoology of the *Beagle* and that of Belcher's voyages on the *Sulphur*, a 5<sup>th</sup> edition of Petre, and Jameson.

Like Charles Terry, Brown tried his hand at journalism, similarly driven by the chance for publicising his political and social views, being one of the three editors of the short-lived (only a year) *New Zealand Herald and Auckland Gazette* (with Terry as first editor), and then becoming the first editor of the *Southern Cross*. As with his contemporaries and friends, he got involved in politics, but, again like them, rarely with success. He eventually returned to England in 1855, well off, but then Campbell bought him out, and he lived on his fortune, dying, however, in rather straightened circumstances.

Its notable that Brown's book title uses 'Aborigines', the common term for indigenous people in the South Pacific and the Americas particularly. The term 'Māori' was used in different ways in European literature as far back as Nicholas. But as a specific noun describing the people, it only appears first in Bidwill and Maunsell, and was not widely used until almost 1850.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> **Brown, W.** *New Zealand and its Aborigines: being an account of the Aborigines, trade and resources of the Colony, and its advantages it now presents as a field for emigration and the investment of capital.* London, Smith, Elder & Co., 1845. p. v

<sup>17</sup> **Baker, Sidney J.,** Origins of the words Pakeha and Maori, *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 54, No. 4, pp. 223-23, 1945.



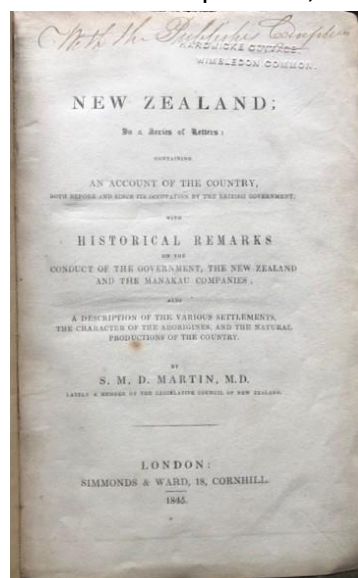
## The effects of bad government on a good country

*Martin, S.McD. New Zealand. 1845*

We have this image of two Scotsmen, having spent some time travelling and developing business in Auckland, voyaging back to England on board the first ship, the *Bolina*, to export goods to England, the ship owned by Dr John Logan Campbell and his partner William Brown. Brown and his wife and child were on board, and so was a third Scots friend, Dr Samuel Martin. Both men spent the long weeks writing up their accounts of their travels, of New Zealand and its developing colonisation, criticising, in strong terms the current administration, and giving their views on the indigenous people, who were still referred to as natives or the aborigines of New Zealand. Did they look at each other's writing and discuss it? They must have, since there were only twelve adult passengers, amongst the bales of wool, tons of manganese ore and other goods that might form future exports. Martin says that apart from the account of Terry, 'no person has yet attempted to convey to the English public the slightest idea of the doings of our countrymen in New Zealand'. Well, this is nonsense, apart from his friend doing just that alongside him.

Martin (c1805-1848) emigrated to Australia in 1837 and bought land for sheep farming. In 1839, he took passage from Sydney to the Hokianga, and then walked overland to the Bay of Islands. He bought land in the Thames area, travelled back and forth to Sydney and in 1841 was sufficiently established to be appointed a magistrate. Along with his contemporaries such as Terry and Brown, he found himself in opposition to Hobson, in the tussle over the validity of land claims made prior to the Hobson administration. In 1842, he took on the editorship of the short-lived *New Zealand Herald and Auckland Gazette*, the third editor for which Terry was the first. Also, along with most of his contemporaries, he feuded with Shortland, and had faith in Fitzroy to right matters. Befriended by the new Governor, he was appointed to the Legislative Council, but resigned from that and in 1844 sailed away with Brown, back to England, never to return. There he published his book.

*Martin, S.McD. New Zealand; in a series of letters: containing an account of the country, both before and since its occupation by the British Government; with historical remarks on the conduct of the Government, the New Zealand and the Manakau Companies; also a description of the various settlements, the character of the aborigines, and the natural productions of the country. London: Simmonds & Ward, 18, Cornhill. 1845. pp xii 11-377. Bagnall 3416, Hocken 122.*



My copy is in the original green embossed cloth boards, spine damaged, and with an inscription: 'With the publisher's compliments.' There is also an embossed label of Hardwicke Cottage, Wimbledon Common, on the title page. Bought from AD in 1989.

The book is in the form of 16 letters which 'will afford further and more authentic information than has yet been published in England'. They cover 5 years down to the 'mismanagement' of the colony at the present time. He says that they have been written

hastily and will have defects, but benefit from their subsequent freshness, and apologises for offence likely given to those associated with the New Zealand Company.<sup>18</sup> This all gives a flavour of the polemic embedded in the chapters covering his arrival at the Bay of Islands and observations on the state of the settlement and Māori, his travels to Coromandel, the arrival of Hobson, land purchases and rights, the settlers and their governance and grievances, the New Zealand Company, missionaries. In fact, there is little that is not observed, commented on, or analysed. Together with the books of Terry and Brown, all contemporaries, this body of work provides as detailed and comprehensive state of the nation as can be found, from a self-assured, English settler and businessman point of view, with an eye to prospects and prosperity. That Martin, Brown and Campbell were all Scotsmen, and not Church of England, is significant in understanding their stance. His concerns over the intrusion of Anglican control over government and the development of the colonial society is embedded in his Scots dissenting background, for many the ideal settler mindset of freedom from restraint on land ownership, trade and minimal administrative control.<sup>19</sup> He appends the Treaty of Waitangi, a copy of the letter from the settlers protesting against the passing of the Land Bill which threatened their pre-Hobson purchases, a copy of a letter to Fitzroy on the same issues, an article on rates, and Fitzroy's proclamation on pre-emption. He ends with tables on the weather.

A second issue of the book was made in 1845, though published by John and Daniel A. Darling, Bishopsgate Street, and Bagnall states that it is identical, although the title differs. Martin had previously published a pamphlet in 1842<sup>20</sup> which comprised correspondence amongst administration personnel and was an attack on their governance. This was at the time when he was editor of the *New Zealand Herald and Auckland Gazette*, and the same printer, John Moore in High St, Auckland, was used. In the page of advertisements from the publisher tipped in at the back of the copy, is notice of '*New Zealand and its affairs; being a complete history of the colony. By Dr Martin.*' It is unclear what book this is. Perhaps it is the current one, with the advertisement coming from some other publication by Simmons and Ward, since it is unlikely that a current book would be advertised by the publisher as '*Now ready*' in its back pages. It has clearly not been bound in to the original work, and no copy has been found with that particular title.

Martin was an honest Scot, claiming to have been ruined by the land policy and Government mismanagement, deploring the lack of representation in government, and with a critical eye on Wakefield and his immigration policy.<sup>21</sup> He returned to Scotland, maintained an interest in colonisation, and followed his brother to British Guiana (now Guyana) where he was appointed a magistrate in 1848. However, he died in Berbice 3 months later. You feel he may have been a disappointed man.

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<sup>18</sup> **Martin, S.McD.** *New Zealand; in a series of letters: containing an account of the country, both before and since its occupation by the British Government; with historical remarks on the conduct of the Government, the New Zealand and the Manakau Companies; also a description of the various settlements, the character of the aborigines, and the natural productions of the country.* London: Simmonds & Ward, 18, Cornhill. 1845. pp. iii-v.

<sup>19</sup> **Wallace, V.**, *Scottish Presbyterianism and Settler Colonial Politics: Empire of Dissent.* Palgrave, MacMillan, Cham, Switzerland, 2018. pp 245–281.

<sup>20</sup> **Martin, S. McD.**, *New Zealand in 1842; or the effects of bad government on a good country.* In a letter to the Right honourable Lord Stanley, Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies. Auckland, John Moore, High Street, 1842. 32 pp.

<sup>21</sup> **Simpson, K.A.**, 'Martin, Samuel McDonald', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1990, updated May, 2020. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1m20/martin-samuel-mcdonald> (accessed 24 August 2022).

## A busy actor in colonial politics

*[Wakefield, E.G.] The trial of Edward Gibbon Wakefield. 1827*

*[Wakefield, E.G.] The British colonization of New Zealand. 1837*

*Wakefield, E.J. Adventure in New Zealand, from 1839 to 1844. 1845*

*[Wakefield E. J.] The hand-book for New Zealand. 1848*

*Wakefield, E.G. A view of the art of colonization. 1849*

There is not much that isn't known about the man, but where better to start than with scandals involving two very young heiresses. There are not many prominent men who, in their youth, in 1816, managed an elopement with a 16-year-old, and ten years later in 1826, the abduction of a 15-year-old. What was he going to do in 1836? The earliest publication by or about him was in 1827, with the account of his trial for abducting Ellen Turner. Edward Gibbon Wakefield (1796-1862) was an unruly, difficult child, brought up in liberal households, with Quaker backgrounds, and with little discipline. His education was largely a sequence of truancy and expulsions, but that was no impediment to being admitted to the bar in 1813, and in the following year he took up employment in the later stages of the Napoleonic Wars, largely as a King's messenger, carrying diplomatic mail around Europe.<sup>22</sup> Although he was a well-off elder son, the quest for more wealth and its social and political consequences figured in his next 10 years' indiscretions.



Wakefield eloped with and married a 16-year-old heiress and ward of Chancery, Eliza Pattle in 1816, and eventually achieved a marriage settlement of several million dollars in today's terms, and a promotion. They had two children, Susan (Nina) in 1817 and Edward Jerningham in 1820, 4 days after which Eliza died.

The Pattles themselves had early travel and empire connections. Eliza's father Thomas was a merchant trading in Canton who had been a director of the East India Company in the 1870s, and died in Macao a year before the elopement. The family was related through Eliza's grandmother, to the Brooks (Rajah Brook of Borneo), and Virginia Woolf was the great grand-daughter of James Pattle, brother of Thomas, both sons of an earlier Thomas Pattle. This latter one was renowned as a wealthy merchant trading in India, called the greatest liar in India, and after dying, was sent back to England preserved in a barrel of brandy.



*Eliza Pattle as a young girl, painted by William Gwynn in 1812. Alexander Turnbull Library, /records/22456775*

Although the first elopement may have been a love match, the second, an abduction, was particularly unsavoury. Its worst interpretation is that Wakefield wanted entry into parliament, saw a route through acquiring an estate through marriage, tricked a 15-year-old schoolgirl and heiress Ellen Turner, whom he had not met, into leaving her school with a message concerning her mother's health, fooled her into marrying him at Gretna Green, and was caught at Calais through the efforts of the girl's parents. Wakefield, his brother William, servant Édouard

<sup>22</sup> **Miles Fairburn.** 'Wakefield, Edward Gibbon', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1w4/wakefield-edward-gibbon> (accessed 20 October 2022); **Bloomfield, P.,** Edward Gibbon Wakefield, builder of the British Commonwealth. London, Longmans, 1961.

Thévenot and his step-mother were arraigned at a sensational trial, and Edward and William sentenced to three years imprisonment. The others were let off. There was a willing public for accounts of the trial, and a number of publications quickly appeared, the most substantial being that put out by John Murray.

**[Wakefield, E.G. as defendant]** *The trial of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, William Wakefield, and Frances Wakefield, indicted with one Edward Thevenot, a servant, for conspiracy, and for the abduction of Miss Ellen Turner, the only child and heiress of William Turner Esq., of Shrigley Park, in the county of Chester. London: John Murray. MDCCCXXVII [1827]. Bagnall 5816, Hocken 43.*

My copy is in the original printers' boards, with a later cloth spine and title-label re-laid, uncut. It is the second issue with the appendix and a cancelled leaf X on pages 303-305. Tipped in at the end is a cutting from the Macclesfield Courier, May 16, 1857, noting the death of a Mr. Legh of Lyme. Legh was a wealthy wanderer who married the abductee Ellen Turner in January 1828. They had a daughter, but Ellen died in 1831. This, from the newspaper cutting, is contrary to the note in Hocken (43) stating that they had a son who became Lord Newton. The first Baron Newton was a William Legh born in 1828, but the son of a William Legh, not our Thomas.

The Preface opens with the assertion that this is the only authentic and correct report of the sensational trial, and the unnamed author is no friend to Wakefield, talking of the *'cunning and depravity displayed in the formation of the plot – and the artful wickedness developed in its execution...'* and *'It is, in truth, matter of wonder that, at this day, and in this country, there should be persons hardy enough (and persons, too, said to have moved in good society) to embark in so atrocious adventure – to sit down in cool deliberation, and, for the sake of lucre, to form a plot for stealing an innocent and only child, the heiress to a large fortune!'* It wanders back into ancient English law (Henry VII no less) and ends by calling for change in legislation to make stealing an heiress a felony. Thereafter is a full account, the charges, transcripts of the proceedings and the judgement.

It was not the only such publication. A pamphlet was issued in the same year by E. Smith & Co, covering the indictments and information on the elopement, going into a second issue in the same year (Bagnall 5788). Another pamphlet on the trial, that went into at least 4 editions in 1827 (Bagnall 3814), was put out by Knight and Lacey. And there were numerous newspaper reports, providing material for the larger publications as well.

What is hard to understand is that Wakefield, although largely scorned by the political establishment, never seemed to have suffered greatly from the whole event, with its incarceration. His intelligence and great skills in promulgating his theories and campaigns not only carried him through, but were critical to the impact he had on immigration and colonisation policies. The modern view sees the ambiguity in his behaviour *'When a decade later, the Wakefield brothers concerned themselves with the colonisation of New Zealand, did they still think that the end justified the means? Did they still believe that it was not immoral to manipulate people in a worth case?.....Did they still consider that the quickest way to achieve a goal*



*Ellen Turner of Helmshore, by Henry Wyatt, 1837. Museum of Lancashire, LANMS.1977.83.6*

was to confront people involved with a *fait accompli*?<sup>23</sup> It is easy to see here the foundations for all the later criticisms about failing to meet promises, and fooling people over land deals, using a skill with words and charm to achieve their ends. These criticisms currently seem to take precedence over the positive and innovative aspects of his theories. The pendulum will continue to swing.

Wakefield spent his 3 years in Newgate profitably. It wasn't too hard if you had the money, and he was even able to tutor his children on their regular visits. It was over this period that he formed his thinking on organised colonisation, running it as a profitable business based on prior land ownership. He published articles, a '*Sketch of a Proposal for Colonising Australia*' and a '*Letter from Australia*', the latter so convincing that even Australian colonists thought it was written by one of their own. Through the 1830s he explored the ideas of colonisation, developing emigration schemes with respect to South Australia, America, and particularly Canada. And then in 1837, the New Zealand Association was given a charter by the Colonial Office and Wakefield was a prominent member. This dissolved the following year, reforming as the New Zealand Company in June 1838. They bought a ship, the *Tory*, and in March 1839, Wakefield became a director. The conflicts with government that marked the history of the Company became immediately apparent, as the moves by the Government to create a British colony in New Zealand were in opposition to the foundational brief of the Company, that successful and profitable colonisation would be based on securing and owning land, and in being the agent in land sales, rather than the Government having this role.

Wakefield quickly wrote his plan for colonising New Zealand, and it was published in November 1837, the year of the New Zealand Association, and was a part of its publicity.

**[Wakefield, E.G.]** *The British colonization of New Zealand; being an account of the principles, objects and plans of the New Zealand Association; together with particulars concerning the position, extent, soil and climate, natural productions, and native inhabitants of New Zealand. Published for the New Zealand Association. London: John W. Parker, West Strand. M.DCCC.XXXVII. (1837) xvi, 423 pp, 5 maps, illust., Bagnall 5787, Hocken 63.*

My copy is near fine, bound in contemporary half calf with marbled boards, small 8vo, bought from AD in recent years, replacing an earlier, much cheaper and lesser quality copy. There is the signature of a previous owner in ink in the title page but is not very decipherable. A second copy was bought in 2022, in original blue cloth, complete, in very good condition; in fact it was bought by mistake, not the first time, when I should have bid for an up-grade copy of Jerningham's *Handbook*.



No authors are given, but the book was written by E G Wakefield, and John Ward (q.v.), the latter then Secretary of the New Zealand Company and later author of a number of Company tracts. The Introduction is thus appropriately addressed from the Office of the New Zealand Association, Adelphi Terrace Chambers, October 20, 1837. On the verso of the title page is an extract from a sermon preached by William Whewell, the scientist, theologian, mathematician and poet, anti-evolutionist and philosopher, given before the

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<sup>23</sup> Burns, P., (ed. H Richardson). Fatal success. A history of the New Zealand Company. Auckland, Heinemann Reed, 1980. p. 23.

Trinity Board<sup>24</sup>. He claims that the wealth, power, arts and knowledge invested in Britain gives it the mission of carrying civilisation, humanity, good government and *'the knowledge of the true God to the uttermost ends of the earth.'* Of course this was not really the purpose of the New Zealand Company, which was very much about running profitable emigration schemes to colonise new territories based on land purchase, with an eye on helping alleviate the poor conditions of potentially useful British people with skills and some means and intent.

There are 5 plates. The frontispiece is of a *Native Fort*, with a Māori rangatira figure in the foreground, in a cloak holding a taiaha. Although the artist of the whole image is unknown, the figure is that of Tetoro (Tītore Tākiri) drawn by Richard Read that appears in the frontispiece in Cruise's book of 1823. There is a trail with this figure, possibly originating from Parkinson's *'A New Zealand warrior in his proper dress'*, used by Nicholas in 1817, then Cruise, and now twice, with the figure reappearing as a full plate on p. 128 of *The British Colonisation*.<sup>25</sup> The plate of the Māori war canoe (p. 281) is also derived from Parkinson. The image of the canoe with the standing and paddling figures has been used with different backgrounds, in this case with a slightly different landscape, and even some birds inserted into the near sky. The plate of a *New Zealand Village* (p. 85) has been identified with Augustus Earle<sup>322</sup> although the exact original has not been sourced. The *Woman of New Zealand* (p.167) is also from Earle's watercolour portrait of a young Māori woman, though the image is reversed<sup>26</sup>. You might wonder why a book specifically on colonisation would be illustrated with Māori images, but this publication preceded the period of artists such as Heaphy who could illustrate Company colonisation sites such as Port Nicholson and New Plymouth.

There are five maps. The first is of the Pacific archipelago of islands, stretching from Sumatra across to Tahiti with Australia and New Zealand centred, engraved by J & C Walker who worked often with the Company, appearing again in the maps in Hursthouse's book on New Plymouth. The second is an Arrowsmith map of New Zealand, a New Zealand Association publication dated 1837, with North, Middle and Stewart's Islands. The third is a crude single page of the world with Australia and New Zealand and the Pacific in the centre, for those who weren't too sure. The fourth and fifth are also Arrowsmith, New Zealand Association maps showing the north of the North Island from the Waikato Heads and Thames north, and the Cook's Strait region.



*Native fort in New Zealand. Wakefield, 1837, frontispiece, with Richard Read's drawing of Tītore Tākiri.*

<sup>24</sup> We might assume that this is with regard to Trinity College, Cambridge, of which Whewell was Master from 1841 to 1866, when he died from falling off his horse.

<sup>25</sup> [https://natlib.govt.nz/records/23079245?search%5Bi%5D%5Bcentury%5D=1800&search%5Bi%5D%5Bis\\_cat%5D%5Bis\\_cat%5D=false&search%5Bi%5D%5Bplace\\_authority\\_text%5D=Bay+of+Islands&search%5Bpath%5D=items](https://natlib.govt.nz/records/23079245?search%5Bi%5D%5Bcentury%5D=1800&search%5Bi%5D%5Bis_cat%5D%5Bis_cat%5D=false&search%5Bi%5D%5Bplace_authority_text%5D=Bay+of+Islands&search%5Bpath%5D=items) Accessed 1 November 2022.

<sup>26</sup> <https://natlib.govt.nz/records/22706317?search%5Bi%5D%5Bsubject%5D%5B%5D=Clothing&search%5Bi%5D%5Bsubject%5D%5B%5D=Moko+kauwae&search%5Bpath%5D=items> Accessed 1 November 2022.

Ten years before his more seminal book on the art of colonisation, Wakefield is already establishing the principles of colonisation that drove the Company and his own energies over the next ten to twenty years. There is an opening chapter on colonisation, ‘*the old English spirit of colonising*’, then on civilising the New Zealanders, New Zealand as a prospect for colonisation, then how you might go about it, Government, and religious establishment. This is all in just 75 pages, and then there are eight sections describing New Zealand, the climate and geography, the people, and trade and shipping. There are two Appendices, the first a paper on ‘*Exceptional laws in favour of the natives of New Zealand*’, by an un-named author of Trinity College Cambridge, identified as the Rev Montague Hawtrey<sup>27</sup>. A second Appendix is a single page list of publications of interest, including Cook, Savage, Nicholas, Cruise, Craik, Earle, Yate and Ellis.

From 1838 to 1843, Wakefield made several trips to Canada, becoming deeply involved in his own business interests, and informally advising Lord Durham in his recommendations on self-governance<sup>28</sup>. Durham (John Lambton, hence Lambton Quay in Wellington) also became Governor of the New Zealand Company. In 1846 Wakefield had a stroke, but it was in these and the following years that he was a constant activist in pursuing and writing on his colonisation theories and activities, particularly advocating colonial self-governance. This included in 1849 publication of his book on the art of colonisation. Its writing was not straightforward. Wakefield in 1848 decamped to France, to the Chateau Mabile near Boulogne, and not alone, taking his dogs, six of the children of his hard-up brother Felix, and an amanuensis, Albert Allom.

Albert Allom was the son of the famous artist and travel illustrator Thomas Allom, engraver of the plates for Edward Jerningham Wakefield’s *Adventures in New Zealand*, and co-author of an iconic mid-century 4-volume work on China<sup>29</sup>. Albert Allom had first visited New Zealand in 1842, working as a surveyor under Brees, and returned in 1861, becoming involved in mining and colonial administration.<sup>30</sup> Albert’s brother Charles was also a friend of Wakefield, having been in Canada with him.

The book was largely dictated to Allom, apparently with little later correction, finished on Christmas Eve, 1848, and published in February the next year.<sup>31</sup>



*Woman of New Zealand.*  
Wakefield 1837, p. 167. After Earle.

<sup>27</sup> Burns, P., op. cit. pp. 52-54. Hawtrey was to have sailed on the *Tory* as chaplain, but circumstances prevented this. He later wrote two works on New Zealand and colonisation.

<sup>28</sup> Manning, H. T. Lord Durham and the New Zealand Company. *NZ Journal of History*, June, 2022, pp.1-19.

<sup>29</sup> Allom, Thomas; Wright, George Newenham; Gützlaff, Karl *China, in a series of views, displaying the scenery, architecture and social habits, of that ancient empire.* [1843] Fisher, London.

<sup>30</sup> Scholefield, J., op. cit. Vol 1, pp 11-12.

<sup>31</sup> Bloomfield, P, op. cit. pp 299-304.

**Wakefield, E.G.** *A view of the art of colonization, with present reference to the British Empire; in letters between a statesman and a colonist.* Edited by (one of the writers) Edward Gibbon Wakefield. London: John W. Parker, West Strand. M DCCC XLIL. (1849) xxiv, 513, [6] adverts. Bagnall 5818, Hocken 149.

My copy is in the original brown cloth boards. It was bought in the 1980s from a now non-existent Wellington dealer. It is not a particularly scarce book.

There is a fulsome dedication to John Hutt, formerly Governor of Western Australia from 1839 to 1846, where he was known for his support and protection of the Aboriginal people. After his resignation Hutt returned to England and joined the Canterbury Association for a short while from 1848 to 1850. He was a good friend and supporter of Wakefield, particularly in 1838 during the turmoil of the establishment of the New Zealand Company<sup>32</sup>. On the verso of the half title is a quote from John Stuart Mill promoting colonisation, Mill being one of the strongest supporters of colonisation as an important component of economic progress, though his support was tempered at some stage by concern over indigenous peoples' rights. Mill was employed for many years by the East India Company. The Publisher's adverts at the end of the book include items by both Mill and Whewell, who popped up in the *British Colonisation*, along with Edward Jerningham Wakefield's *Handbook for New Zealand* of 1848.



Portrait of Edward Gibbon Wakefield c1850-1860. Artist: Albert James Allom  
<http://natlib.govt.nz/records/22559033>

The book is constructed on the conceit of an exchange of letters between a Statesman (who could have been any number of English politicians), and a Colonist (Wakefield himself). Wakefield says that the letters are based on actual correspondence, stating that '*the difference consists mainly in workmanship and form, not in materials or substance.*' He makes sure that he presents his '*colonist*' credentials (not yet having been to New Zealand) by highlighting his time in Canada, and if this is not enough, then '*..I would claim the title on the ground of sympathy with the class of our fellow subjects who have the misfortune to be nothing but colonists;...*'<sup>33</sup> There are 71 letters, enlivened at times by his hostility to his leading political opponents, Sir James Stephen (Undersecretary of State for the Colonies and bete noire of the Company) and Lord Grey (Colonial Secretary, who favoured self-government for the colonies). But they are most important for displaying Wakefield as the reformer, showing his thinking on population issues in Britain, the principles of colonisation based on emigration of people with skills, a cross-section of society not a dumping ground for the poor and the criminal, the need for religious establishment, organised land purchase, and the intricacies of colonial government. In letter VII, he introduces Mr Mothercountry, the Statesman's

<sup>32</sup> Bloomfield, P., op. cit. pp. 168-170.

<sup>33</sup> Wakefield, E.G. *A view of the art of colonization, with present reference to the British Empire; in letters between a statesman and a colonist.* edited by (one of the writers) Edward Gibbon Wakefield. London: John W. Parker, West Strand. M DCCC XLIL. pp. vii-x.



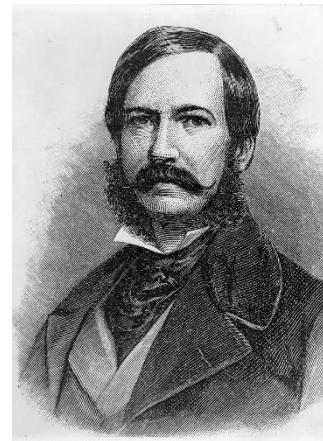
Downing Street acquaintance. This all gives Wakefield room to attack British policy and politicians and enlarge on his own reforming views.

His last letter has him not quite finished, listing topics that would have been continued if the correspondence had carried on. These include, rather boldly, a plan for colonisation of the Catholic parts of Ireland, and one for the West Indies, more on religious establishment, a brief history of England's convict colonisation, on how to tutor your son into becoming a good colonist, and something on his own experiences with the Colonial Office. There are two appendices, one a vindication of Charles Buller, the reformist politician, who was a friend and colleague of Wakefield both in Canada and in promoting colonisation policy in England. These include a long speech by Buller to the House of Commons on systematic colonisation. The second is a letter from '*Certain New Zealand Colonists*' to Mr Hawes, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, responding to a suggestion that they put down their ideas on colonisation in New Zealand. The signees were W Cargill, the Otago colonist, E.S. Halswell, a former member of the New Zealand Legislative Council, and H. Moreing, and Edward Jerningham Wakefield, both some four-years resident in New Zealand.

Wakefield sailed for New Zealand in 1852, a move described as a 'tragic mistake'<sup>34</sup>. He was not well received, either in Canterbury where he first landed, nor by Governor Grey in Wellington. He was elected to the House of Representatives and the Wellington Provincial Council and had a major role in reforming the new government with the encoding of principles of Ministerial responsibilities. However, his behaviour in Government was turbulent and confusing, resulting even in whispers of impeachment. He resigned in 1855, and spent that last 10 years of his life in Wellington in depression, unheeded and except for a niece, his dogs, a manservant and his son Jerningham, very much alone.

And what then of his son? Jerningham (1820-1878) has had a bad press, labelled as disappointing, a wastrel and an alcoholic, and the last certainly was eventually true. He also happened to write one of the most entertaining books on early New Zealand. It wasn't a conventional upbringing, he and his sister being largely raised by their aunt Catherine Torlesse, and, as mentioned, visiting their father in prison. Edward Gibbon lived in prison as well as men in his class could, with an Irish maid and the ability to provide some tutoring to his visiting children who were lodged nearby.<sup>35</sup>

Jerningham could hardly avoid involvement in the Wakefield colonisation schemes and thinking, accompanying his father to Canada in 1838, and then his uncle Colonel William on the famous *Tory* voyage to New Zealand in 1839, along with Dieffenbach and Heaphy. He would have been an entertaining travelling companion, organising and taking part in political debates, and twice putting Charles Heaphy under hypnosis.<sup>36</sup> He spent four years in the Wellington region acting as an agent for the New Zealand Company, pursuing land sales in the Wanganui area, travelling widely, and earning a rebuke from Governor Fitzroy for his



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<sup>34</sup> Miles Fairburn. 'Wakefield, Edward Gibbon', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1w4/wakefield-edward-gibbon> (accessed 9 November 2022)

<sup>35</sup> Blomfield, P., op. cit. pp. 75-77.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid. p. 213.

behaviour, which included illegally shooting a pig in his garden, for which he was fined £1, and going half-native on a trip to Whanganui, '*It was women, rum and song, and dancing the haka with nothing on...*'<sup>37</sup>. He returned to England in 1844, with his journals, and published them the following year.

**Wakefield, E.J.** *Adventure in New Zealand, from 1839 to 1844; with some account of the beginning of the British colonization of the islands. In two volumes. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street. 1845 vol I: x, 482, 16 adverts, map; vol II: x, 546 pp. Bagnall 5819, Hocken 124.*

My copy is in excellent condition in the original embossed green cloth boards. The map is in a pocket at the rear of Vol. I. It is often on the market without the map, further evidence of the market in maps.

The two volumes were published two months after that of Marjoribanks, put out by Smith, Elder & Co for 4s 6d. Wakefield's was immediately a grander publication at 28s, and the separate folio of *Illustrations* for 3 guineas, or more if hand-coloured. Bagnall notes that an advertising slip tipped in in Vol 1 shows that the *Illustrations* were published before the *Adventure*. This would be consistent with different publishers being used, John Murray for the latter and Smith, Elder for the *Illustrations*. Murray published only 750 copies, and there was no second edition, suggesting that Murray was targeting the high end of the market, and successfully<sup>38</sup>. The very fine map is by Arrowsmith and simply titled as by Edward



Jerningham Wakefield, Esq. Most of the detail is around Cook Strait, the Wellington regions and up the coast to New Plymouth. At the end of Vol I there are 15 pages of advertisements for Murray's books and in addition, a little unusually, an index for the adverts. At the end of Vol II, is an Appendix comprising a memorial for his murdered uncle Arthur Wakefield, of letters by and to him. A second Appendix contains statistics and information on New Zealand, based on an 1843 Company census.

It somehow befits Wakefield's reputation that there are no preliminaries, no preface, dedication or introduction. He launches straight in, with a chapter on the history of New Zealand from Tasman onwards through to the House of Commons Select Committee in 1838, the New Zealand Association, and then the New Zealand Company and the decision to send out the *Tory* led by his uncle Colonel William Wakefield. '*Such a voyage seemed to offer much novelty and adventure; and I, being then nineteen years old, conceived an eager desire to be one of the party. My father gave his consent to my departure; and I was fortunate enough to obtain a passage in the Tory from the patrons of the enterprise.....I intended to see the landing of the first body of colonists, and then to return on one of the ships, which should have borne them to their destination. So interesting, however, did it become to watch the first steps of the infant colony, and*

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid. p. 225.

<sup>38</sup> Wevers, L., op. cit. pp. 128-130.

so exciting to march among the ranks of its hardy founders, that I was tempted to postpone my return for four years after their arrival. I can only explain this by the narrative contained in subsequent chapters.' There was after all, no need for a Preface or Introduction.

This is a book that can't be easily summarised, combining history, journal, observations of the new colony and his compatriots, Māori, adventure, and with no apologies, partiality to family and the Company. It abounds with energy and the life of a young man on a great adventure, constantly running up against the authorities, until at the end he says 'For my part, I could stay no more in the country with comfort under this Government; for so long as Captain Fitzroy ruled, I must always appear to be a certain degree as a disgraced member of society.' He writes a final letter to the Governor, defending himself of charges of a libel against Māori, got an acknowledgement but no answer, and two days afterwards 'I embarked in a ship that was bound for Valparaiso.'

The reviewer in the *New Zealand Journal*, the Company's mouthpiece in London, acclaims the work for its presentation of the colony and colonists in their New Zealand Company form, but sees little worth in the 'partisanship' of Wakefield.<sup>39</sup> That all is to be expected from a Company publication, and it is likely that the book was written under the close guidance of Jerningham's father Edward Gibbon, and consequently is 'the most complete presentation by the company of its own distinctive version of its activities in the colony from 1839 to 1844.'<sup>40</sup> It promulgates the attacks, criticisms and untruths of the Company's case in London, but it is the whole that attracts and makes the work stand out amongst its more prosaic contemporaries.

**Wakefield, E.J.** *Illustration to "Adventure in New Zealand", lithographed from original drawings taken on the spot by Mrs. Wicksteed, Miss King, Mrs Fox, Mr John Saxton, Mr Charles Heaphy, Mr S.C. Brees and Captain W. Mein Smith, R.A. London, Smith Elder & Co. 1845. 20 tinted lithograph illustrations on 16 sheets of thin card including, lithograph title with tinted vignette, 5 tinted panoramas on joined sheets, 10 tinted illustrations printed two to a sheet, 5 tinted illustrations on single sheets and three sheets with 5 hand coloured botanical specimens. Bagnall 5820, Hocken 121.*

The folio is oblong with drawings from the leading artists attached to the Company; Emma Wicksteed, wife of the Company's agent in New Plymouth, Heaphy, Brees, and the Company's first surveyor Mein Smith. Miss King is Martha King who arrived in 1840 with her brother and sister, settling in Whanganui and later in 1847, moving to New Plymouth. The Wicksteeds were on the same ship out, and they all became close friends. Martha King was the first resident botanical artist in New Zealand, and she was commissioned by the Wellington Horticultural and Botanical society in 1842 to provide a set of botanical watercolours, 40 of which were sent back to the New Zealand Company in London. Five of her drawings appear in colour in Wakefield's book<sup>41</sup>. John Saxton was a settler, and talented sketcher, who arrived with his extended family in Nelson in 1842, developing his farm in Stoke. Mrs Fox is a bit of a mystery. There is a suggestion that the title page lithograph of a

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<sup>39</sup> Wevers, L., op. cit. p. 129.

<sup>40</sup> Burns, P., Fatal success. A history of the New Zealand Company. Auckland, Heinemann Reed, 1989. Pp. 259-262.

<sup>41</sup> Moira M. Long. 'King, Martha', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1k12/king-martha> (accessed 11 November 2022)

view of Mt Egmont may be hers, but who she was is not clear, though possibly she is Sarah Fox, wife of William Fox, both having arrived in New Zealand in 1842<sup>42</sup>. William Fox was himself a fine watercolourist. Bagnall (5820) sets out the full list of lithographs and artists.

Over the next 5 years, Jerningham Wakefield worked for the New Zealand Company, developing his dubious reputation, leading a dissipated life. He joined the Canterbury Association with some enthusiasm and in 1848 published his handbook, again very much a Company publication.

**[Wakefield E. J.]** *The hand-book for New Zealand: consisting of the most recent information. Compiled for the use of intending colonists. by the Late Magistrate of the Colony, who resided there during four years. London: John Parker. M DCCC XLVIII [1848]. viii, 493, [2] books suitable for emigrants. Bagnall 5828, Hocken 141.*

My copy is in the original blue decorated cloth, small 8vo. Bought at auction in 1996, it is not too uncommon. And not especially interesting either, amongst the many such handbooks and guides of these years.

Again, there is no preface or introduction, although there is an apology for the absence of a map, noting that there are several already available and a new one was apparently ready for publication. However, the little over two page Chapter I serves as an Introduction, giving an overview of the information contained in the book, prompted by the establishment of the 'Association for Founding the Settlement of Canterbury, in New Zealand', and Chapter II is all about the Association, the members and with extracts from the Association's publication 'A Sketch of the Plan which has been formed for the Establishment of the Canterbury Settlement, and of the views on which the Plan is founded'. The rest of the book follows the course of its predecessors, describing the early history, settlements, geography and climate, trade and agriculture, the different district, the church and religious establishment, the New Zealand Company of course, and Government, and at the end a chapter on preparations necessary for the intending colonist, what to now about, what to buy and bring, land purchase, and hints for the voyage. There are tables of statistics and data, and at the end a very useful and interesting seven pages listing publications relative to New Zealand, worth setting alongside modern bibliographies. Did Bagnall miss any?

Wakefield sailed again to New Zealand in 1850 with the advance party for the Canterbury Settlement, on the *Lady Nugent*. This was led by John Godley, along with his wife Charlotte and young son Arthur. Charlotte Godley's letters home from New Zealand were first published in 1936<sup>43</sup>, and cover the voyage out from January 1850 through to January 1853 when she sailed back to England after an initial 6 months in Wellington and then her time in Canterbury with the young settlement. Jerningham flits in and out of her letters from the voyage and the first days in Wellington. She describes her companions on the ship: 'Mr Wakefield, only son, who is 'aide de camp' to my husband.....' Then: '....now it is eight-three days since I have seen anything larger in the shape of a tree than the plants under glass on deck, which two gardeners on board are taking out; and two belonging to Mr Wakefield from Sir W.. Molesworth's garden.' And: 'We were very gay with theatricals.....The "Mock Doctor" was the first piece and then we had "Bombastes." It was really a very creditable performance; Mr Wakefield, who

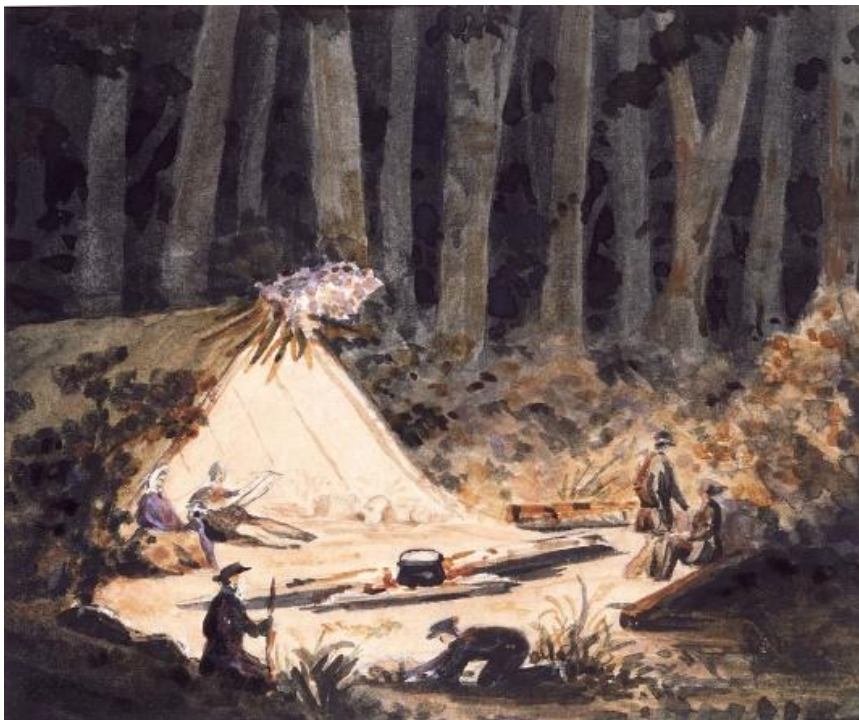
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<sup>42</sup> Ellis, E M & D G., op. cit. p. 109.

<sup>43</sup> Godley, C., Letters from Early New Zealand. (ed. A P Newton). Plymouth, printed for private circulation, 1936.

*is half a foreigner, is a capital actor and the others all did very well. We suspect him (Mr. W) of designs upon Miss Borton, the other lady; there is certainly a strong flirtation.....'* And they got serious too: *'About a month ago we began some meetings three time a week on "agricultural and scientific subjects". My husband, of course, in the chair, and as no one had been in New Zealand before, except Mr Wakefield (who is no farmer) and one of the sailors, and they only in the north, the agricultural part soon languished.....'*<sup>44</sup>. Well, he was true to form, previously taking part in debates on worthy topics on his first voyage out on the *Tory* with Heaphy, Dieffenbach and his uncle William.

Wakefield moved to Canterbury with the Godleys to help establish the early settlement and there he is portrayed in a camping scene in Rangiora with the Godleys, Charles Torlesse and Charles Hunter Brown, painted in 1850 by Frederick Weld. The camp is described in Charlotte Godley's letters.<sup>351</sup>



*Night-time camping scene at Rangiora bush with John Robert Godley, Charlotte Godley, their young son Arthur Godley, Charles Torlesse, Charles Hunter Brown, Jerningham Wakefield and Mr Boys. Painted on 6 December 1850 by Frederick Weld. [natlib.govt.nz/records/23194554](http://natlib.govt.nz/records/23194554)*

Charles Torlesse was Edward Gibbons cousin, with whom he was brought up. Frederick Weld was the future 6<sup>th</sup> Prime Minister of New Zealand in 1864-65, with a later career in colonial governorships in Australia and the Malay States. He had arrived in New Zealand in 1844, establishing extensive sheep farming enterprises. He sailed with the Godleys and Wakefield from Wellington to Canterbury on the *Acheron*, and following the night in camp pictured, he left to walk to his property, Flaxbourne, in what is now Marlborough, some 150 miles away.<sup>45</sup> Charles Hunter Brown is also the subject of another of Charlotte Godley's acute and entertaining descriptions: *'He is very vulgar, but otherwise intelligent (which is the word here), and advisable settler, just beyond the C. district to the north, a*

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<sup>44</sup> Godley, C., op. cit. pp. 3-10.

<sup>45</sup> Godley, C., op. cit. pp. 129-139.

sort of cross between a whaler, the roughest of seamen and a German student. Spectacles, and long hair, blue shirt, dirty white trowsers, and hob-nail shoes of almost fabulous thickness, which indeed he pulled off in the evening and sat in his white (?) cotton stockings.<sup>45</sup> He had emigrated to Canterbury in 1850 from Australia bringing his own sheep, cattle and acorns. He later became a minor politician, though nothing can better the Godley image of him.<sup>46</sup>

Jerningham became involved in politics, standing as a member for Christchurch in the first Parliament, 1853-1855, representing Wellington, where he moved to be with his ailing father, from 1857 to 1861, and for Christchurch again in 1871-1875, this being his last stand. These years were blighted by alcoholism, although there has to be some pleasure at the story that when locked in a room by the parliamentary Whips with fellow MPs to keep them sober so they might vote appropriately, opposition MPs lowered a bottle of whiskey to them down the chimney<sup>47</sup>.

Apart from some pamphlets and letters, there was a last book, a volume of his father's letters that he edited and published in 1868.

**[Wakefield, E.J.]** *The founders of Canterbury. Volume 1. Being letters from the late Edward Gibbon Wakefield to the late John Robert Godley, and to other well-known helpers in the foundation of the settlement of Canterbury in New Zealand. Stevens & Co. Christchurch. 1868. xvi, 352 pp, list of subscribers, note to subscribers laid on p iii. Bagnall 5795, Hocken 257-8.*

*My copy is in the original green paper wrappers. The book doesn't seem very popular these days, and was bought from auction quite cheaply in 2020, but worth every dollar in its content.*

There is a preface by Edward Jerningham, where he gives a background to the New Zealand Company and his father's activities on colonisation, through Edward Gibbon's role in the founding of the Canterbury Association, noting that 'Mr John Godley, unaided by Edward Gibbon Wakefield, could never have completed the task'. The letters start with one to Godley in 27 November 1847, ending with one to Lord Lyttleton on 31 October, 1850, the year that Godley and Edward Jerningham sailed out to New Zealand. There is a note to subscribers laid in before the preface: 'The Editor, finding the Subscriptions would not cover the cost of printing, has determined to present the subscribers with the valuable matter itself, so that they can bind it or not at their pleasure.'

There is a list of almost 200 subscribers or copies. The book is given as Volume 1. At the end of his Preface, Wakefield says: 'Space has obliged me to break off the correspondence more abruptly than I could have wished: but if I should receive sufficient encouragement towards publishing the second volume I projected – to consist principally for letters from leading colonisers to my father – I may insert in its early portion a few more letters



Edward Jerningham Wakefield c. 1885.

<sup>46</sup> Scholefield, J., op. cit. Vol 1, pp. 100-101

<sup>47</sup> 'The Opposition', URL: <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/politics/house-of-representatives/opposition>, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 15-Jul-2014. Accessed 15 November 2022.

*from himself to them.*' No second volume was forthcoming, perhaps because of lack of interest, or because, as suggested by Hocken (257-8), the letters were destroyed because of their disagreeable content, or as Bagnall (5795) suggested, Wakefield's dissipated and erratic condition overwhelmed his good intentions. The volume nevertheless, provides valuable and interesting information on the crucial early years of the colonisation scheme.

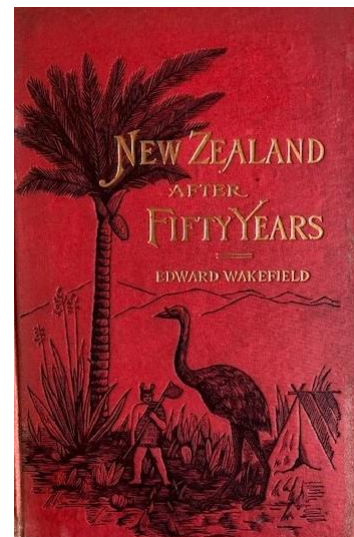
Edward Jerningham married Ellen Roe in 1863, she being about 20 years younger than him, and they had three daughters. They lived a high social life for a while, but eventually Wakefield lost everything, he encouraged Ellen and his daughters to leave to live with her brother in Palmerston North, and he eventually died in impoverished conditions in an old men's home, or half-way house, in Ashburton in 1879.

The Wakefields haven't quite finished. Edward Gibbon had 5 brothers, and the youngest, Felix (1807-1875), also emigrated with his family and settled them in Canterbury, already in conflict with his brother Edward Gibbon, Robert Godley and the Canterbury Association over land. He moved to Wellington, then Nelson, introducing red deer, to the great cost of the country, and after more turbulence returned to England for 10 years in 1854. He returned in 1864, bring skylarks, and eventually died in Sumner in 1875. His son Edward (1845-1924), however went on to become a journalist and through the 1870s and 80s held parliamentary seats, and for a brief time in 1884 was Colonial Secretary. In 1889, he published his book on the colony.

**Wakefield E.** *New Zealand after 50 years.* Cassell & Company New York. [1889] vi, [4], 224, index, [24] further information and adverts., map and illustrations. Bagnall W134, Hocken 401.

My copy is in the original red embossed boards illustrated a little crudely with a very large moa, a very large nikau, an uneasy Maori warrior, and a settler's tent.

The book is well illustrated with photographs and a folding map from the Government Survey Department. Wakefield says: '*A sketch of a country progressing as fast as New Zealand is, resembles a photograph of a horse at full gallop.....The purpose of the book is to give to all who wish to understand New Zealand, - the most remarkable, in many respects, of all colonies, - the means of forming a correct idea of what she is from what she has been, and of what she is destined to be from what she is.*' He covers the history, a description of the colony, geography, flora and fauna, Māori, settlers, trade and business, politics and laws, education, taxation and the future. It is an unremarkable but lively account.



## Adieu! Adieu! My native shore

### Fades o'er the waters blue;

*Marjoribanks A Travels in New Zealand. 1846*

On October 31, 1839, Alexander Marjoribanks, along with 18 other cabin, or cuddy, passengers, and emigrants in steerage, 89 adults and 33 children in all, set sail from Greenock, the port on the south bank of the Clyde, on the *Bengal Merchant*, the first shipload of Scottish emigrants for New Zealand.<sup>48</sup> Marjoribanks seemed to enjoy the voyage, but the steerage passengers were not so happy, resulting in a letter signed by 29 of them, dated 14 March, 1840, from Port Nicholson, complaining to the New Zealand Company about rations (itemised) being held back from them by the captain during the four and a half month voyage.<sup>49</sup> No such limitations were found by Marjoribanks in the cabin: *'we, who were in the cabin,...fared sumptuously every day; a circumstance highly creditable not only to the New Zealand Company, but to the liberal captain of the ship. In fact it may be said that we did little else but eat, drink and sleep during the voyage. We had four meals per day, and at dinner had always five or six dishes of fresh meat, with a carte blanche of claret and other wines, besides a dessert of fruit.'*<sup>50</sup> He carries on in the same slightly triumphant vein a little longer, numbering the pigs, sheep and head of poultry on board, seemingly unaware that his 'liberal captain' (John Hemery) was holding back food from the folks below. His comfort was increased by marrying 22-year-old Ann Forbes when off the coast of South America, on December 25<sup>51</sup>; presumably there was no shortage of food for the combined wedding feast and Christmas Day festivities. Ann Forbes is on the passenger list, unaccompanied, and not among the fellow cabin passengers listed by Marjoribanks. Did he know her before the voyage? Was she a servant of one of the cabin passengers? Did they meet on the voyage and within two months decided to marry? He makes no mention of his marriage in his book, but does say that there was a wedding during the voyage, and that there was dancing on the deck in the early part of the journey; perhaps that is all it takes. Other sources however, say he was unmarried<sup>52</sup>. He may have sired a son: *'Eight years after his death one Alexander Adam Marjoribanks, a blacksmith, married Margaret Potter in Edinburgh. The groom gave his father's name as "Alexander Marjoribanks, landed proprietor (deceased)' and his mother as Margaret Wight, neé Fraser, who seems to have been Alexander's housekeeper'*<sup>291</sup>.



*Balbardie House, the Marjoribanks' seat in West Lothian. Watercolour by the architect of the house, Robert Adam, in the 1790s.*

<sup>48</sup> **Brett, H.**, *White Wings. Vol II. Founding of the Provinces and Old-Time Shipping. Passenger Ships From 1840 To 1885.* Brett, Auckland, 1928. p. 22.

<sup>49</sup> New Zealand Company. New Zealand Company: Letter from steerage passengers on the *Bengal Merchant* to Samuel Revans. Ref: fMS-Papers-12194. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. [/records/37973543](https://records/37973543). Accessed 26 August 2022.

<sup>50</sup> **Marjoribanks A** *Travels in New Zealand, with a map of the country.* London: Smith, Elder and Co. MDCCCXLVI [1846]. pp. 14-15.

<sup>51</sup> <https://natlib.govt.nz/records/22372064>

<sup>52</sup> <http://marjorib.awardspace.co.uk/Jlssue2.html>



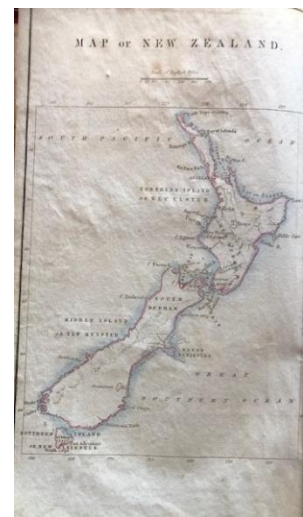
Alexander Marjoribanks (1792-1864) inherited Balbardie House<sup>53</sup> and its estate in 1830 and embarked on a life of travelling and writing. In his preface, Marjoribanks notes ‘*the great success that has attended my former publications...*’<sup>54</sup>. He appears to have written one on a tour of the Loire and the Vendée, published in 1835.<sup>55</sup> In 1839 he set sail for New Zealand as part of one of the first New Zealand Company enterprises, and sighted New Zealand on 10<sup>th</sup> February, 1840, eventually landing at Port Nicholson. He never stayed; there were issues with Company promises of land and conditions, although there is little information on his time in New Zealand. He travelled on to Sydney later in 1840, as he says at the beginning of his next book on New South Wales, published in 1847, two years after the New Zealand volume<sup>56</sup>.

**Marjoribanks A Travels in New Zealand, with a map of the country. London: Smith, Elder and Co. MDCCCXLVI [1846]. viii, [9]-174. Frontispiece map. Bagnall 3363, Hocken 128.**

My copy is in original red embossed cloth boards, with New Zealand 4/6 in gilt on the front cover. The hand-coloured map is a single page, not the folded map cited by Bagnall. Bought at a Bethune auction in 1998. It’s not too rare, but not often found in good condition.

The publication date of the book is a little strange, since as Bagnall (3363) points out, it was reviewed in *The New Zealander* in May 1845, and one issue sighted had the final roman ‘I’ crossed off to change 46 to 45. It went into a second edition. Understandingly, given his short time in the country, there is little that is first-hand, and most of the text is derived from other published accounts and observations, including that on the Wairoa massacre, descriptions of Port Nicholson, New Plymouth, Whanganui and Auckland, dinner for Governor Hobson (probably taken from a newspaper report), customs and manners of the natives, inevitably the *Boyd*, cannibalism and infanticide, the ‘*evils of surplus population*’, emigration and land claims, and murders. His style is discursive, even chatty, for the time, and you can see why he might have been encouraged to write similar works on New South Wales and the Americas. He bursts into unmemorable poetry several times, having warmed up by taking part in a poetry competition during the voyage.

The map has no visible origin, but labels the North Island as New Ulster, the South as Middle Island or New Munster, and unusually, the Wellington/Taranaki provincial region as North Durham and the top half of the South Island, South Durham. However, it is likely to have been drawn by Edward Main Chaffers in 1839 for the New



<sup>53</sup> Balbardie House near Bathgate, West Lothian, was the family estate of the Marjoribanks since the 17<sup>th</sup> C, and the house was built by Robert Adam for the family at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> C. It was demolished in the 1950s.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid. p. iii.

<sup>55</sup> **Marjoribanks, A.**, *Tour to the Loire and La Vendée, in 1835; interspersed with novel and interesting remarks, addressed to the judgement, not to the prejudices of mankind. By a country gentleman.* London, Effingham Wilson. 1835.

<sup>56</sup> **Marjoribanks, A.**, *Travels in New South Wales, by Alexander Marjoribanks.* London, Smith Elder & CO., 1847.

Zealand Company<sup>57</sup>. Chaffers was the captain of the *Tory* and the first harbourmaster of Port Nicholson. Durham refers to Lord Durham, leader of the New Zealand Company and New Zealand Association, associate and supporter of Wakefield, and proponent of settlement schemes in Canada and New Zealand.

The title page has a quotation from Joseph Montefiore's evidence given to the House of Lords Select Committee on New Zealand in 1844: "*In scenery, climate, and productiveness, New Zealand is a perfect paradise*". In his final chapter Marjoribanks enlarges on this and the irony turns to facetiousness, writing that Montefiore '*had the audacity to say [the above quote] in the ardour of his enthusiasm....*'. He suggests that it is a '*singular sort of paradise in all events – unlike what mankind in general look forward to*', one derived from standing on a mountain ridge and looking across to the next one without noticing the un-paradisal country in between<sup>58</sup>. He provides an Appendix with a description of an interview between Rauperaha (sic) and the Governor, and there is page of advertisements from the publisher Smith, Elder, heralding the next volumes of Marjoribank's travel accounts. For all its energy and chat, its lack of depth compared with the contemporary accounts of Terry, Brown and Brodie, and slightly haphazard content, the account is largely an objective one, and not one that the New Zealand Company might have hoped for from one of its first potential settlers; a settler who seems to have taken one look and decided to move on. The price of 4/6 was cheap compared with 28s for the contemporary two volumes of Edward Jerningham Wakefield published by Murray<sup>59</sup>, though the latter was more entertaining. The review in the Company *New Zealand Journal* appears to be in a bit of a quandary, as has been pointed out<sup>60</sup>, treading a line between concern that Marjoribanks may discourage potential settlers, and suggesting that better settlers might have been better prepared.

Marjoribanks notes that he lived in Sydney for two years, then headed to South America, taking a westward route, rounding the Cape of Good Hope and eventually landing in Bahia in Brazil<sup>61</sup>. He must have returned to England before sailing again to Boston from Liverpool in 1850, as noted in the dedication in the America travel book. He returned to England in 1852 after extensive travelling through Canada and the US and returned to his estate, dying there in 1864.

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<sup>57</sup><https://natlib.govt.nz/records/22917122?search%5Bi%5D%5Bdecade%5D=1830&search%5Bi%5D%5Bsubject%5D=Maps&search%5Bi%5D%5Byear%5D=1839&search%5Bpath%5D=items>

<sup>58</sup> Marjoribanks, A., op. cit. pp. 1667-168.

<sup>59</sup> Wevers, L., op. cit. p.138.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid. op. cit. pp. 130-132.

<sup>61</sup> Marjoribanks, A, Travels in South and north America. London, Simpkin, Marshall and Co., 1853. p.7

## Wanderings on the outskirts of civilisation

**Angas G.F.** *Savage life and scenes in Australia and New Zealand.* 1847

**Angas, G.F.** *The New Zealanders Illustrated.* 1847

**Angas, G.F.** *Polynesia.* 1866

In the mid-1840s, 'savage life' may not have been as savage as George French Angas described in his rather romantic view. Certainly not in New Zealand, and Angas, with his aim 'to describe faithfully impressions of savage life and scenes in countries only now emerging from a primitive state of barbarism...' <sup>62</sup> seems a little late on the scene. Angas (1822-1886) was born in England to a father, George Fife Angas, who in the late 1830s already had a hand in New Zealand's future, without ever visiting. He was instrumental in alerting the British Government to French threats to their south sea enterprises in trade and whaling. There is a chapter in an early biography of Angas <sup>63</sup> that outlines Angas' intervention in London with the Colonial Secretary Lord Glenelg, after representations to him (Angas) from Baron de Thierry's brother and Mr McDonnell who 'owned' land in the Hokianga, concerned with the fanciful intentions of de Thierry in proclaiming some sort of sovereignty. This was all part of the background to Hobson being sent out and the establishment of a British administration, keeping the French and Americans at bay, keeping the New Zealand Company under control, and the missionaries happy. 'The Government of this country [Britain] was not unmindful of the invaluable assistance of Mr Angas in saving New Zealand from the French...'. <sup>306</sup>

George Fife Angas was a banker who became a director of the South Australia Land Company in 1832, bought land there, helped establish a bank, and was instrumental in the colony developing without convicts. He didn't emigrate, however, until 1851, having sent out his second son, John Howard Angas, in 1843, to try to handle his troubled finances in South Australia and manage his land. <sup>64</sup>

George French Angas was George Fife's eldest son and he also sailed out to South Australia in 1843, though seemingly no charged with the management duties allotted to his younger brother John, arriving in Adelaide in January 1844, 3 months after John had arrived. George French became acquainted with George Grey and over the next couple of years and went on explorations with him. However, 6 months after arriving in Australia, he sailed on a South Australia Company Schooner bound for New Plymouth, but landed in Port Nicholson because of the weather. He travelled in the region, meeting Te Rauparaha, then sailed to Auckland, and travelled through the Waikato, Lake Taupo and the central plateau. He eventually returned to Auckland and left for Sydney in December 1844. All through his travels, he sketched, met eminent Māori, and wrote his journal, which became *Savage Life and Scenes*. In Sydney in 1845 he exhibited his watercolours of South Australia and New Zealand, left for England in 1845, and exhibited his work again there, publishing his account,



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<sup>62</sup> **Angas G.F.** *Savage life and scenes in Australia and New Zealand; Being an artist's impressions of countries and people at the Antipodes.* London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1847. pp. vii-viii.

<sup>63</sup> **Hodder E.** *George Fife Angas. Father and founder of South Australia.* London; Hodder & Stoughton, MDCCCXCL [1891]. pp. 196-224.

<sup>64</sup> 'Angas, George Fife (1789–1879)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/angas-george-fife-1707/text1855>, published first in hardcopy 1966, accessed online 31 August 2022.

and the celebrated volumes *South Australia Illustrated* and *The New Zealanders Illustrated*.<sup>65</sup>

**Angas, George French.** *Savage life and scenes in Australia and New Zealand; Being an artist's impressions of countries and people at the Antipodes.* London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1847. 2 vols. V.1 x, 339 pp, frontispiece, 10 plates, adverts; v.2 vii 280 pp, frontispiece, 11 plates, adverts. Bagnall 116, Hocken 131.

*My copy is in the original red embossed, decorated cloth boards, bought from AD in 2018. The book is surprisingly uncommon. At the back of Vol. 1 are several pages of Smith, Elder advertisements, for a range of books, including by Leigh Hunt, books on history and a couple on travel, but nothing on the New Zealand travel literature.*

The 2 volumes contain 21 illustrations, 10 in vol 1 and 11 in vol 2. Of these, 6 in vol 1, and that on the title page in vol 2 are engravings embodied in the text, the rest are full page plates. There are only 4 on New Zealand, two in each volume. These four are not included in *The New Zealanders Illustrated*. The *Scene in a New Zealand Forest near Waipa* in vol 1 has similarities with his *Scene in a New Zealand Forest near Porirua* in the later work, but includes Māori figures, dwarfed by the rather magnificent drawing of the forest, dominated by an enormous tree fern, tree trunks, epiphytes and vines. The portfolio plate seems tame in comparison. The other plate in Vol 1, *Entrance to the valley of the Wairau from Cloudy Bay, New Zealand* and *Pepepe, Church Missionary Station on the Waikato River, New Zealand* in Vol 2 are also unique to these volumes. The fourth plate in Vol 2, of *Volcano of Tongariro. From shore Roto-aire lake with Motupoi Pah, New Zealand* is a distant view from across the lake of the same pah shown in close detail in his portfolio print *Motupoi Pah and Roto-aire Lake/Tongariro in the distance*. The lithographers for the 2 volumes are the leading London chromolithograph printers Day & Haghe, whereas those in the portfolio, the engravings worked on stone, were Angas himself, the Scottish artist and lithographer J W Giles, and the husband and wife (though initially bigamously so) lithographers Benjamin Waterhouse and Frances Louisa Hawkins.

The remaining plates are of Australia, and the book follows Angas' travels, starting with the voyage out to South Australia, travels in that region, including those with George (Captain) Grey, then about half way through, sailing on to Cloudy Bay and the Wellington region. Volume 2 covers the travels in New Zealand, the Waikato, Auckland, the Bay of Islands, then back to Sydney and New South Wales. The last two plates in Vol 2 are of aboriginal carvings that he copied from caves near Sydney. He sails home round the Cape of



*Scenes in a New Zealand Forest, near Waipa. Angas, 1847, Vol. I, p. 245*

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<sup>65</sup> Moira M. Long. 'Angas, George French', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1a7/angas-george-french> (accessed 1 September 2022)

Good Hope, calling in at Brazil and landing at Dover on the 22 February, 1846. He dedicates the book to Captain George Grey, '....expressing the high esteem and admiration for the character of so able a naturalist, so enterprising a traveller, so gallant an officer, and so distinguished a legislator....', leaving little else for Grey to achieve. A second edition was issued in the same year, 1847.

Here is an artist, writing as 'a faithful describer of what struck the mind of an artist seeking to delineate the characteristic features of the countries and people.....'Writing as an artist, I have no pretensions to literary skill..' He doesn't need the latter; he uses words almost as well as his pencil. Here he is near the end of the voyage out: 'It is saturday night, and we are drawing near to our destined port. All is gay, and somehow everyone appears in good spirits; flutes are sounding on the quarter-deck, and the sailors are dancing on the forecastle; the poor German is blowing his French horn, exalted high on the top of the long boat, and the children are playing at horses up and



*Pepe, Church missionary station. On the Waikato River, New Zealand.  
Angas, 1847, Vol. II, p. 37.*

down the deck, in the clear cold twilight.'<sup>66</sup> His writing is equally lively through his account of his travels on land, and he repeatedly shows his artist's eye when meeting and describing people.

Angas only spent from July until September in Sydney on his return from New Zealand, exhibiting his sketches and raising subscriptions for his two proposed folio volumes. He arrived in England in February, 1846, and exhibited his pictures in the Egyptian Hall in Piccadilly (Hocken 129). Over the ensuing year, he published not only *Savage Scenes*, but the two great folios of coloured lithographs of South Australia and New Zealand.<sup>67</sup>

**Angas, George French**, *The New Zealanders Illustrated*. Thomas McLean, London, 1847. Frontispiece, preface, 60 coloured plates with descriptive letterpress. Folio. Bagnall 114, Hocken 129.

<sup>66</sup> Angas, G.F., op. cit. vol 1, p. 35.

<sup>67</sup> 'Angas, George Fife (1789–1879)', Australian Dictionary of Biography. Op. cit.

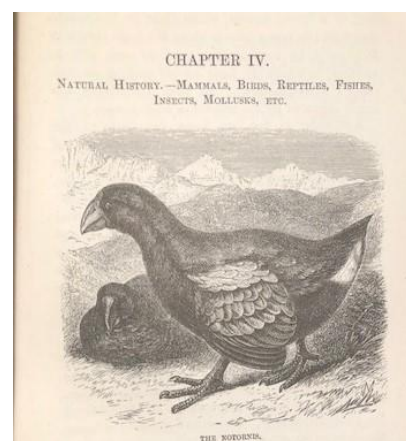
The book was first issued in 10 parts, part 1 in 1846, and the remainder in 1847, with 188 subscribers paying 1 guinea each. Bagnall writes that it is probable that at least 250 copies were issued, and both he and Hocken provide full descriptions of the publication details, and the full list of plates is given in Ellis<sup>68</sup>. To some extent *Savage Scenes* provides a commentary to the pictures. The plates cover people, scenery and Māori domesticity, and have become iconic in the history of European travel and observation in the emerging colonies. Various numbers of the plates have turned up in other publications, including Selwyn's *Annals of the Diocese of New Zealand*, and a facsimile reproduction was published in 1966 by AH and AW Reed.

Angas was not shy of more travel, and visited South Africa, the result being another great folio work, *The Kaffirs Illustrated*, published in 1849. Before marrying Alicia Moran and returning to Australia in 1850, still only 28 years old, he had an illness-shortened appointment as naturalist to the Turko-Persian Boundary Commission. In Australia, he published (with lithographs) on the goldfields in 1851, and was appointed secretary to the Australia Museum in Sydney from 1853 until 1860, attesting to his recognition as a naturalist. He returned to England in 1863, contributed to the Zoological and Linnean Societies, and died there in 1886. Among other works that he published in this latter part of his life, there was the third book that refers to New Zealand.

**Angas, G.F.** *Polynesia: A popular description of the physical features, inhabitants, natural history, and productions of the Islands of the Pacific. With an account of their discovery, and of the progress of civilization and christianity amongst them.* London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. [1866].xxii, 436 pp, folding map, 6 plates, illustrations. Bagnall 115, Hocken 241.

My copy is the 1<sup>st</sup> edition in original decorated blue cloth boards. The front board has a gilt illustration, a copy of the engraving of a whare that appears in the book in the New Zealand section. Bought in 1990 from a Wellington dealer, no longer extant.

This is a Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge publication. The coloured frontispiece map is a Society publication, comprehensively showing the Pacific in great detail from New Guinea in the West across to Easter Island in the far east, with insets of the Sandwich Islands, Tonga-tabu, Fiji, Tahiti and New Caledonia. There are no plates of New Zealand, but three engravings, one of a whare (also on the front cover in gilt), one of Mt Cook, and the other of a very bottom-heavy takahe. He says that a single living example of this was taken by some sealers, and eventually eaten, in Dusky Bay a few years ago, and indeed it was rediscovered, briefly, this way,<sup>69</sup> and he describes it. It is



*The Notornis.* Angas, 1866, p. 54.

<sup>68</sup> Ellis EM & DG., op. cit. pp. 115-121.

<sup>69</sup> Mantell, Gideon Algernon (2010). "V. Notice of the Discovery by Mr. Walter Mantellin the Middle Island of New Zealand, of a Living Specimen of the Notornis, a Bird of the Rail Family, allied to Brachypteryx, and

not clear where the engraving comes from, but the two birds in the picture are almost identical to those painted by John Gould in 1851, although they face the opposite direction. The background landscape differs as well.

Among the 23 chapters, there are 3 specifically on New Zealand – New Zealand the North Island, New Zealand the Middle Island, and The New Zealanders, plus information on plants and animals and on the state of the church in New Zealand elsewhere. The information is drawn from a variety of sources, including his own, Dieffenbach, Owen on the moa, and much from accounts of the Pacific Islands, which he never visited in his travels.

## Clearing up some of the doubts and difficulties connected with the Colony

**Brees, S. C.** *Pictorial Illustrations of New Zealand.* 1847

**Brees, S. C.** *Guide and description of the panorama of New Zealand.* 1849

Samuel Brees was not the only visitor to spend only a couple of years in the new colony, but he left a handprint as powerful as many of the written accounts of his itinerant contemporaries. The result was another great illustrated book of 1847. Brees (c1810-1865) trained as an architect, surveyor and engineer, publishing, as noted on the title page of his book, on railway engineering and surveying. He also painted, exhibiting at the Royal Academy<sup>70,71</sup>. In 1841 he signed up with the New Zealand Company as a surveyor, and arrived at Port Nicholson on 9 February, 1842, with his wife and three children. They arrived on the Company ship the *Brougham*, the same ship that George Duppa in the previous year was on when he drew his view of the New Plymouth settlement from off shore in October 1842. That view was engraved by Thomas Allom and is a plate in Petre's book: *An account of the settlements of the New Zealand Company* of 1841.



With Brees was Henry Stokes Tiffen, contracted as his assistant surveyor, who went on to become a Land Commissioner and prominent landowner in the Hawkes Bay<sup>72</sup>, and another assistant, Arthur Whitehead, who worked in the Wellington region before returning in 1845<sup>73</sup>. Brees took over from the Company's first surveyor-general William Mein Smith, a South African who arrived in 1839, working in that role until Brees took over<sup>74</sup>. Mein Smith himself left drawings and lithographs, the one of Wellington harbour being used (plate IV) in EJ Wakefield's *Illustrations* for his *Adventure in New Zealand*.

Brees worked in the Wellington, Manawatu, Whanganui and Wairarapa regions through to August 1844, when his contract was not renewed by the financially constrained Company, something not uncommon amongst New Zealand Company employees, including other surveyors such as Charles Heaphy. His termination was probably not helped by the fact that he was widely disliked, including by Col. Wakefield. 'As vulgar as any labourer....he will do as little work as he can, and is bad tempered and hated by all who are about him.'<sup>75</sup> He used the time up to May 1845 to draw and sketch, then he sailed back to England with his family and a folio of art ready for the engraver. The Company eventually waived their rights to his sketches (their ownership of all his work had been part of his contract), and publication of his portfolio was much anticipated<sup>317</sup>.

**Brees, S. C.** *Pictorial Illustrations of New Zealand.* London, John Williams and Co., 1847. pp. [6], 36, 62 engravings on 20 leaves, 1 double plate, 2 folding maps. Bagnall 641, Hocken 131.

<sup>70</sup> **Marian Minson.** 'Brees, Samuel Charles', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1b31/brees-samuel-charles> (accessed 21 September 2022)

<sup>71</sup> **Curnow, H.M., Murray-Oliver, A A St C M,** S C Brees, artist and surveyor. Turnbull Library Records (new series) vol. 1, No. 4, pp. 48-52.

<sup>72</sup> **St George, I.,** Henry Stokes Tiffen, Surveyor, Farmer, Developer, Winemaker. pp 106. <https://onadmiralroad.co.nz/henry-stokes-tiffen/> Accessed 21 September 2022.

<sup>73</sup> <https://natlib.govt.nz/records/22403125> Accessed 21 September 2022

<sup>74</sup> **Rees, EM & DG.,** op. cit. pp. 88-89.

<sup>75</sup> **Curnow, H.M., Murray-Oliver, A St C M,** op. cit.



The publication history is a little tortuous, though only over about 3 years. Some seven variants were issued outlined by Bagnall (641-647), based on a paper from the Turnbull Library<sup>317</sup>. There were four issues in 1847. The first was the Royal Folio edition (51 cm), and according to Bagnall (641) advertised by Brees as a Large Paper Proof. A 'standard edition' was also issued, large or Royal quarto, both these issues have the maps, and plates placed before or after the text. A third issue had plates interleaved and no maps, and a fourth without text or maps. In 1848 there were three editions, with plates interleaved or after the text and no maps, and in 1849 there was a further issue with interleaved plates and no maps, though apparently some copies have the maps bound in.

The edition described here, lent by AD, is the 1849 Royal Quarto edition, with decorated red boards, plates interleaved and no maps. This has the original title page of 1847 bound in before the 1849 unillustrated title page. There is a Preface (pp. 3-4), where Brees thanks his engraver Henry Melville, including his son Mr Harden Sydney Melville for '*drawing several of the figures introduced in the subjects.*' Then an Introduction (pp. 5-6), explaining the author's intentions in describing the scenes in the plates '*nothing more than a short description...interspersed with anecdotes of the Natives and Life in the Bush, principally from a desire of avoiding the many controversies connected with the management of the Colony...*' (p.5). And once again (e.g. see Power, q.v.), the natives are such a problem '*If there were no Natives, or they were reduced to a thorough state of submission to our laws, so that the Colonists could rest perfectly assured of their security the country might be settled from each port as a nucleus;...*' (p.6). Brees provides a broad description of the geography and colonisation, before the texts describing each plate.



*Mr Brees cottage, Karori Road. Brees, 1847.*

The scenes are of the Wellington, Port Nicholson, Whanganui and Manawatu areas, with the expansive landscapes particularly evocative, any figures in the landscape particularly of interest given the account of his poor handling of them and the intervention by Melville junior. The steel engravings were carried out by Henry Melville and there seems

to be a general opinion that this was a case of the *'engraver altering original drawings – in this case decidedly for the better.'* (Ellis p. 121.) There was particular criticism of the figures that he drew, their disproportion pointed out at the time by Charles Hursthouse amongst others<sup>314</sup>. The criticism of his art continues: *'...Samuel Brees's works are characterised by flatness and lack of clarity...'*<sup>76</sup>

During the first half of the 19th Century, panoramas were greatly popular with the London public. There was a very popular exhibition room, The Rotunda, in Leicester Square, built by the artist Robert Barker in 1789 to show his panoramic paintings. This continued to operate through to the 1860s, in the later years run by the artist Robert Burford, noted for his panoramas, which included one of the Bay of Islands based on Earle's drawings. This was also published in pamphlet form in 1838 and 1840<sup>77</sup>. It was also in Leicester Square, Miss Linwood's Gallery at No. 6, that Brees exhibited his Wellington panorama opening on 24 December 1849, through to 1851<sup>78</sup>. This was assembled from his sketches, and Brees published a guide to the whole, with plates and map. Further, Brees attended the rooms every day at 12 noon to give out information on New Zealand and the prospects for new settlers, and doubtless to hawk both the *Pictorial Illustrations* and the *Guide*.

**Brees, Samuel Charles.** *Guide and description of the Panorama of New Zealand: illustrating the country, habits of the colonists, public buildings, houses, farms, and clearings, customs of the natives, Pa's, habitations, canoes, etc., and life in the colony and in the bush.* London, Saville & Edwards, [1849]. 32 pp, 54 plates, map, yellow paper covers. Bagnall 639, Hocken 142.

A shortened version of the guide was also published in the same year, containing a single plate and adverts. The guide is most uncommon, and adds little to the earlier publication. The panorama itself was painted by artists under the supervision of Brees, was reviewed in the Times, and praised for its presumed accuracy, put down to the originator being a surveyor by trade. Edward Jerminham Wakefield reportedly broke into tears when seeing it, though whether from nostalgia or dismay at the poverty of the representation of human figures we don't know. As mentioned, these were singled out by Charles Hursthouse after his viewing, and in more reviews and letters in the *New Zealand Journal*, where it was suggested that the *'Brobdignagian proportions of the natives'* and their ferocity would put prospective women colonists off<sup>321</sup>. Brees must have long regretted ever having drawn human figures, and it might help explain his longing for a New Zealand without its troublesome natives.

Brees continued practising surveying, visited Australia in 1851, and in that same year published what has been described as *'his very rare, almost nostalgically presented, epitaph to his antipodean experiences.'*<sup>321</sup>

**Brees, S C.** *A Key to the colonies; or, Advice to the million upon emigration; for the use of all classes....* London, J Carrall, 1851. [i], 89 pp, [17 pp adverts], grey paper covers. Bagnall 640.

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<sup>76</sup> Marion Minson op. cit.

<sup>77</sup> Burford, Robert. Description of a view of the Bay of Islands, New Zealand, and the surrounding country; now exhibiting at the Panorama, Leicester Square. Painted by the proprietor, Robert Burford, from drawings taken by Augustus Earle. London, G. Nichols, [c. 1838]. There was a second issue from New York in 1840, where the panorama was also exhibited. Bagnall 771, 772.

<sup>78</sup> Curnow, H.M., Murray-Oliver, A A St C M, op. cit.

This book takes a wider view of British colonies along with sections on New Zealand, and appendices with testimonials, he presumably felt he needed to reiterate his credentials, and a positive *Times* review of his panorama. Brees died not long after, just before leaving his ship, on returning to England in 1865. We have no more of his memories, his diaries were all destroyed by his niece.

## We propose that an Episcopal See be established at the seat of Government in New Zealand

[Selwyn, G.A.] *Annals of the Diocese of New Zealand*. 1847

Selwyn, G.A. *New Zealand*. 1847

Selwyn, G.A. *Letters from the Bishop of New Zealand and Governor Grey*. 1847

Tucker, Rev H.W. *Memoir of the Life and Episcopate of George Augustus Selwyn*. 1879

You don't become the first Bishop of New Zealand without having good contacts and being in the right places. George Augustus Selwyn (1809-1878), after graduating from Cambridge, became an assistant master at Eton, was ordained a priest in 1834, made a Fellow of St Johns at Cambridge, and curate at St Johns at Windsor. He must have had more skills and associations than your normal curate, since in 1841, he was



invited at age 32 to go out to New Zealand as the first Bishop. He had married Sarah Richardson, daughter of a Judge, in 1839, and had been noticed, apparently for his organising activities and energy, by the church hierarchy. The bishopric was first offered to his older brother, Canon William Selwyn, who declined it<sup>79</sup>. George was offered the appointment a week later, and consecrated by a bevy of Bishops on 17 October 1841. Oxford and Cambridge awarded him Doctors of Divinity, and he was on his way. Good going for a 32-year-old, and his youth was no impediment: *'Knowing to Whose ministry I am called, and upon Whose strength alone I can rest my hopes, I cannot suffer the thought of my youth and inexperience to have more than their due weight'* he says in a letter accepting the appointment from the Bishop of London<sup>80</sup>.

It wasn't all plain sailing; there was some delay in Government approval. The Melbourne ministry gave way to the second Peel administration in 1841 and there was a delay with the transfer of responsibilities for the Colonial Office to Lord Stanley. And there were whispers that the real cause of the delay was a doubt that had been entertained both by the previous and the present government, whether Mr Selwyn was fit for the position. *"...he had been writing some very bigoted articles in the Quarterly Review about Roman Catholics, and especially about the Jesuits, and the Lord John Russell had done quite right in not appointing a Fire-eater....* but it appears it that it was a fellow called Sewell, (ironically to have a New Zealand connection<sup>81</sup>), not Selwyn who had written the articles. *'Oh, if that's the case, it is a very different thing.'*<sup>82</sup> Well, it's a good story, and Selwyn was on his way, sailing with his wife Sarah, small son, five clergymen and three catechists and sundry attachments, in December

<sup>79</sup> Warren E. Limbrick. 'Selwyn, George Augustus', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1s5/selwyn-george-augustus> (accessed 9 September 2022)

<sup>80</sup> Tucker, Rev H.W. *Memoir of the Life and Episcopate of George Augustus Selwyn D.D. Bishop of New Zealand 1841-1869; Bishop of Lichfield 1867-1878*. M.A. London. William Wells Gardner. 1879. Vol p1, p.65

<sup>81</sup> This was William Sewell (1804-1874), a prominent high church theologian. His brother Henry emigrated to New Zealand and became the first Premier, holding office for 13 days in May, 1856.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid. pp.70-71.

of that year, on the *Tomatin*<sup>83</sup>, reaching Sydney in April 1842, and then in the *Bristolian* on to New Zealand, where he landed on May 30.

Selwyn established himself first at Waimate, and within 10 days took off for a six-month visitation by land and sea, through existing settlements and missions. But after about 18 months he moved to Auckland, dissatisfied with the CMS and the difficulties of drawing the missionaries under a single episcopal authority. He got involved with George Grey in the controversies over missionary and land purchases, held synods in 1844 and 1847, and over the 1840s worked towards a unified Anglican New Zealand church. Selwyn was largely supported by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel with annual grants, to the tune of about £7000 over 10 years, to fund clergy and their activities. To this end he was separate from the CMS and its missionaries, and differences over authority, and particularly over the latter's land purchases, were inevitable<sup>84</sup>. "In carrying out the various plans which I have felt to be necessary for the establishment of a sound church system in this country, I have been continually reminded of the confidence reposed in me...." he says in a letter, writing with customary vigour, on his mission and the problems to be overcome<sup>85</sup>.

Bagnall gives 61 printed items under Selwyn in his bibliography, including books, pamphlets, letters, particularly pastoral letters to the diocese, and sermons printed variously by a number of different English publishers, and the St John's College Press in Auckland. The first was a pamphlet written in England in 1838, titled 'Are Cathedral institutions useless?' Amongst all these there are really only two substantial books, published in 1844 and 1847 in London, and both issued by missionary-directed societies, the Society for the Promotion of the Gospel, and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Neither were written directly by Selwyn, but rather are compilations of letters and narratives.



*The ship Tomatin, sketched by Caroline Palmer, cousin of Sarah Selwyn, later Caroline Abraham, wife of Charles Abraham, chaplain of St Johns College in Auckland and later Bishop of Wellington. Caroline Abraham is noted for a number of sketches of early Auckland.*

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<sup>83</sup> The *Tomatin*, built in 1839, made several voyages between Britain and Australia, eventually being wrecked off the Gippsland Coast in 1865. Selwyn sailed to New Zealand on the brig *Bristolian* and his wife and entourage following on the slower *Tomatin* a little later. The sketch by Caroline Abraham is among the Selwyn letters held by Selwyn College, Cambridge.

<sup>84</sup>United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Records, 1718-1952.

[https://www.nla.gov.au/sites/default/files/blogs/m\\_1201-1335\\_etc\\_united\\_society\\_for\\_the\\_propagation\\_of\\_the\\_gospel.pdf](https://www.nla.gov.au/sites/default/files/blogs/m_1201-1335_etc_united_society_for_the_propagation_of_the_gospel.pdf). Accessed 11 September 2022.

<sup>85</sup> Selwyn, G.A. New Zealand. Part 1. Letters from the Bishop to the Society for the propagation of the Gospel, together with extracts from his Visitation journal, from July 1842 to January 1843. Third Edition. London: Printed for The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel: Rivingtons, Burns, Hatchard and Sharpe. 1847. Part I, pp 34-35.

**Selwyn, G.A.** *New Zealand. Part 1. Letters from the Bishop to the Society for the propagation of the Gospel, together with extracts from his Visitation journal, from July 1842 to January 1843. Third Edition. London: Printed for The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel: Sold by Rivingtons, Burns, Hatchard and Sharpe. 1847. [iii]-x, [11]-111. The 5 parts bound with folding map. Bagnall 5088.*

My copy is the third edition, bound in the original purple embossed cloth, and seems to be the most prevalent available, although not common in itself. Bought from AD in the mid-1990s.

The material in this book was first issued as parts of a series *Church in the Colonies*, which also included parts on Canada and Australia. The first bound volume was published by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1844, a second edition in 1845 and this third one in 1847, although as in Bagnall and described below, dates on the original parts differ. There are few apparent differences across the three editions. There are no illustrations, but a folding map is included as a frontispiece, drawn and engraved by J Archer<sup>86</sup>. It shows the three islands, still labelled North or New Ulster, Middle or New Munster, and New Leinster or South Isle. It is labelled Diocese of New Zealand, with the Bishop's crest. The author of the preface to Part I notes that the map was drawn before accurate information of some of the geography of New Zealand had been obtained. This preface is by C.B.D, which stands for the Rev Charles. B. Dalton, chaplain to the Bishop of London at Fulham palace, and who presumably had a role in assembling the publication.



*Selwyn in later life, frontispiece of a Sketch of his Life by G H Curteis, 1878.*

Part I (pp. x, 111) includes letters from Selwyn with extracts from his visitation journal from July 1842 to January 1843. He travels south to Nelson then visits many parts of the North Island, including the missions of Hadfield at Waikanae and the Rotorua and Waikato regions and Maunsell at Waipa. Part II (pp. iv, 64) is *Church in the Colonies No. VII*, and includes more of his journey, covering August to December 1843, Auckland to Rotorua, Taupo and Taranaki, prefaced with an extract from the Bishop to a friend in England. It is also dated 1847, the third edition. Part III (pp. 1-48), *Church in the Colonies No. VIII*, continues with the journal from December 1843 to March 1844, including his visit to the South Island; Part IV (pp. 1-40), *Church in the Colonies No. XII*, is a letter to the Society with an 'Account of an affray between the Settlers and the Natives at Kororareka', given as the second edition; Part V (pp. 1-136), *Church in the Colonies No. XX*, includes Selwyn's journal for 1848 with a visit to the Chatham Islands. It is dated 1851, which must mean that the overall volume was assembled at least in that year, not 1847 as is usually given in bibliographies as the whole book's publication date. Each part concludes with an appeal for funds for the Diocese and St John's College, with lists of contributions, from 10 shillings up to £100 (over \$NZ6000).

The journal parts are well worth reading. His first 6 months' visitation of most of the North Island is covered in Part I. Lively, always positive and spirited; the Bishop is always in command, whether of his own ship, or walking or on horseback, teaching, opening schools,

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<sup>86</sup> Likely to be John Wykeham Archer (1908-1864), a noted artist and engraver working in London at the time.

selecting sites for cemeteries, preaching, baptising, gathering and educating people, organising; those skills noted in England within the confines of the church organisation, now set loose and flowing freely across the land. And the skills included cooking up a treat for the men. *'The men being very tired, I made them my usual restorative, which I call 'rongoa' (medicine), as it is inconsistent with native etiquette for a Chief to prepare food. My Rongoa is made thus – Boil a large kettle of water: in a separate pan, mix half a pound of chocolate beaten fine, two pounds of flour, and half a pound of sugar; mix to a thin paste, and pour it into the water when boiling; stir till the mess thickens. This is a most popular prescription with the natives, as you might judge from the ingredients, and very nourishing and warm for men who have to sleep out at night in a damp climate.'*<sup>87</sup> He might have been a bit annoying to work with sometimes, but he always seemed to get things done, and who wouldn't want the hot chocolate (or a tent). Throughout he uses a map from the British cartographer James Wyld (there was one published in 1841 based on Admiralty surveys and New Zealand Company information), and consistently notes how it is inaccurate.

We come across some of the same letter and journal material, though abridged and edited, in the *Annals* published in 1847.

**[Selwyn, G.A.]** *Annals of the Diocese of New Zealand*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. 1847. x, 247 pp., illustrations, map and folding map. Bagnall 5060, Hocken 136.

My copy is in the original purple embossed cloth, re-cased, plain cloth spine, unfortunately this latter repair, though sturdy, is particularly unsightly. Bought from a Wellington dealer in 1992.

This was published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge as one of the series of *'Annals of the Colonial Church'*, with the *'aim of the Editors to present, in a short but comprehensive form, a connected account of the progress of Christianity in New Zealand, from its introduction in 1814 to the date of the latest intelligence of the colony.'*<sup>88</sup> It was edited by Selwyn's younger brother, the prominent lawyer and politician Sir Charles Jasper Selwyn<sup>89</sup> and Laetitia Frances Selwyn. Bagnall (5060) says that this was Selwyn's mother, but she died in 1842. He had a sister of the same name born in 1807, and it is more likely that the companion editor was the sister. The text is made up of an account of the early years from Marsden onwards, then abridged versions of the letters and journal from Selwyn already published. There are appendices on the New Zealand Diocese, St John's, the Bishop's tour itinerary, and a piece on trees and plants, based on the work of Alan Cunningham, accessed through Sir William Hooker, Director of Kew Gardens, whom the editors thank for his revision.

The book was clearly designed to be an attractive production as well as useful. There are a number of plates and illustrations, and a folding map. The map is the same as in *New Zealand*. The plates include a frontispiece of the *'Landing of the Rev. S. Marsden in New Zealand, Dec. 19, 1814'*, a print of the wood engraving by Samuel Williams, with J W Whimper's name on it as well, Whimper (Whymper) also being a wood engraver. The origin of this print is currently unknown. The other 9 plates are all engraved by Whimper from

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<sup>87</sup> Selwyn, G.A. *New Zealand*. Op. cit. pp 79-80.

<sup>88</sup> [Selwyn, G.A.] *Annals of the Diocese of New Zealand*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. 1847 Preface.

<sup>89</sup> Charles Jasper Selwyn followed a prosperous career in the law and politics, ending up a Lord Justice of Appeal and a Privy Councillor.

Angas, some true to the original and others less so. They include scenes, villages and buildings, and Māori chiefs such as Paratene, Hone Heke and Nene. A number of small illustrations throughout the work come from Angas and other unknown sources. Strangely, Ellis and Bagnall only cite three plates, including the frontispiece, and Hocken doesn't bother to count them. Bagnall also cites two maps, one folding, but Hocken only one as in the present copy. This suggests perhaps a couple of different issues; Bagnall gives two but doesn't say if they differ. Given



*Land of the Rev. S. Marsden in New Zealand, December 19, 1814. Selwyn, 1847, frontispiece.*

that the work is largely an abridgement of *New Zealand*, there is not a lot to say about it. It has an Introduction and first chapter outlining the early history of New Zealand, and then the editors note that *'it would far exceed the limits of this little work, to detail minutely the operations of the missionaries...'* and *'we shall therefore, only briefly narrate the events which preceded the colonisation of the islands, and subsequent establishment of the diocese of New Zealand'*.<sup>90</sup> Every now and again, as in most of the works written by missionaries and churchmen, there appears the spectre of Popery. The Catholic Bishop Pompallier had landed in the Hokianga in 1838, had established some 15 or more missions across the country by 1843, was a controversial presence at the Treaty signing, and along with his protestant brethren, managed to confuse many of their converts with contradictory and ambiguous Christian teachings. Such confusions seemed, however, to end in the Protestant's favour. *'The exertions of the Romish bishop and his clergy have consequently been attended with little success...'*<sup>91</sup>

In 1851, we briefly see Selwyn visiting Canterbury, where he was much admired by the Godleys, particularly when compared with their new clergyman in the unwelcome form of Mr Jackson *'a little fussy upstanding man, whose very bow and style of greeting, tone, manner, words, all have on them the very stamp of humbug (if I may make free of this gentlemanlike expression) and forbid the idea of considering him what I have been used to call a gentleman.'*<sup>92</sup> Whereas of Selwyn: *'...he is so evidently quite a first-rate man, and so untiring and earnest in his calling, that you look at him almost with wonder, and always with pleasure; he has such a very fine head, and regular features,'*....although in the end we are all flawed.. *'No one is quite perfect, and with grief I must own that one of the Bishop's eyes is not quite so lively as the other; it is scarcely a cast, far less anything of a squint, but a slight want of unanimity that just mars the perfect benignity of his expression; and it is the greater pity, because they are such very good eyes.'*<sup>93</sup>

Selwyn returned briefly to England in 1854-55, and in 1857, held the seminal constitutional conference in Auckland, establishing the Church of the Province of New Zealand, with all its structure, doctrines and sacraments. In 1859 there was a General Synod held in Wellington, with Selwyn now metropolitan presiding over five other bishops. These included his long-time friend and associates such as Charles Abraham, whose artist wife

<sup>90</sup> [Selwyn, G.A.] *Annals of the Diocese of New Zealand*. Op cit. p. 15.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.* pp 22-23.

<sup>92</sup> Godley, C., op. cit. p. 162.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 154-155.



Caroline was Sarah Selwyn's cousin. The closeness of these people, in this case including Sir William Martin, the first Chief Justice, who accompanied Selwyn on his first 6 month visitation tour, can be seen in some of the publications. In 1853, and again in 1861, George and Sarah Selwyn, Charles and Caroline Abraham, Sir William and Lady Martin, all contributed to publications of extracts of their letters on New Zealand matters, including opposition to the New Zealand Wars and Grey's policies<sup>94</sup>.



*From left, Caroline Abraham, Mary Martin and Sarah Selwyn. Auckland, c. 1850-60s. Alexander Turnbull Library, Charles Abraham Collection  
Reference: PAColl-10135-3*

The Bishop continued, over the some 15 years of his stay, to be an advocate for Māori, and a strong critic of settler excesses in land purchases. However, he supported the war in the Waikato, and both he and the Church suffered somewhat from this rather unthinking stance. He attended the Lambeth Conference in London in 1867 and was offered the See of Lichfield which he accepted, returning there in 1868. His last communicant in New Zealand was the great Ngāti Hao chief Patuone, the subject of a later book by Charles Davis, published in 1876.<sup>95</sup> He died in Lichfield in 1878. Charles and Caroline Abraham also returned to England in 1868, Charles serving under Selwyn at Lichfield for 10 years, and then the old friends Abraham, William Martin and Edmund Hobhouse, previously Bishop of

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<sup>94</sup> Extracts from New Zealand letters during the years 1851-2. Williams, 1853 (Bagnall 1847); Extracts of letters from New Zealand on the war question; with an article from the *New Zealand Spectator*, of November 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1860; and a copy of the Native Offender's Bill. Printed for Private Circulation. London. 1862 (Bagnall 1849).

<sup>95</sup> Warren E. Limbrick. 'Selwyn, George Augustus', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1s5/selwyn-george-augustus> (accessed 15 September 2022)

Nelson, got together after Selwyn's death and helped establish Selwyn College at Cambridge.

While there is no shortage of books and material written on Selwyn, one is included here since it was a life written at the request of his family, who provided the Rev Tucker with written source material.

**Tucker, Rev H.W.** *Memoir of the Life and Episcopate of George Augustus Selwyn D.D. Bishop of New Zealand 1841-1869; Bishop of Lichfield 1867-1878.* By the Rev. H.W.Tucker, M.A. In two volumes – Volume 1. London. William Wells Gardner. 1879. Vol. 1. xii, 399 pp, portrait frontispiece, facsimile letter, 2 maps; Vol 2. vi, 393 pp, portrait frontispiece, fold-out conspectus of creeds, engraving. Bagnall 5644, Hocken 324.

*My copy was bought from one of those bookshops still operating in Tottenham Court Rd in 2019. It is in original brown cloth, with embossed covers with gilt, gilt on spine. I doubt if I will ever read it right through though.*

Henry Tucker (1830-1902) was prebendary of St Pauls and Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel from 1879 to 1901, and with a few religious works and memoirs under his belt. He had no first-hand knowledge of New Zealand, and makes very clear that the work is very much a compilation. In the Preface he already admits to failure: quoting Selwyn's response to a question about how to write a great man's life (though presumably not posed by Tucker since he doesn't appear to have met Selwyn) '*Tell first all my faults, and then tell whatever the grace of God has enabled me to do on spite of them.*' Tucker goes on to say that he '*failed to comply with both of these conditions: indeed I have not attempted to do so.*'<sup>96</sup> Although now much out-dated, the two volumes do have a wealth of material in letters and accounts.

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<sup>96</sup> **Tucker, Rev H.W.** *Memoir of the Life and Episcopate of George Augustus Selwyn D.D. Bishop of New Zealand 1841-1869; Bishop of Lichfield 1867-1878.* By the Rev. H.W.Tucker, M.A. London. William Wells Gardner. 1879. P. vii.

**We simply deny to any Nation the right, on the plea of discovery, to seize upon another country which, at the moment of its being discovered, is already inhabited.**

*Chamerovzow, L.A. The New Zealand question and the rights of the aborigines. 1848*

Sometimes it seems that the most potent anti-slavery or aborigines' protection activists were those who stayed at home and got on with the job. We don't know enough about Louis Alexis Chamerovzow (1816-1875) to know how much he travelled, though he never came out to New Zealand. His life remains largely a biographical mystery. However, we do know that he was appointed secretary to succeed John Scobel, the founding secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. The appointment was firstly for 6 months in 1852, and then a permanent position from 1853 until he resigned in 1869.<sup>97</sup> This society had evolved from the earlier Anti-Slavery Society, after some reassessment of efforts following the abolition of slavery by the British parliament in 1833. He was also assistant secretary of the Aborigines Protection Society, for a period from 1847. He is particularly noted for editing the memoirs of John Brown, a fugitive slave who arrived in England in 1850 and contacted the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, eventually dictating his memoirs<sup>98</sup> to Chamerovzow, which were published in 1855. What prompted the book on New Zealand is not clear.

**Chamerovzow, L.A.** *The New Zealand question and the rights of the aborigines.* London: T. C Newby. 1848. vi, 418 pp, Appendix iv, 53 pp; Appendix B 16pp. 8vo. Bagnall 1034, Hocken 137

This is no pamphlet, but a 400-page discourse on colonisation and the treatment of indigenous people, and he writes as the Assistant Secretary of the Aborigines' Protection Society, from Camberwell. In the Preface<sup>99</sup> he takes a rather legalistic view: *'The following Pages are sent forth with a view of calling Public attention to the present state of New Zealand, and are addressed to all who feel an interest in the subject of Colonization, and who believe in the importance of urging upon the Legislature the necessity of immediately adopting a more systematic, a less exclusive, and a more economical policy,'* which is maintained through the coverage of early history, the Treaty, land rights, and governance. While there is no clear assertion of the need for the book, perhaps it comes clear in an extended sentence in the Introduction: *'The relations of Great Britain with the Islands of New Zealand, are unprecedented in the annals of Colonization, inasmuch as her acquisition of the country was peculiar and specific; and this fact renders the position of Settlers there and of Emigrants proceeding thither, both complicated and singular, they being brought into contact with an intelligent, enlightened, and ambitious native Race, who standing dispossessed of the Sovereignty of their own country, claim extensive and exclusive proprietary rights of which they are*



<sup>97</sup> Ruchames, L. *The Letters of William Garrison Vol IV.* Harvard University Press, 1975. p. 310 (footnote 1)

<sup>98</sup> Brown, John; Chamerovzow, L. A. (ed.). *Slave Life in Georgia: A Narrative of the Life, Sufferings, and Escape of John Brown, a Fugitive Slave, now in England.* London, W. M. Watts, 1855.

<sup>99</sup> Chamerovzow, L.A. *The New Zealand question and the rights of the aborigines.* London, T. C Newby. 1848. <http://www.enzb.auckland.ac.nz/document/?wid=1255&action=null>

*extremely jealous, and which they are in a situation to enforce; whilst, on the other hand, the local Government asserts, on behalf of the Crown, another kind of right, by virtue of which all free exercise of the Natives' natural proprietary rights is averred to be extinguished, and the Emigrant becomes dependent, not alone upon the disposition of the Native owner to sell his land, but on that of the local Government to permit the purchase of the same by any third party, save through its medium, and contingent upon its own inclination to acquire such land so offered for sale, at a price regulated by circumstances, and virtually irrespective of native valuation.'*<sup>100</sup>

He writes as the mouthpiece of the Society: *'We simply deny to any Nation the right, on the plea of discovery, to seize upon another country which, at the moment of its being discovered, is already inhabited.'*<sup>101</sup> He writes much about right of discovery, the differences between occupation of un-peopled versus peopled lands, and continues the legalistic nature of the piece, with footnotes citing legal authorities. There is analysis of the Treaty of Waitangi, and the proceedings of the House of Commons Select Committee, and recognition of the deep understanding of Māori on the Treaty and the land. He quotes Nōpera Pana-kareao<sup>102</sup> on the second article, calling this *'the most graphic, the most poetic, and the most logical'* explanation: *'The shadow of the land goes to Queen Victoria, but the substance remains with us. We will go to the governor, and get a payment for our land as before.'*<sup>103</sup> And he ends: *'the prosperity of all our Colonies is intimately associated with the welfare of the Native population, whether great or small; but which, unfortunately, it has too much neglected: and that one broad rule of justice, applicable to Natives as well as to Settlers, is not less a political necessity than it is a Christian duty.'*<sup>104</sup> There are Appendices on legal opinions, and on the Nelson settlement. It is all so clearly written that the wonder is that it is not well known.

From the 1840s until his death in 1875, Chamerovzow continued to write, his output included journalism and historical fiction, including a sequence of three historical novels between 1845-48, and a book in 1847 on the Yule Log. The photograph, from a collection of abolitionists held by the Massachusetts Historical Society<sup>105</sup>, shows a strong thoughtful man.

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<sup>100</sup> Chamerovzow, L E., op cit. pp.3-4

<sup>101</sup> Ibid. p. 25

<sup>102</sup> Pana-Kareao was a prominent chief of the northern Te Rawara iwi, Nōpera meaning 'Noble'. He was a Christian convert and largely supportive of the British.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid. pp. 152-153.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid. p. 416

<sup>105</sup> [https://www.masshist.org/database/viewer.php?item\\_id=969](https://www.masshist.org/database/viewer.php?item_id=969)

## There is no apparent way whereby to escape from impending evil, but by emigrating.

*Earp, G. B. The emigrant's guide to New Zealand. 1848*

*Earp, G.B. Handbook for intending immigrants to the Southern settlements of New Zealand. 1849.*

*Earp, G.B. New Zealand: its Emigration and Gold Fields. 1853.*

It is around the late 1840s that business and politics slowly take over in the written accounts of Europeans in New Zealand. From the late 1830s to early 1840s, visitors and potential settlers with trade and commerce at the head of their objectives started to appear. Joel Polack was interested primarily in trade, Charles Terry had a business background in refining and industrial chemistry, and then there was George Butler Earp, who was a partner in Ridgways, Guyton

and Earp, established in Liverpool in 1839. The company was a trading and shipping business, and the intention of the partners was to establish their business in New Zealand. Earp arrived in Wellington in August 1840, on the New Zealand Company ship the *Coromandel*, with his partners Isaac Ridgway and William Guyton<sup>106</sup>. The passenger list includes the Hon H. Petrie, presumably the same Petre who arrived on the *Oriental* in January 1840. Did Petre sail back to Sydney in the first half of the year after his arrival?

There is however, a discrepancy in the reports of the date of Earp's arrival, since he told the House of Commons Select Committee on New Zealand that he arrived towards the end of 1839. John Ridgway & Co had an office in Wellington by May 1840, as noted in the *New Zealand Journal* for Saturday May 23, 1840, where notice was given of the sailing of the specially built passenger ship *Martha Ridgway*, one of the Ridgway's ships, engaged to the New Zealand Company. The business partnership was dissolved in July 1844, and Guyton went on to become the second mayor of Wellington.

Earp was active in Wellington and Auckland for the two years of his stay, buying land in Ohiro, involved in the shipping business and sufficiently notable to be accompanying Hobson and George Clarke (Protector of Aborigines) in investigating land disputes with local Māori. He didn't travel far in that time, not visiting other active Company settlement sites of Whanganui, New Plymouth or Nelson<sup>107</sup>. In December 1841 he travelled to Auckland and was appointed by Hobson to a position as a senior magistrate, and to the Legislative Council, which he served on from 3 May until 15 March 1842, along with, among others, Willoughby Shortland as Colonial Secretary, William Wakefield, William Symonds, James Clendon, and



*The three-masted ship in the distance, left of the flagstaff has been identified as the Martha Ridgway*

*(<http://www.greathead.org/greathead2-o/MarthaRidgeway>). The painting is that of Lambton Harbour by Charles Heaphy. Alexander Turnbull Library /records/22344237*

<sup>106</sup> <https://www.geni.com/projects/New-Zealand-Settler-Ships-Coromandel-1840/14389> accessed 4 October 2022

<sup>107</sup> House of Commons Select Committee on New Zealand. Op cit. pp 91-158.

William Swainson as Attorney General. In the middle of 1842, Earp returned to England, sailing on the *Martha Ridgway*, and while bound first for Bombay, was shipwrecked when the ship went down in the Torres Strait in July of that year<sup>108</sup>. The wreck was discovered recently, in 2019.

Back in London, Earp gave evidence to the House of Commons Select Committee on New Zealand in 1844<sup>109</sup>, and was active in promoting emigration, presumably for his continuing business, although we know little about his personal details, either from before he travelled to New Zealand, or afterwards. The result of all this was the publication of three books on New Zealand emigration

**Earp, G. B.** *The emigrant's guide to New Zealand: Comprising every requisite information for intending emigrants, relative to the southern settlements of New Zealand. By a late resident of the colony.* London: Stewart and Murray. 1848. [iii]-iv, 64 pp, tables, 8vo. Bagnall 1761, Hocken 138.

**Earp, G.B.** *Handbook for intending immigrants to the Southern settlements of New Zealand.* London: W.S.Orr and co. 1849. viii, 300 pp, adverts prior and at end. Tables. 8vo. Bagnall 1769, Hocken 143.

**Earp, G.B.** *New Zealand: its Emigration and Gold Fields.* George Routledge and Co., London, 1853. xii, 260 pp., frontis. map, adverts, yellow paper-covered boards. Bagnall 1770, Hocken 143.

*I don't have any of these. They are not too uncommon, but usually have yellow cloth boards and look particularly grubby. Better copies will turn up.*

The *Handbook* is a substantial work, Bagnall (1766) calling it 'one of the best statistical and regional summaries of the period'. It went to three editions then morphed into the 1853 version with Auckland and the goldfields included.

Earp is clearly in the immigration business. In his Introduction he says: 'My qualifications for this object are, a pretty long experience in the colonies of the South Pacific, and what is more to the emigrant's purpose, a still longer experience in despatching emigrants from the mother country.'<sup>110</sup>

Accordingly he starts with some views on why people should emigrate. There are problems in the home country such as overpopulation, the unavailability of capital for small businesses, the benefits of a practical education. This is followed by chapters on thoughts on colonisation, preparation and economics of a passage, what you need to take, including a portable house, land sales, what you do when you get there, particularly about farming, then the climate and geography, and much on the various provinces



*Map of New Zealand. Earp, 1853. Frontispiece*

<sup>108</sup> Brett, H. *White Wings. Founding of the Provinces and Old-Time Shipping. Passenger Ships From 1840 To 1885.* Brett, Auckland, 1928. Vol II. pp 24-25.

<sup>109</sup> Scholefield, J., op. cit. Vol. 1. pp. 225-226.

<sup>110</sup> Earp, G.B. *Handbook for intending immigrants to the Southern settlements of New Zealand.* London, W.S. Orr and Co. 1849. p. 2.

– Wellington Wairarapa, New Plymouth, Nelson and Otago. He gives the rations that should be used for the voyage. If you are in the Chief cabin you get 2lbs each of Prime India beef, Prime Mess pork and fish, 1.5lb in the fore cabins, and 1lb in steerage. The diet is heavy on meat and carbohydrates, but you get peas and raisins too<sup>111</sup>. And as we find out later, you won't be allowed a drink to enjoy when watching the sunset mid-ocean. Unlike Hursthouse, he doesn't blush to provide lists of clothing for women as well as men, and while emphasising that you shouldn't encumber yourself with unnecessaries, he does include 12 nightcaps for bachelors. He is a man of numbers, providing tables on the climate, population and other useful information such as imports and exports. It is a book that you might have confidence in and keep at hand, though you might need some better guidance on the people, whom he seems to regard from a distance.

The third book is a revised version of the *Handbook*, with the addition of new information on Auckland and the goldfields of the Coromandel. It has a rough little map as a frontispiece not in the *Handbook*, announced on the title page as though it is an attraction. In his Introduction, with the address of the Australian Gazette Office in London, he asks that the reader should not expect '*picturesque descriptions of scenery.... [or] look for those narratives of personal adventure with which it is the fashion to season colonial books*'<sup>112</sup>. He deals with facts and figures and useful information. It covers the content of the *Handbook*, but has a final chapter on '*THE AUCKLAND GOLD FIELDS. Discovery of gold—Rev. Mr. Clarke's opinion—Rich specimen—Government regulations—Visit of the Lieutenant-Governor—Payments to natives—Progress of the diggings—Gold at Arataonga—Committee's report—Lieut.-Governor's, report....*'<sup>113</sup>

Earp spent almost three days giving evidence to the Select Committee<sup>354</sup>, the dialogue taking up some 60 pages in the transcript. The pages provide a profusion of detail on land purchases, the value and price of goods such as flax, timber, sheep, copper and iron ore, horses exported to Chile, and Earp the business man knows just how much a blanket costs, what is a realistic price for land in different places, the costs of shipping and refitting, the numbers tumble out. No wonder they took three days to probe such a credible witness.

P91

*With what object did you go there?*

*I went with two objects; the one to establish a branch of a mercantile house at Liverpool there, and the other to cultivate land. The former object I succeeded in; in the latter I did not succeed, from the state of the land claims in the colony.*

His business is shipping: and he sees great value in New Zealand as a place for refitting, with ready timber available. Also for furniture, and he brings some along, though not all:

p.96

*We have a great many timbers which, when they come to be known in this country, will take a very high rank as furniture woods.*

*Have you any specimens which you can exhibit to the Committee?*

*Yes; I have brought some specimens to the Committee. [The Witness produced the same].*

*Where do they come from?*

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<sup>111</sup> Ibid. pp. 27-28.

<sup>112</sup> **Earp, G.B.** *New Zealand: its Emigration and Gold Fields.* London, George Routledge and Co., 1853. p. vi

<sup>113</sup> Ibid. pp 245-260.

*From Wellington.*

*Has a good deal been brought here from Wellington for manufacture in this town?*

*Yes; a considerable quantity has been brought over by a cabinetmaker who has come home. I brought a considerable quantity when I came home, but unfortunately I was wrecked in Torres Straits, and lost the whole.*

They ask about minerals, coal, copper and iron for use and export, and Māori as workers. He knows the price of blankets and how many might be sold for how many natives. There are pages on fisheries and whaling, which Earp rates highly as an industry. And we see that even in the 1840s, there is considerable trade spreading across the Pacific, east and west, north and south.

*P102*

*Has any communication been opened between New Zealand and either India or China?*

*Yes.*

*In what way?*

*To China for tea, and calling at Manilla, for many commodities of theirs, cigars, rice, and sugar.*

*.....*

*Could the trade with those places be increased considerably?*

*No; the increase with China. would not be considerable as, if you bought back more than would be necessary (or your own limited consumption), there would be a loss: you could not find a market for the surplus in the Australian colonies, that would necessarily be limited for goods.*

*Have you any intercourse with South America?*

*Yes, considerable; we have sent several vessels.*

*For what?*

*For flour and horses.*

And not only flour and horses, but potatoes, salt and slates to Australia. They have an agent in Sydney, have imported sheep from Australia to NZ, and so they talk sheep and wool for a page or two. It is six weeks to Manila, two months to China or Bombay, and he is looking at Fiji and the Navigator Islands, Tahiti 'gone from us' because of the French Protectorate established there.



*In the absence of an image of Earp, here is his business partner and Mayor of Wellington, William Guyton.*

With land sales, the issues are laid at the door of the government and the Company

*P111*

*Has the manner in which the British Government in New Zealand has treated the native titles to land raised up a whole host of indefinite rights?*

*Yes; of which I should consider the additional payment of Te Whero-Whero, for the lands at New Plymouth, the sole cause. No sooner was he paid by preferring a claim of that kind, than other natives came and preferred such claims also; and there was scarcely a district of land in New Zealand bought by the Company or by the Government, but was claimed in some way or other on this account, though at the same time I must remark that the natives very rarely, if*



*ever, set up a claim against the original settlers on that account; it was only against the Company and the Government.*

And he is comfortable with Māori, and here we should give him some due, 'amusement' means taking the time, perhaps using his leisure to get to know them. They fare well in relation to the labouring classes.

*I made the habits and feelings of the natives my amusement. I was very fond of them, and they of me; in the absence of anything else I could not amuse myself better.*

.....

*From the great opportunities you have had of observation was it your opinion, and do you consider colonization to New Zealand in the way it was attempted to be carried on in the district of the southern part of the island, an advantage and boon to the natives or not? Most decidedly a boon to the natives; and for this simple reason, even were there no other; that the native was so far prepared already to receive civilization, that he would become as valuable a settler as any of the lower class sent out to them. I have seen a number of instances of the lower class sent out there, in which I should consider the natives the more civilized of the two, and would take them as labourers in preference to the others.*

Another persistent question throughout the proceedings was on the merits of Auckland as a capital. Earp favours the Wellington and gives Dieffenbach a serve.

P122

*...am speaking from Dieffenbach's despatches, which have been printed from time to time: his book is a compilation from the despatches; but in the book everything is omitted that would tend to advance Wellington.*

And here is the canny business man understanding the needs of emigrants on his ships, and providing some insight into life on board.

P134

*I believe your system of conveying passengers to New Zealand was upon what is called the chief cabin principle?*

*Yes.*

*Saving the money of the passengers till they got to the colony, and not wasting it in superfluities on board ship?*

*Yes.*

*Has that given general satisfaction?*

*Yes; two of the ships have already arrived. We have had intelligence by each of those ships of the most favourable description, as far as the passengers were concerned. We've had intelligence in this country under nine months, and in one case under eight months from the date of their leaving England. The vessels we select are always fast-sailing vessels.*

.....

*You have one uniform scale of charge*

*Yes.*

*There is no distinction made between first and second cabin fare?*

*No; we take out chief cabin passengers at 5 guineas, and steerage passengers at 20 guineas: when I went out, four or five years ago, the passage money was 90. At that time there was an unlimited supply of wine allowed, and the consequence was that the ships were a constant scene of drunkenness and disorder; and it is my opinion that most of the disasters which have occurred have arisen from that cause alone. We do not keep spirits on board any of the ships,*

*to be given to passengers as part of the dietary, except that we take them out for the purposes of medicine, nor do we permit any of the emigrants to take them out. We give them nothing but good plain food; and, by knocking off the expensive article of wine, which was generally the greatest trash possible, we find that we can take them at those low prices which I have named, provided we can secure numbers.*

He ends his marathon evidence with a long discussion on the Treaty, land rights, native rights, Government, missionaries buying land; he refers to Yate and Lang and is offside with Willoughby Shortland, but then who wasn't.

Over his remaining years, Earp writes a book on the gold fields of Australia, edits a book on the experience of three clerks in the stockyards and goldfields of Australia, writes three sequential novels of historical fiction, a *History of the Baltic Campaign*, editing documents and material from Vice Admiral Sir Charles Napier, and in 1858, the elderly Lord Thomas Cochrane, tenth Earl of Dundonald and Rear-Admiral of the United Kingdom contracted Earp to write up his autobiography of his early years serving in the Napoleonic wars<sup>114</sup>.

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<sup>114</sup> What we did in Australia: being the practical experience of three clerks in the stock-yard and at the gold fields. Edited by G.B. Earp. London, George Routledge and co., 1853, pp. 192.

The autobiography of a seaman. 2 vols. London, R Bentley, 1860. Authors: Thomas Cochrane Dundonald, George Butler Earp, William Jackson, Compiled by G.B. Earp from oral or written material furnished by Lord Dundonald and his secretary, William Jackson. cf. Atlay, J.B. Trial of Lord Cochrane. 1897 and Ellenborough, E.D.L. Guilt of Lord Cochrane in 1814.

The History of the Baltic Campaign of 1854. From documents and other materials furnished by Vice-Admiral Sir Charles Napier. Edited by G. B. Earp. London, Richard Bentley 1857.

The gold colonies of Australia: comprising their history, territorial divisions, produce, and capabilities, also ample notices of the gold mines and how to get to them, with every advice to emigrants. London, G Routledge and Co., 1852.

## **We all became warlike, and anxious to be of the party**

**McKillop, H.F.** *Reminiscences of twelve month's service in New Zealand. 1849*

Life could hardly be less interesting for a 17-year-old midshipman in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. First sailing on the *HMS Belleisle* in the China campaign, the first opium war, in 1840-42, where he incidentally saved a man from drowning, and then joining the *HMS Calliope*, sailing from England to Australia in 1845 under Captain Edward Stanley. Once at Hobart, the *Calliope* and its Royal Marines were sent on to New Zealand to aid in the northern wars. Henry McKillop (1823-1879) was not the only young man serving in China or other theatres of imperial conflict, before appearing in New Zealand, but was one of the few to become a Rear Admiral, even if only in later in retirement.<sup>115</sup>

McKillop arrived at the Bay of Islands on December 31, 1845. Although not a Royal Marine, he became involved in the actions that followed, was present at the taking of Ruapekapeka, being used to deliver despatches, which he copies in his book, between the commanders and Governor Grey. He sails on to Auckland, then in February, south to Port Nicholson where he becomes involved in action in the Hutt Valley, commanding an eight-oared boat and whaler with the orders to try to apprehend those who had recently murdered two settlers, in a festering conflict between Māori and settlers over land. He was unsuccessful, having to make a somewhat dramatic escape. He continues to be involved in action at Porirua and with the *Calliope* patrolling and moving forces in the Nelson, Wellington and Whanganui region through to late 1847. Members of the ship's crew who were killed in action over this time are buried in Wellington's Bolton cemetery, where there is a stone *HMS Calliope* memorial<sup>116</sup>. McKillop is with the ship when they transport Te Rauparaha, captured in July 1846, to Auckland, and records his observations and meetings with him. In 1848, McKillop sails to England in the *Calliope* after spending some 10 months in Auckland, and there published his account.



*HMS Calliope in 1841, being towed at Garden Reach, Calcutta. Watercolour by Lt. Meynell, R.N.*

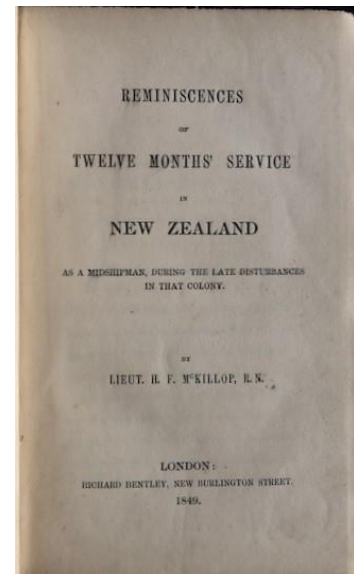
**McKillop, H.F.** *Reminiscences of twelve month's service in New Zealand as a midshipman, during the late disturbances in that colony. London: Richard Bentley. 1849 viii, 275 pp. Bagnall 3303, Hocken 146.*

*My copy is another in those familiar original green embossed cloth boards. It is not all that common and a clean copy is scarce. This one is great inside, a bit spotted externally, a bit like its author?*

<sup>115</sup> Scholefield, J C., op cit vol 2, p.30.

<sup>116</sup> <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/hms-calliope-nz-wars-memorial> Accessed 16 September 2022.

In the Preface, McKillop bows before Rear Admiral Sir George Cockburn<sup>117</sup>, hoping he will accept the offering from his midshipman days, though writing at the time as a Lieutenant. He notes that no one else had written about the campaign against the rebellious Māori, meaning Heke and Te Rauparaha particularly, which might be true at the time, but is a familiar trope with these early writers, all thinking they have a unique tale to tell. The uniqueness of course, is in their view, and this one, with the obvious touch of a mid-19<sup>th</sup> Century imperial adventure<sup>118</sup>, has the uniqueness of the first-hand account of someone in action. The other notable feature of the whole work is that in some ways it harks back to those accounts written in the 1820s and 30s by visitors with the Government forces and ships, rather than an account of a settler establishing themselves in a new colony, as was the prevailing narration at this time. He does end his book with comments on the new colony, and is an admirer of Wakefield, *'New Zealand has now taken a fair start, and the Government and Company are proving their anxiety to do the colony justice....'*<sup>119</sup>



His first two chapters provide some background to the current disputes over land, and he does give a fairly unique set of sketches of Hone Heke (John Heke), the arch rebel, the friendly Waka Nene (Tommy Walker), Rangahiata, *'one of the principal Chiefs in the neighbourhood of Cook's Straits, is a regular savage and glories in it..'*, Hoepa Tare (Charley) and Te Rauparaha, with whom he was on board for 5 months, frequently talking with him and observing<sup>120</sup>. He follows with his account of action at the Bay of Islands, including at Ruapekapeka, and surviving a visit to the *North Star* where *'Captain Stanley very nearly shot one of the officers in the gunroom, whilst showing him what safe things the patent six-barrelled revolving pistols were; one of the six barrels going off mal-à-propos, passed through the bulkhead of one of the cabins.'*<sup>121</sup> He then moves south to Auckland, *'prettily situated, facing the sea'*, agrees with reports on the disgrace that is supposed to be the port, but enjoys cricket and skittles at Epsom, and a ball, which lacked a suitable number of ladies, being outnumbered 20 to 1 by men<sup>122</sup>. His account of his time in the Wellington region again has the air of adventure, at one stage in his foray into the Hutt, with the alarm of *'pakeha!'* being raised by an old woman, *'I rushed off the other way, to tell my comrades of the alarm I had created; and meeting the artillery officer, who was ascending the bank, I rolled over him in my haste, and nearly knocked him into the river. I had not time to apologise, knowing that the natives would be in pursuit of us in a minute.'*<sup>123</sup> You can almost hear the artillery officer's comments about amateur soldiers. It's a lively account, of its time, with anglicised names for the chiefs, eagerness to get into action, and stoutness in upholding the Empire.

<sup>117</sup> George Cockburn (1772-1853) had a distinguished career in the navy, serving in the Mediterranean and then the Napoleonic Wars, later mixing high posts in the Admiralty with politics. In 1847, he had been appointed Rear Admiral of England, the third highest ranking in the Naval hierarchy.

<sup>118</sup> Wevers, L., Op cit. pp. 112-115.

<sup>119</sup> McKillop, H.F. Reminiscences of twelve month's service in New Zealand as a midshipman, during the late disturbances in that colony. London: Richard Bentley. 1849. p. 268.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid. pp. 25-89.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid. pp. 93-94.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid. pp. 128-166.

<sup>123</sup> McKillop., op cit. p. 188

McKillop continued an adventurous life at sea<sup>124</sup>. Through the 1850s he commanded ships in the Black Sea during the Crimean War (*HMS Snake*) and in the Mediterranean, and then in the West Indies and North America in the early sixties. He was also an inventor, drawing attention with a device to reduce fouling of iron-clad keels. He got the Admiralty to agree to testing his device which involved sinking '*a kind of large tarpaulin, of about 20 feet in width, and of sufficient length to be passed completely under the vessel's keel, and brought up on the opposite side. The four sides or edges of the apparatus are made air-tight, and on being filled with air acquire a buoyancy which makes it cling to the vessel with great force. A mixture of creosote, lime, and some other substances being spread over the centre of the tarpaulin, the whole remains under water, and in the course of some three or four hours the mixture being acted upon by the water destroys every portion of the growth on the ship's bottom.*' Well, not 'every portion', but was partly successful, and there was more. In 1866, he demonstrated successfully the use of a portable coffer dam which could be slung under ships and sealed against the keel, provided some sort of a dry dock while the ship was still on the water<sup>125</sup>.

We then find him in Egypt around 1875, in some sort of mercenary role leading the Khedive's forces against Abyssinia, although the English seemed to object. He became an Egyptian pasha, accumulated Turkish honours and medals, then became a Rear Admiral on the retired list, before dying in England in 1879.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> <https://www.pdavis.nl/ShowBiog.php?id=1042HMS> Accessed 16 September 2022

<sup>125</sup> <https://www.pdavis.nl/Times.php?id=508> Accessed 15 September 2022

<sup>126</sup> Scholefield, J C., op cit vol 2, p.30.

## A mere transcript from a journal and sketch-book, kept for my own amusement

*Power, W.T. Sketches in New Zealand. 1849*

*Power, W.T. Recollections of a three years' residence in China. 1853*

Tracing the voyages of the *HMS Castor* seems to provide something of a chart of British conflicts in the 1840s. In 1845 she was on the China station, a naval presence benefiting from British success in the first opium war, then in December of the same year, midshipman Henry McKillop is seen delivering despatches to Lieutenant Governor Grey on board the *Castor* in the Bay of Islands, there to manage the Māori rebellion led by Hone Heke. The *Castor* follows McKillop in the *Calliope* to Auckland and on to Port Nicholson to take part in action in the Hutt. She must have returned to Sydney, because on 17 July 1846, William Tyrone Power boards her there to sail to New Zealand, as Commissary General for the British forces.

William James Tyrone Power (1819-1911), was the son of the notable Irish actor Tyrone Power, and an early non-acting component of a line of actors with the same names, still extant in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. Power's father the actor was lost at sea in March 1841 when the *SS President*, then the largest steamship in the world, foundered in a storm on the Atlantic run, never to be seen again. The Prime Minister at the time, Lord Melbourne, a fan of the actor and wanting to help the family, subsequently offering the 22-year-old William Power a commission with the army's Commissariat.<sup>127</sup> Like McKillop, he served in China after the first opium war, between 1843 and 1846, and in the middle of that year was on his way to New Zealand. He sailed into Auckland, then on to Port Nicholson, where he was based in the Wellington regions for the next two years, and this was the basis for both his journal and his sketches.



*Matarawa, the farm of Mr Gilfillan. Power, 1849, frontispiece.*

*Power, W.T. Sketches in New Zealand, with pen and pencil. From a journal kept in that country from July 1846, to June 1848. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans. 1849. xlvii, 290 pp, 32 pages of adverts, frontispiece, 7 illustrations, Bagnall 4668, Hocken 147.*

*My copy has the original red embossed cloth boards. In good condition, though a couple of the plates are foxed, as often found. Bought at auction in 1993, it is not too uncommon, though hard to find in good condition.*

<sup>127</sup> <http://www.thomascrampton.com/people/william-tyrone-power/> Accessed 18 September 2022

The book is notable for its illustrations. There are 8 two-toned lithographic plates, and two woodcuts, one on the title page of Māori on 'Croix-Ile Harbour, Cook's Straits'<sup>128</sup> and another on p. 51 of Te Rauparaha. Despite Power being something of a sketcher himself, only the four plates of the Whanganui region are by him. The frontispiece '*Matarawa, the farm of Mr Gilfillan*', is by John Gilfillan himself. He was a Scottish artist who emigrated to New Zealand in 1841, establishing a farm in the Matarawa valley in the Whanganui area. On 18 April, 1847, the farm was attacked by Māori. Gilfillan escaped to get help thinking that he was the target, but when he got back, found his wife and 3 of his children murdered<sup>129</sup>. Power provides an account of this. Gilfillan left for Sydney, spending the rest of his life in Australia, continuing to pursue his art, his '*Native Council of War*' from 1855, being an oil on a grand, Claudian, scale<sup>130</sup>. Two of the plates are based on sketches by a Benjamin Trafford, a lieutenant with the Imperial troops stationed in Taranaki (*Tamati Waka Nene, Chief of the Ngapuhi*) and William Yelverton, a Royal Artilleryman (*Fishing Pa, on the Wanganui River*). A further plate is based on a drawing by Francis Dillon Bell, of '*Dillon Bell's Fall, Mount Egmont*', Bell and Power becoming acquainted soon after Bell's ascent of Mt Egmont<sup>131</sup>. All the plates were engraved and printed by Michael and Nicholas Nanhart, prominent printers in London at the time.



*Tunuhaere, Wanganui River. Power, 1849, p. 150*

The book is dedicated to Sir Charles Trevelyan K.C.B, a leading civil servant, later an administrator in India, and widely condemned for being slow to provide relief in the Irish potato famine in the 1840s, believing that market forces would do the job. There are appendices comprising letters associated with land issues and the military campaign, and several pages of advertisements. Power writes a fairly long Introduction on New Zealand prior to his arrival in 1846. Through to Christmas, he records his activities in Wellington and along the coast to Whanganui, mixing accounts of the troops with Māori customs. Then in April he records the accident on the Calliope, when a midshipman accidentally let off his pistol, injuring a young Māori man. This is what led to the murder of Gilfillan's family. Power records how they came across Gilfillan, injured, travelling from his home, hoping that his family were safe, and Power is a member of the party which returned to the farm to find Gilfillan's wife and children murdered. In August he has been to Nelson, back to the Whanganui region, and writes extensively of waste lands, Government land purchase, native virtues, settlers and emigrants, and he seems to have had enough. In the middle of April 1848, he hears to his '*intense delight that I was to get my leave of absence.....After seven years' absence, and five of it at outposts in China and New Zealand, I shall at last be on my way home...*'<sup>132</sup> He is enthusiastic, however, about settlement in New Zealand, extolling a country '*teeming with milk and honey, a fertile soil, an unequalled climate....everything, in fact, except a population to*

<sup>128</sup> Croix-Ile is the name given by the French to what was then called Tukapa, a site near Taka in Golden Bay.

<sup>129</sup> 'The Matarawa killings', URL: <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/war/wanganui-war/matarawa-killings>, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 20-Oct-2021

<sup>130</sup> Pound, F., *Frames on the land. Early landscape painting in New Zealand*. Auckland, Collins, 1983. pp. 50-51.

<sup>131</sup> Ellis, EM & DG., op. cit. pp. 129-131.

<sup>132</sup> Power, W.T. *Sketches in New Zealand, with pen and pencil. From a journal kept in that country from July 1846, to June 1848*. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans. 1849. p. 164.

enjoy the bounteous gifts offered by Providence with so lavish a hand.' There is a problem, however, 'The greatest, and perhaps the only drawback to settlement in the Northern Island is the great preponderance of the native population, and corresponding confidence it gives them in all dealings with the settlers.'<sup>133</sup>

Power left New Zealand, to return to Sydney in 1848, and sailing on to London on the 7<sup>th</sup> of July. He travels by way of the Indonesian archipelago, across to Madras, Aden and overland to Cairo, through the Mediterranean and home. He is recorded as visiting his family home in Ireland, Annaghmakerrig, for the first time, and then in South Africa 1850-1853, involved with the 8<sup>th</sup> Kaffir or Xhosa War<sup>341</sup>. It is from here, Buffalo Mouth, British Kaffaria<sup>134</sup>, 31<sup>st</sup> December 1851 that he writes the Preface, and the book of his subsequent 'peregrinations' was published on his return to London in 1853.

**Power, W.T.** *Recollections of a three years' residence in China: Including Peregrinations in Spain, Morocco, Egypt, India, Australia & New Zealand.* London MDCCCLIII [1853], Bentley. 380p., with a colored lithographic frontis. Bagnall 4667, Hocken 172.

*My copy is in red blind stamped cloth, bought from an American dealer in 202b. There is the Bookplate of J Alexander Pierson<sup>135</sup> inside the front cover. It is a much cleaner copy than the New Zealand Sketches, as is usually the case. Why are New Zealand books mostly in a worse state than equivalent books, such as those on China at the same time?*

The book as has a lovely coloured lithograph frontispiece of 'The Anchor' of Amoy, in China, by an unknown artist (perhaps Power himself, or Thomas Allom, although searches have thus far been fruitless), printed by the eminent London lithographers Hullmandel & Walton. Power covers his journey to China, via Spain, Gibraltar, Tangiers, Cairo, Bombay, Singapore and onto



*'The Anchor' of Amoy. Power, 1853, frontispiece*

Hong Kong and the coastal treaty ports. He provides much on the opium war, Chinese culture and life, and of course the British adventure there. At one stage, his companion on the voyage up the coast to Amoy (now Xiamen) is the British plant collector Robert Fortune. The New Zealand section comprises three chapters at the end, very much a recollection of his time in the Wellington and Whanganui regions, though mostly general information and observations rather than the detail based on his journal, that was in his New Zealand book. There is an unconscious touch in his observations that is sometimes best passed over. For

<sup>133</sup> Power, W. T., op. cit. pp. 192-194.

<sup>134</sup> British Kaffaria was a coastal province, the Ciskei region between the Keiskamma and Great Kei rivers, annexed from the Xhosa, Buffalo Mouth being the port that is now East London. At the time it was a site for troops and settlers.

<sup>135</sup> J Alexander Pierson's bookplate appears fairly frequently in 1830s and 40s in a range of books on the market.



example, after showing pleasure in young Māori girls and their attractions, noting how *'they ensnare many a settler's heart...'*, he goes on, *'the mixed offspring are highly prized, and much esteemed by the maternal relatives.'*; he could have been talking about animal breeding. He ends with, as many do, an assessment of the potential for emigrants, noting, again as others have, that the right sort of person only should apply: *'There is another class of weak, poor creatures incapable of shaking off old habits, notions and prejudices, who find nothing good that is new. They pine for home for the sake of the morning paper, the accustomed beer, and the comforts they have left behind them, incapable of appreciating the independence and improved position for which they have exchanged them.'*<sup>136</sup> He should be here today.

Power returned to England and then served in the Crimean war or Eastern Campaign from 1854 to 1856, in China again with the second opium war in 1857, and in Canada in 1862-63. He stayed with the Commissariat during this time, rising to Commissary-in-Chief in 1864. He married in 1859, was knighted in 1865 and was Acting Agent-General for New Zealand in 1876. He died in that last resting place of many of the colonial military, Tunbridge Wells, as written in a New Zealand record of his death, *'at the ripe old age of 92, one who many years ago served New Zealand in war and peace.'*<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> **Power, W.T.** *Recollections of a three years' residence in China: Including Peregrinations in Spain, Morocco, Egypt, India, Australia & New Zealand.* London MDCCCLIII [1853], Bentley. pp. 379-380

<sup>137</sup> *Auckland Star*, Vol. XLII, issue 208, 1 September 1911, p.3.

## There is scarcely any human act as important in its consequences as emigration

**Hursthouse, C., jun.** *An account of the settlement of New Plymouth.* 1849

**Hursthouse, C.** *New Zealand, or Zealandia, the Britain of the South.* 1857

His obituary in the Taranaki Herald of the 25 November, 1876,<sup>138</sup> recounts Charles Hursthouse's strong advocacy and substantial, enthusiastic efforts in writing and talking to promote the new colony, but delicately says nothing of his last sad year in a mental institution in Wellington. However, another notice in the Evening Post was less reticent, and described how Hursthouse had become increasingly untenable and eccentric, including '*an inveterate tendency to insert a comma after every three words in his letters.*'<sup>139</sup> But everyone said how liked and respected he was. There are worse things than eccentric grammar.

Charles Flinders Hursthouse (1817-1876) had some explorer's instinct in his blood. He changed his second name to Flinders, after his father's third cousin, Matthew Flinders, the pioneer Australian explorer. He was initially, in 1836, sent by his family to Canada and America to look at prospects for emigration there, but rejected them. In consequence, Hursthouse and his brother John, John's wife Helen and their children, sailed to New Zealand, arriving in Port Nicholson in February 1843 on the *Thomas Sparks*. The voyage seemed memorable for the bullying, irascible captain, Robert Sharp who endangered those on board with his headstrong seamanship, virtually wrecking the boat by insisting on sailing it into Capetown at night in a storm, survival eventually dependent on the calm actions of another sea captain on board as a passenger. Some of the passengers elected not to go further. John Hursthouse kept a diary,<sup>140</sup> covering the time spent in England before embarking, the voyage out, and the first years. The brothers, and John's family (Charles never married), moved north to New Plymouth, settling in Waitara, or as in John's diary, Witera<sup>141</sup>.

Hursthouse's emigration was further evidence of the impact of Petre's book on New Zealand, particularly with its New Plymouth focus. Hursthouse spent 5 years there, twice travelling to Australia and back, as he says in his Introduction to '*New Zealand, the Britain of the South*', returning to England in 1848, at the time of the outbreak of the Taranaki wars. John took his family to the safety of Nelson. In England, Hursthouse published his first book.

**Hursthouse, C., jun.** *An account of the settlement of New Plymouth, in New Zealand, from personal observation, during a residence there of five years.* London: Smith, Elder and Co., 65, Cornhill. 1849. xvi, 160 pp, adverts, frontispiece, plus 4 plates, folding settlement plan Bagnall 2709, Hocken 144.

*My copy is in the original green embossed cloth boards, with the hand-coloured linen-backed folding town plan of New Plymouth bound in at the preliminaries. The first copy bought had the plan in a pocket in the back, and the covers stained. The second buy was a better one, and has pencil annotations, including on the inside front cover, a note on lime water wash and remedy for scab, presumably on apple trees. It is not too uncommon a volume, but not often seen with the very good map and the internals very clean.*

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<sup>138</sup> Taranaki Herald, Volume xxiv, Issue 2466, 25 November 1876, Page 2

<sup>139</sup> Evening Post, Volume xiv, Issue 124, 23 November 1876, Page 2

<sup>140</sup> [https://winsomegriffin.com/Newsham/Voyage\\_Thomas\\_Sparkes.html](https://winsomegriffin.com/Newsham/Voyage_Thomas_Sparkes.html). Accessed 25 September 2022

<sup>141</sup> <https://natlib.govt.nz/records/23144513> Accessed 25 September 2022.

There is a long list of subscribers, mostly in England, but a substantial number from New Zealand headed by Grey (20 copies), Henry Petre (5), and Dillon Bell (12), and many from New Plymouth, with the Hursthouse family chipping in, including brother John, who only took one, and some from a branch of the family at Natal in South Africa. Edward G Wakefield, who would have appreciated the work for its support of emigration, took 5 and his late brother Colonel William, 4. The map is impressive, laying out the proposed new town of New Plymouth in an orderly grid of streets and sections to be sold. It is colour-coded, the town in purple, sections in cultivation in yellow, Government reserves red, etc. It is signed W Carrington, which may confuse, since it is presumably by either Frederic Alonzo Carrington, the Plymouth Company's surveyor in New Plymouth from 1841 to 1844, or his brother Octavius who succeeded him. Given the date of 1848 on the map, it is possible that Frederic, who was in England at that time, saw this one through when the book was published there. Either way, the 'W' stands for Wellington. The lithographers were Ford & George of Hatton Garden in London.



Drawings by Emma Wickstead. Left, 'Brooklands, the residence of Henry King, Esq., R.N.'; right 'A cottage belonging to J.J Wickstead Esq. J.P'. Hursthouse, 1849, frontispiece and p. 151 respectively.

Two of the two-tone plates are by Emma Wickstead (sometimes spelled Wicksteed), wife of John Wickstead, the Company Agent in New Plymouth, the first the frontispiece, of a very gentle pastoral scene, 'Brooklands, the residence of Henry King, Esq., R.N.', and the second, an equally English-like country scene, showing 'A cottage belonging to J.J Wickstead Esq. J.P'. (her husband). Two others are by Thomas Good, a local sheep farmer who built the Omata Stockade and served in the Taranaki War. One shows the 'Henui cottage of the Rev H. Govett B.A.' and the other "'Clanavon", a farm of Captn. Davy's'. The Rev Henry Govett arrived in Auckland in 1843, was ordained by Selwyn and took up his appointment at St Mary's Church in New Plymouth in 1848, holding it for 50 years<sup>142</sup>. Davy was a retired East India Co. officer who came out with three sons and settled them in New Plymouth before returning to England. Two of the sons, Edwin and Charles went on to become surveyors<sup>143</sup>. A further plate has no artist's name and the style shows it could have been either Wickstead or Good, the lithographer's skill sometimes tempering individuality in the final print. It is 'Mount Eliot, lately purchased by His Excellency Sir George Grey, G.C.B'. Although there are moments of distorted perspective, Samuel Brees would have been a little jealous of the skills apparent in the drawing of figures in the landscapes. All the lithographs have an English pastoral air, which might reflect both the reality of the small settled parts of the region, along perhaps

<sup>142</sup> Scholfield, J. Op. cit. vol. 1, p 313.

<sup>143</sup> <https://www.surveypatialnz.org/>. The Pioneer Land Surveyors of New Zealand Part IV Biographical Notes P. 346

with a nostalgic perspective. They certainly would have helped attract prospective new settlers amongst the English readership.

Hursthouse sets out to promote Taranaki: *'Auckland enjoys an excellent port, with a commanding position of two seas; Wellington possesses a fine harbour, with great facilities for trade; Nelson has considerable grazing capabilities; Taranaki is proverbially the garden of New Zealand.'* And the pencil annotator notes scornfully on this page that *'...in short, Auckland excels only in garden vegetable, being unfit both for wheat and vine...and without timber, even for fuel. Its boast is of pigs and poultry!'*<sup>144</sup> The chapters cover climate



*Mt Eliot, lately purchased by His Excellency Sir George Grey C.C.B. Hursthouse, 1849, p. 76*

and the geography, timber, soils, minerals, birds, fishes, even insects, the natives, land questions, statistical information on populations, prices and passages, character of the much maligned roadstead (well, there was no harbour), agricultural possibilities, and the requirements of settlements. Here he lists what you needed to bring: Plain strong clothing and stout boots, but for women, he declines to prescribe: *'fashions are fickle, even in Taranaki'*; and even in this winterless land, *'Some warmer clothing should, however, be provided, for although there is no winter, considerable changes of temperature occur in the colder months.'* Bring hair mattresses and two iron bedsteads, a perforated zinc meat safe (highlighted by the pencil annotator in the front cover), tools, a box of glass, bushels of wheat, barley, oat, grass and turnip seed, and so it goes on.<sup>145</sup> Not daunting, but worrying for an emigrant to get it all right. This is the poor man's country he says, *'Of the labouring population in the settlement, there are not twenty men who work for hire six days in the week; almost every man is a 'freeholder,' ...'*<sup>146</sup> His view of Māori is more positive than that of many of his contemporaries in the settlement trade: *'The natives in the Settlement deserve great praise for their honesty, sobriety and peaceful habits.....their presence in the district is highly advantageous...'*, but while deprecating those who think all would be better off without them, he does have a rather pragmatic view: *'I believe the "native labour" will ultimately be found on of the most important elements of its [NZ] prosperity. In estimating the character and disposition of these people, they have, however, been judged too favourably as to what they are, but not so as to what they may become, by proper treatment.'*<sup>147</sup>

Bagnall has 36 entries for Hursthouse, including different editions, books, pamphlets, letters. By 1870, the proliferation and increasing erratic nature of the output is beginning to tell on the later bibliographers. In entries on a pamphlet on *'Australasian Independence'*, Hocken (268) grumbles that it is *'Tiresome and verbose, as are all this writer's pamphlets'*, and Bagnall (2711) gives up the challenge, noting that Hursthouse's *'failing health and confused purpose in his later work has left a bibliographical gauntlet which has, in this instance, been by-passed.'* But there was a further substantial work. During his time in England, he was employed by the New Zealand Company to promote emigration, and persuade his father

<sup>144</sup> Hursthouse, C., jun. An account of the settlement of New Plymouth. p. 3

<sup>145</sup> Ibid. pp. 117-118

<sup>146</sup> Ibid p. 149.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid p. 31-32.

and family to emigrate, which they did. The extent of his promotional activity can be seen in the many reviews of his lectures, mentioned below. In 1854, wanting to write a book on the 'New Zealand of Today', he returned to New Zealand, since 'I could not satisfactorily perform the task without revisiting the colony and seeing for myself what progress had been made in my absence.' This he did, living again in New Plymouth, and in 1857, returned again to London and published his two volume work.

**Hursthouse, C.** *New Zealand, or Zealandia, the Britain of the South. In two volumes. London: Edward Stanford, 6, Charing Cross. 1857. V 1 xv, 328 pp, frontispiece, 6 colour plates, folding map. V 2, vii, 329-664 pp, folding map adverts. Bagnall 2743, Hocken 189.*

*My copy has the original blue embossed cloth, gilt. I bought a first copy from AD in 1988 but without the maps. Then bought a very good complete one more recently, but it developed a mystery water stain. A third very nice one was then bought from England in contemporary quarter morocco. A good complete first edition is not too common. There was a second edition in 1861, which is easily available.*

The book opens, unusually for the time, with two pages of extracts from reviews, all positive naturally, from publications such as the Colonial Magazine 'The work is written in a dashing, off-hand style, and contains an immense amount of valuable matter', and even the Gardner's Chronicle 'Truthful, honest and judicious'. In addition, there are extracts from a series of reviews in the provincial press commenting, again very positively, on his lectures on emigration. The dedication is to Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton 'in admiration of his beautiful view of colonisation in "The Caxtons".' Bulwer Lytton was Secretary of State for the Colonies for 12 months from June 1858, and *The Caxtons* was a very popular novel published in 1849 wherein towards the end, two of the characters emigrate to Australia with the prospects of a new life. Bulwer Lytton stands out for his famous phrases such as *the great unwashed*, and opening line 'it was a dark and stormy night'. He must also be unique amongst writers for being offered, and sensibly declining, the crown of Greece.



*Auckland. Hursthouse, 1857, vol. 1, p. 208. Artist P.J. Hogan*

There are seven plates in Vol 1, none in Vol 2. All tinted lithographs from Vincent Brooks, of Covent Garden. However, the fine drawings do not have an artist, except for the

one of Auckland Harbour which is after P. J Hogan<sup>148</sup>. Hogan arrived in Auckland as a sapper in 1849 and published a set of four views of Auckland in 1852. He later worked as a surveyor under Heaphy<sup>149</sup>. The drawing reproduced here is the third of the four, showing the harbour from Britomart. The other very fine plates in the book are 'Okoaro Cottage of J. Stephenson Smith Esq, New Plymouth' as the frontispiece, 'Cottage of a small farmer, New Plymouth' (p. 209), 'Distant view of Port Nicholson, Wellington' (p. 218), 'Residences of the Revd. C.L. Reay and the Revd. H.F. Butt, near Nelson' (p.221), 'Port Lyttleton, Canterbury', (p.226), and 'A bush section on Green Island, Otago (Fox Lodge)' (p. 239), the country views are very much English pastoral in nature. It is strange that the artists of the plates are still unknown, and stranger that Ellis makes the note that the Charles Hursthouse of 'New Zealand' was not that of the New Plymouth book. This is wrong, as Hursthouse's Introduction makes clear, and the only other Charles (Wilson) Hursthouse was Charles Flinders' nephew, born in 1841.



*A bush section on Green Island, Otago (Fox Lodge)'. Hursthouse, 1857, Vol. 1, p. 239.*

Each volume has a folding map. In Vol 1, the map is of 'The Islands of New Zealand', hand-coloured, with settlements coloured red, and was the current map of the *Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge*, the same Society that published Craik's book on New Zealand in 1830. This map was based on Admiralty surveys, with additions on the interior by Walter Mantell, the politician and naturalist, and who, incidentally, gave his name to the extinct northern takahe species (*Porphyrio mantelli*); the engravers were J & C Walker, who worked closely with the Society on their maps. The Vol. 2 map is a hand-coloured map of the world, showing shipping routes to New Zealand, through Panama and Suez, and around Cape Horn and the Cape of Good Hope. The Suez Canal didn't open until 1869, so the route there was overland, as was across Panama.

The New Zealand map and Hogan's four views of Auckland were advertised by the publisher Edward Stanford in the back of Isaac Cooper's book: '*The New Zealand Settler's Guide, a sketch of the present state of the six provinces; with a digest of the constitution and land regulations, and two maps. London, Edward Stanford, 1857.*'

<sup>148</sup> Ellis, EM & DG., op. cit. p.149.

<sup>149</sup> Platts, U., op. cit. p. 128.

Hursthouse, after his Introduction, provides extensive information on the history of New Zealand, geography and climate, animals, minerals and vegetables, and the natives, Provinces, Government, trade and agriculture. The rest is about emigration, and in the end, there is little left that wouldn't be answered. Unlike his previous work, in the list of what to bring, he does tackle, though coyly, the '*Ladies outfit*', though defers to Earp who '*with a boldness bordering on temerity, grapples with the slippery subject of a lady's outfit.....As a benighted bachelor, I do not venture to follow so brilliant, I fear so useless, an example.*'<sup>150</sup> There is another little oddity at the end, just before the publisher's couple of pages of advertisements. In an '*Author's Address*', Hursthouse gives his address, 28 Thavies Inn, London, and you can write to him there with your questions, letters will be passed on to wherever he might be at the time, or send them to the publisher who '*would be sure to find me*'. You get a touch of the personal Hursthouse, pleasant, helpful, lively and enquiring, nice to meet. It makes his ending a sorrier one.

The other Hursthouse publication worth mentioning, and occasionally seen, published in 1858, is *The New Zealand "Emigrant's Bradshaw"; or guide to the "Britain of the South* (Bagnall 2727) which is most probably by Hursthouse, though anonymous, and went to some 15 editions up to 1883.

He returned to New Zealand in 1870, going back to live in his very familiar New Plymouth until 1875, when his instability and mental issues became so great that he was transferred to a Wellington asylum, where he died a year later.

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<sup>150</sup> Hursthouse, C. *New Zealand, or Zealandia, the Britain of the South*. In two volumes. London: Edward Stanford, 6, Charing Cross. 1857. Vol. 2, p. 454.